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## THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., is a public benefactor, to whom all American Churchmen should be profoundly grateful. With a passion for the collection of every kind of document, printed or manuscript, which may by any possibility contribute to the history of the American Church; and with sufficient means at his disposal for the indulgence of his ruling passion to the utmost: he has amassed—whether of his own property, or as forming part of the archives of the Church confided to his faithful charge—the most extensive collection of the sort ever yet known. Nor is his generosity confined to the mere placing of his treasures freely at the service of any brother who is a fellow-laborer in the same field. He has gone far beyond this. His work of editing in separate volumes the documents in his possession illustrating the History of the Church in each Colony, is a gigantic labor, which, in addition to the cure of a large parish, and his most responsible and exacting duties as Secretary of the Lower House of the General Convention, are more than enough to break down any ordinary man.

But, unfortunately, the number of persons interested in these  
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researches is exceedingly small among us. The struggle for existence and advance is as yet too earnest to allow us much leisure to indulge the retrospective affection which would delight in ransacking the piles of *débris* that antiquarian interest may get together, and pick therefrom the shining particles which may go toward forming the wrought gold of our future history. After long waiting for general interest to become sufficiently strong to publish these volumes at a fixed and moderate price, and waiting for many years in vain, Dr. Perry has hit on a plan which leaves all the trouble and risk on his hands, with no remuneration except the satisfactory consciousness of a good work well done; while the pecuniary outlay is equally divided among all the subscribers to the series of volumes. The result is, a succession of truly magnificent volumes, imperial *quarto* in form, printed on laid paper, with generous margins of from two to three inches,—“large paper copies,” all of them; and printed in the old style type which is a pleasure to the eye. The binding is in full keeping,—the gilt tops and, uncut sides being in the best “library” taste. Volumes I. and II. were devoted to *Virginia* and *Pennsylvania*. Volume III., devoted to *Massachusetts*, has just appeared, and is now lying before us, with proportions rather more portly than its predecessors, yet quite as comely.

Now what shall we do with such a vast amount of material? Here are nearly four hundred and fifty separate documents, besides notes, etc. To scan them all, and weave from them a connected narrative of the History of the Church in Massachusetts previous to the outbreak of the Revolution, would be in itself a great labor; but we leave it to the future historian. We are only writing a review, not a history: and cannot think of such a thing as taking the needed time and trouble for the performance of a task which is none of our business. Our object shall rather be, to imitate the ancient and worthy example of “little Jack Horner,” who “put in his thumbs, And pulled out the plums: Then said, ‘What a good boy am I!’” We shall just dip into this portly volume here and there, at a venture, and give our readers a taste of the rich and racy flavors of the olden time.

The opening piece in the volume is the reprint of Edward Randolph’s very spirited account of “The Present State of New England,” covering some twenty-four pages. Its date is the year 1676. And among the other peculiarities of the Puritan Government—which lose nothing of salient piquancy in passing through Randolph’s hands—we come across the following, which shows how beautifully that old original Puritanism deserved the modern enco

mium of being the fountain of liberty, whether of the press or of conscience. Speaking of the magistrates, Randolph says:

And for keeping all persons in perfect obedience to their authority, it is enacted,

That whosoever shall revile the person of any Magistrate or Minister, or shall defame any Court of Justice, or the sentence and proceedings of the same, or the Judges of any such Court, in respect of any Act or Sentence therein passed, shall be punished by whipping, fine, imprisonment, disfranchisement, or banishment, as the quality or measure of the offence shall deserve.

And whosoever shall conspire & attempt any invasion, insurrection, or public rebellion against their Commonwealth, or shall endeavour to surprise any Town or Forts, or shall treacherously and perfidiously attempt the alteration & subversion of their frame of polity or Government fundamental, he shall be put to death (pp. 3, 4).

Who can wonder, then, at the almost supernatural awe with which "the Ministers" and "the Magistrates" were regarded in those old times? Nor were these laws idle words, or mere scarecrows. As to the Laws and Ordinances there in force, Mr. Randolph says:

No law is in force or esteem there, but such as are made by the General Court, and therefore it is accounted a Breach of their privileges, & a betraying of the Liberties of their Commonwealth, to urge the observation of the Laws of England or his Majesty's Commands (p. 5).

In Randolph's time the singular anomaly had already developed itself, that, with all this strictness and terribleness of civil and spiritual tyranny and exclusiveness, the narrow Puritan system could not be made to work satisfactorily, as touching the majority of the population. Of course, when they began, having things all in their own hands, their law was easily passed and carried into effect, that none should hold office, or even have the right to vote (or be reckoned one of the "freemen"), except only "Church members," meaning thereby Puritan communicants. But in half a century, the system so rapidly lost its full spiritual hold of its own people, that "the number of the Church members and freemen," as Randolph tells us, "compared with the rest of the inhabitants of that Jurisdiction (who are termed the dissenting party), is very inconsiderable, not being reckoned above one sixth part" (p. 7). In England, a great deal has been said about the growth of Dissent. And that it has grown, is unhappily too true. But as to the rate of its growth, the Church of England has surely no reason to fear comparison with the Puritanism of Massachusetts. In England, in three hundred years—and for the last half the period, with perfect liberty to all to become Dissenters

if they chose—the National Church yet includes much more than half the nation. In Massachusetts, in the half of one century, though buttressed in power by those savage laws executed with unrelenting sternness, Puritanism had *spiritually lost five-sixths* of the population. In other words, the spiritual hold of the Church has been *nine times* as strong and as enduring as that of the Puritan system.

One is frequently reminded, in reading these old narratives, of the saying of the Wise Man, that "there is nothing new under the sun." They had Indian wars in those days; and the conviction is irresistibly forced upon the mind, that the peculiar system followed by our Government with the Indians was originally invented by the Puritans of Massachusetts, and has been run by them ever since. The first plan, indeed, that they tried, has gone out of vogue. Indians in those days, as in these, were woefully given to drunkenness, and at any time were ready to "strip themselves to the skin to have their fill of Rum and Brande." The Massachusetts Government made a law "that every Indian being drunk should pay ten shillings, or be whipped according to the direction of the Magistrate." "Many of those poor people," says Randolph, "willingly offered their backs to the lash to save their money, whereupon the magistrates, finding much trouble and no profit to arise to the Government by whipping, did change that punishment of the whip into a ten days' work for such as could not, or would not, pay the fine of ten shillings, which did highly incense the Indians" (p. 13). To be whipped was a trifle; but to be made to work was intolerable.

This, however, was not the only provocation that caused the outbreak of King Philip's war. Randolph adds:

Others impute the Cause to Arise from some injuries offered the Sachem Phillip; for he being possessed of a tract of Land called Mount Hope, a very fertile, pleasant and rich soil, some English had a mind to dispossess him thereof, who never wanting some pretence or other to attain their ends, complained of injuries done by Phillip & his Indians to his [their?] Stock and Cattle, whereupon the Sachem Phillip was often summoned to appear before the Magistrates, sometimes imprisoned, & never released but upon parting with a considerable number of his Lands" (*Ibid.*).

One would think that this was provocation enough, even for an Indian, and that it would not be necessary for the most pious or philosophical historian to look deeper or elsewhere for any other reason. But it was not a reason which the Puritan Government could well assign to their own people; and therefore, in calling them

to humble themselves before God, they declare the following to be the great and provoking evils for which "God hath given the barbarous heathen Commission to rise against them:"

The woful breach of the fifth Commandment, in contempt of their [*i. e.*, the Puritan Magistrates'] Authority (which is a sin highly provoking to the Lord), for men wearing long hair & perriwigs made of Women's hair, for Women wearing borders of hair, and for cutting, curling and laying out their hair, and disguising themselves by following strange fashions in their apparel, for profaneness in the people in not frequenting their Meetings, & others going away before the blessing be pronounced, for suffering the Quakers to live among them, & to set up their thresholds by God's thresholds, contrary to their Old Laws & Resolutions (pp. 13, 14).

From which it would appear that among the most efficacious means of securing God's favor so as to be delivered from the horrors of Indian wars, would be, not to stop cheating the Indians out of their lands, but for the white men to get their hair cut short ("full fight," as the close Puritan roundhead style is now called), keep out all changes of feminine fashions, and burn all periwigs and Quakers!

But the closest part of the resemblance to our own days is yet to be noticed. There was an ancient law of the Province, and a very wise one, made in 1633, "that no person should sell any Arms or Ammunition to any Indian, upon the penalty of Ten pounds for every Gun, Five pounds for a pound of powder, & forty shillings for a pound of shot" (p. 14). But the temptation to enrich "the Government" a very little, and its pet friends a great deal, was in those days, as in these, too strong to be resisted. And accordingly, in 1657,

The Government . . . upon Designe to monopolize the whole Indian trade to themselves, did publish & declare that the trade of Furs and peltry with the Indians within that Jurisdiction solely and properly belong to their Commonwealth, & not to every indifferent person, & did enact that no person should trade with the Indians for any sort of peltry except such as were authorized by that Court under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every such offence, giving liberty to all such as shall have license from them, to sell unto any Indian, guns, swords, powder and shot, paying unto the Treasurer for the same these rates (*viz.*) three shillings for each Gun, three shillings for a dozen of Swords, six pence for a pound of powder, and six pence for every ten pounds of shot, by which means the Indians have been abundantly furnished, with great store of Arms and Ammunition, to the utter ruin and undoing of many families in the Neighboring Colonies, for to enrich some few of their relations and Church members (*Ibid.*).

This was doing as well by their particular friends in the way of a trade monopoly, as anything seen even in our own day. The

unlicensed man who sold a gun to an Indian must pay five pounds; the licensed trader was to pay only three shillings. The unlicensed, for selling a pound of powder, paid five pounds penalty; the licensed paid only three shillings. The unlicensed trader, for selling a pound of powder, paid five pounds; the licensed trader only six pence. The unlicensed trader, for selling ten pounds of shot, forfeited twenty pounds; the licensed trader paid only six pence. And besides all this, the unlicensed was liable to "a penalty of one hundred pounds for every such offence!" This goes far ahead of even the permits for purchasing cotton during the late civil war, or the system of Indian Agencies at all times down to our own day. It must be confessed that modern Puritanism is very far degenerate when compared with the ancient and pure standards; and this is one proof of it.

Of course, a system of trading like this, furnished the Indians with arms and ammunition in plenty, and they became as good marksmen as the Modocs were found to be lately in the lava-beds on the Pacific coast. And every war was fatal to the whites in proportion. But then a fresh reminder of our modern experience followed naturally, in the art with which the special friends of "the Government" managed to stop at home safely and make money, while they sent other people to the front to be shot by the guns which the home-guards had sold at a handsome profit to the Redskins. In the war referred to above, Randolph says: "About six hundred men have been slain, and twelve Captains, most of them stout and brave persons, & of loyal principles [the word 'loyal' means here, not loyal to the Boston Government, but loyal to the King], whilst the Church members [the Puritan leaders] have liberty to stay at home, and not hazard their persons in the wilderness" (p. 15).

Another original Puritan invention remains to be noticed. The country has long rung with the corruption that seems to nestle in every large custom-house. If anybody chooses to maintain that Boston began this style of business also, he may point to the following passage of Randolph in proof of it:

The public revenue of the Colony is very considerable, and is computed to Amount unto upward of Twenty thousand pound, and is disposed of as the Governour and Magistrate think fit, without giving any account to the Country, by which means whosoever comes into the Magistracy hath an opportunity of growing rich and advancing his relations, it being exceedingly profitable to be a Magistrate of that Corporation (p. 19).

A narrative follows, in which Mr. Randolph gives an account of the delivery of the letters which he had brought over from England

from the King to the magistrates of Boston. The affected ignorance as to who was the Secretary of State, and the mode of showing their loyal respect while the King's letters were read, are quite amusing:

The Governour having opened your Majesty's letters, said to the rest of the Magistrates it was a letter from your Majesty, & looking to the bottom of the letter he read, By his Majesty's command, Henry Coventry. The Governour asked me who that Mr. Coventry was. I told him he was your Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

At the beginning of the reading of Your Majesty's letters, the whole Council being covered, I put off my hat, whereupon three of the Magistrates took off their hats, and did sit uncovered all the time your Majesty's letters were reading, but the Governour, with the rest, continued to keep their hats on (p. 25).

In New Hampshire, Randolph found great dissatisfaction among the people at the Boston government:

. . . the whole country complaining of the oppression & usurpation of the Magistrates of Boston, imposing Ministers upon them, not admitting them to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, denying Baptism to their Children, & liberty of choosing their own Magistrates & officers, because they are not members of their Congregations, & as a farther mark of their power and sovereignty over them, they send twice every year Magistrates from Boston to keep Courts for hearing of causes, and that they lay at pleasure what impositions, fines, & taxes, they think fit upon their Estates, persons & trade, contrary to the Laws of England, and that they have been for a long time earnestly expecting to have been delivered from the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, and do now humbly hope Your Majesty will not permit them any longer to be oppressed, but will be graciously pleased to give them relief, according to the promise made them by Your Majesty's Commissioners in 1665, who were then in that province, and declared them not to be under the Government of Boston (p. 28).

And in his travels south of Boston, Randolph found the Governor of "New Plimouth" equally eloquent against those pious, lawless, covetous, greedy, usurping "Bostoners:"

In his discourse he expressed his great dislike of the Carriage of the Magistrates of Boston to Your Majesty's royal person and your subjects under their Government, of their encroaching upon the rights, trades & possessions of the Neighboring Colonies, laying what rates & Impositions they please on the Commodities & products of the other Colonies imported into their harbours, their daily breach of Your Majesty's Laws concerning trade & navigation, trading with and encouraging all nations to trade with them, to the great prejudice and detriment of Your Majesty and this Your Kingdom (p. 29).

And Connecticut was equally aggrieved by Boston, and equally ready for royal repression of Bostonian rapacity. But the Boston



magistrates by no means relished Randolph's travelling north and south, and informing himself of the real state of men's minds; and on his return to Boston gave him "a sharp reproof" for his imputed design "to make a mutiny and disturbance in the Country, and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the Magistracy of that Colony and the authority thereof." However, at his departing for home, they entreated him on his arrival in England to give "a favorable report of the Country," assuring him that "those that blessed them God would bless, and those that cursed them God would curse" (p. 30).

By the way, King Charles II., in his Letter and Declaration to the Magistrates of Boston, confirming the famous Charter of Charles I., gives us one sentence which we cannot forbear quoting, considering all the loud boasts that have been made, that "liberty of conscience" was invented in or near Boston:

And since the principal end & foundation of that Charter was & is the freedom of liberty of conscience, we do hereby charge & require you, that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed, so that such as desire to use the Book of Common Prayer & perform their devotions after that manner as Established here, be not denied the Exercise thereof, or undergo any prejudice or disadvantage thereby, they using their Liberty peaceably without disturbance to others, & that all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said Book of Common Prayer, and their Children to Baptism (p. 34).

From this it would evidently appear that all the liberty of conscience there was in Massachusetts was *forced* upon them by the King's charter; and that, without royal compulsion, they would not have allowed freedom of conscience even to the King who gave the charter! But on one point, in which the Puritans have earned great odium, we must present an exonerating phrase from the same royal letter. We refer to the inhuman treatment of the Quakers. After the freedom of conscience commanded above, the King goes on to say:

We cannot be understood hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of Government we have found it necessary by the advice of our Parliament here to make a sharp Law against them, & are well contented that you do the like there (*Ibid.*).

So that on this point it would appear that New England was quite as bad as Old England, and on the other points was decidedly worse. And yet the Quakers managed to flourish elsewhere, if they were whipped at the cart's tail through all the towns of Massachu-



setts, until they were over the border, and had reached the milder barbarism of the Indians. Here is a quaint account, from another document, of the settlement of Rhode Island :

The People of Boston (who always had a perfect hatred against those who differed in opinion from them, & if any have bin persecutors, they may bee said to bee bloody ones) had some Quakers in the land, & how to rid themselves fairly of them, they had many consultations, which at last ended in this result: They would banish them to some place or other, from whence they might bee sure to be never troubled with them again. Their hearts were then somewhat tender, & not sufficiently hardened for those barbaritys & murders they afterwards committed; but yet their Mercys were very crueltyes, for they banished these Quakers to this Island, where in all probability they must have perisht with hunger, or else bin destroyed by the heathen. Hither these poor creatures being come, they dig them caves in the Earth, & by the kindness of the Indians outlive the severitys of a long and sharp winter. The spring coming on, they obtaine leave from the Sachem to manure the Ground, & in a little time wrought themselves into good Estates, which some even of the first settlers injoy even to this day. Being thus happily seated, they petitioned King Charles, that they might have a Charter to themselves, fearing lest they should fall under the lash of the Bostoners againe, who had bin soe inhumane & barbarous to them in their banishment (p. 41).

It is not a little instructive to see how early the causes were at work, which have to so great a degree unchristianized New England; and how clearly that result was foreseen from the first :

Three fourths of the Country never participate of the Lord's Supper, & if any should beg it as for the Salvation of his Soul, yet he could not obtaine his requests without coming up to their terms, & telling storys of the time of his conversion, & when the work of Grace was wrought on his heart. Even in the space of little more than one Generation, *near one half of the people are unbaptized*, & let Parents doe what they can, give never so good account of their Faith, & live never so uprightly towards God and towards Man, yet their children shall not be admitted to Baptism, unless one of the Parents bee of their Communion, & promises to walk after the Church Covenant. So that in a few ages, by their Independant Practise, Paganism will a second time overspread the land, & there will be as much need of Evangelizing the English, as there is now of the Indians (p. 51).

But let us turn over to some other document. Here (pp. 64, 65) is the Memorial and Petition from Thomas Coram to the Archbishop of Canterbury, begging that something may be done for the Church in the Colony, and picturing the condition of things in language of terrible darkness. He says :

That in the years 1693 and 1694 and some time after, there was but one Minister of the Church of England in all y<sup>e</sup> Inhabited part of y<sup>e</sup> English Empire in America, settled by ten or more different Colonies, contiguous, but

under different sorts of Government, 600 or 700 Miles in length or more, on the Sea Coast, from Virginia Northward to the utmost extent of the then settled and Inhabited English Country on the Main Land of America. The said Minister, whose name was Mr. Hatton, was a very worthless Man, he resided at Boston, and was utterly unfit to Gaine or Reconcile to the Church such Descentors so strongly inveterate against it; but he was far from ever attempting to do so, for he would frequently on Saturday Nights set up and play at Cards all or the greatest part of the Night, in company with an Irish Butcher and an Irish Barber, and another or more of such his acquaintance, whereby he was usually so much disordered which prevented him from officiating next day at Church, which gave its numerous Enemies great opportunities to ridicule against it, and those few Inhabitants of y<sup>e</sup> large Town of Boston who were desirous to go to Church were very often disappointed & greatly discouraged.

But the main gist of Thomas Coram's appeal to the King, is to ask his Majesty to set on foot at Cambridge a "king's college," to offset Harvard College and Yale, and still another proposed college in the Jerseys. And—with all our subsequent experience touching the best modes of civilizing the Indians—it makes one smile to read honest Thomas Coram's idea of the probable usefulness of King's College in keeping the Indians from sympathizing with the French. He says:

And moreover for the said College to be encouraged & enabled to Gaine and bring over and secure to the British Interest the Nations or Tribes of Indian Natives Inhabiting in the Wilderness nearest to the said British Colonies or Settlements, and also to maintain & properly to instruct a fit number of y<sup>e</sup> children of those Natives, which would doubtless produce perpetual security and advantage to His Majesty's Subjects in those Northern parts of America; for that those Indians are grateful and kind if well used. But through y<sup>e</sup> want of care and good usage from y<sup>e</sup> English in times past to those Indians, they therefore became Enemies, and do continually embrace all opportunities to Joyne the French against y<sup>e</sup> English, greatly to their destructive damage, as too often has appeared in all those parts of North America (p. 66).

We wonder how many free scholarships in Columbia or Princeton would suffice to "gaine and bring over and secure" the Modocs and the Camanches, so as to "produce perpetual security and advantage" to our citizens on the frontier. But Thomas Coram was not the only person in those days who looked upon a full collegiate course as the best civilizer of the Indian, and was convinced that the earning of a sheepskin with Latin on it would cure the red man of his hereditary propensity for taking scalps. There is a certain Foundation at Dartmouth, we believe, from which the Indians (for whom it was intended) have long since disappeared, but the endowments remain, and are quite as convenient for the use of white men, as if they never had been set apart for the benefit of the red.

A few pages further on (p. 73), we find Col. Lewis Morris giving to an English archdeacon an account of the missionary labors of the apostolic Keith, and pleading for some one to be sent to East Jersey, "which wants very much, the whole province not having one of the Church, many Dissenters of all sorts, but the Greatest parts generally speaking cannot with truth be called Christians;" and also to Braintree in Massachusetts, of which he says: "Braintry should be minded; it is in the heart of New England, and a learned and sober man would do great good, and encourage the other towns to desire the like. If the Church can be settled in New England, it pulls up Schisme in America by the roots, that being the fountain that supplies with infectious streams the rest of America." Braintree, indeed, had a company of staunch Churchmen in it, as the names of Vesey and Barclay would indicate. On pages 84 and 85, there is a really eloquent letter from some of them to the Bishop of London, defending themselves from the charge laid against them by a Mr. Newman, that they were animated only by a spirit of contradiction, and were weary of their attempt to set up a Church:

Were this Charge true, we cannot think on it but with greatest horror and detestation, that we should be so impious & hypocritical towards God, & so surly & unframeable towards man; that, for contradiction sake, pretend to set up a Church of Eng<sup>d</sup> Meeting, now we have the witness of God Almighty & our own consciences that we are sincere; and do it heartily unto the Lord, as knowing from him we must receive our reward; . . . & Mr. Vesey, Minister of the Church of N. York, when he was a youth can say that he, with his parents & many more, were communicants of the Church of Eng<sup>d</sup> & that in their Family at Braintree Divine Service was daily read, which things to mention would argue great pride & vanity were it not in our own defence, also we leave it to your Lordship to judge, how contrary to reason it is, that a fit of contradiction in us should last more than 20 years; & that we that have it cannot be at all bettered by it, nor obtain the least good but procure to ourselves many & great evils; . . . we are indeed weary of having ourselves & children exposed to scorn & contempt, in being often called Papists, & Idolaters & what not, for only cleaving to the Church, our holy religion ridiculed & called the Mass, with great scorn & contempt, our estates forcibly taken from us by those whose wills are the measure of their actions, for the support of Dissenting ministers, of these things we are indeed weary, but we are not weary of worshipping God in the way of the Chh of Eng<sup>d</sup> & Cleaving to it & we do heartily thank our heavenly Father that He hath called us to this state of salvation.

The Churchmanship of Massachusetts ought to be of sturdy stuff, considering the Colonial schooling it enjoyed!

But we have not yet gotten beyond the eighty-fifth page of this goodly volume, and if we go on at this rate, we shall never get

through. Let us make a bold skip of more than an hundred pages, and we shall find (p. 191) a long and very able petition to the King from several clergymen of the Church (and among them Dr. Timothy Cutler, McSparren, and Samuel Johnson), setting forth the illegal oppressions under which all Churchmen were made to groan during the dominion of Puritanism, the Puritans "unwarrantably rating and assessing them for the support and maintenance of the Independent teachers, and for the repairing and building the Independent meeting-houses; and, in default of payment, by distraining their goods and laying their persons in actual imprisonment, and using all methods possible to discourage the inhabitants from embracing our government, doctrine, and liturgy, whereby the members of our Churches are miserably distressed by the force and violence that is used upon their Persons and Estates in case of the least refusal or delay to contribute to the support of the dissenting Teachers and their meeting houses; and on which account, at least 30 of the members of the Church of England have been imprisoned at one time in one Town." But what was done with this able and important petition? The following memorandum of action thereupon will show that the circumlocution-office was already invented, and in full operation, at that early period:

- 1726, Mar. 20<sup>th</sup>. The said Petition was lodged in the Council Office.  
 1727, May 13<sup>th</sup>. By order in Council it was referred to the consideration of a Com<sup>tee</sup> of the Privy Council.  
 July 14<sup>th</sup>. By order of the Com<sup>tee</sup> of Privy Council, the said petition was referred to the consideration of the Lords Com<sup>tee</sup> for trade and Plantations.  
 Nov. 14<sup>th</sup>. The Lords Commissioners for trade wrote a letter to the King's then Attorney, and Solicitor General, for their opinion, &c.  
 Upon search it does not appear that the Attorney, and Solicitor General, ever made any report, or that any further proceedings were had on the fore-mentioned petition.

When the petition was allowed to lie for *sixteen months* before it was even so much as referred, the committee, and the King's Attorney and Solicitor-general did not need any further prompter to tell them that the most acceptable way to perform *their* part of the business was to say nothing more about it. But, whether of service or not, the Churchmen of those days seemed to have learned well at least one part of the Gospel; and, having unjust judges at home, they did all they could to strengthen the righteous cause by sturdy repetition and unfailing importunity. Again and again does this disagreeable business put up its ugly phiz in the communica-

tions written to persons in England. The Rev. Mr. Davenport, for instance (p. 309), speaks of many being kept from joining the Church

. . . By reason of public taxes to the support of the dissenting worship, which they must submit to or suffer imprisonment, as has been the case of two of our wardens, who, for not paying their rate towards the meeting house at Hanover (one of the towns in this parish) have been put in prison, from which one of our present wardens was delivered in his way to it, by the Constable's violent wresting his money from him, which as yet he has no recompense for. One other of our communicants, for not paying his rate towards the dissenting Teacher in Marshfield (a neighboring Town) was brought in sight of the Gaol, but escaped it by the humanity of a Gentleman who laid down the money for him; in truth, Sir, these taxations seem to be the weightiest arguments against our cause, which our advasaries are not ignorant of, for here and in Hanover all our [people] are assessed for the maintenance of their respective teachers, which they must pay, or loose their liberty in common gaol, which they are now daily threatened with, & daily expect.

The reason of this dogged resistance of Churchmen to Puritan exactions was not merely the natural desire to save their money; but it was the well-grounded conviction that the Colonial laws providing for such exactions were really contrary both to British law and to the true meaning of the Colonial Charter. It was a serious nuisance to Churchmen, and their attempts to secure justice at law at length began to have some influence with their persecutors. When Matthew Ellis, of Medford, was imprisoned by Richard Sprague, constable of that town, he prosecuted the constable in return; and, when beaten, carried the case up to the Superior Court, and then to the Court of Review; and when all these Colonial courts went against him, as was natural, he appealed to the King, and Richard Sprague was "cited to appear before a Committee of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, to answer before them for his imprisoning said Ellis." This was rather more than the Puritan constables had bargained for. And, furthermore, the gradual changes of men and things brought it to pass that now and then a Churchman was chosen constable; and then the awkwardness of the Puritan laws began to appear more clearly. We find here (p. 311) a grave and formal petition from David Shaw, one of the constables of the town of Brimfield, "To his Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq.,<sup>1</sup> Governor & Commander

<sup>1</sup> In a letter from Dr. Cutler (p. 671), he makes the following allusion to Gov. Belcher: "Not long ago this gentleman married his daughter here to a person baptised and brought up in the Church; but not before he had strictly obliged him entirely to forsake the Church, which the booby has faithfully done."

in Chief in & over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, &c., And to the Honorable the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled," in which Mr. Shaw recounts the citing of Sprague before the committee of the Privy Council; and then adds that he, Shaw, is ordered to distrain or imprison, under similar circumstances, several members of the Church of England in his town, and asks for direction and advice, lest he should be called to account as Sprague was. So far, it is all a very sober piece of business. But we "guess" that a broad yet queer grin must have twisted the faces of his Excellency the Governor and his Council, and the Representatives aforesaid, when they came to the closing sentence of this petition, which runs as follows: "And your Petitioner further begs that himself may be excused from paying to the support of the minister of said Town, being conscientiously a member of the Established Church of England." The machinery for working that law was manifestly beginning, in some places, to wear out.

But let us turn to another subject. On page 301, our attention is caught by a name which attests the conclusion of a document, "JONATHAN EDWARDS, Scribe." It is a letter to the Lord Bishop of London, from "the Associated Ministers of the County of Hampshire," signed by "W<sup>m</sup> Williams Mod<sup>r</sup>," as well as by the aforesaid "Scribe." We naturally turned with some interest to see what this Association of Puritan Ministers could have to say to the Lord Bishop of London. And here is the way they begin:

MY LORD, We would approach your Lordship with humble Deference and respect, acknowledging our distance & meanness, and hope your goodness will render you a righteous Judge in your own cause & towards your inferiors, as holy Job professes he did not despise the cause of his man servant or his maid servant.

And what does one suppose was the object of a communication with such an extraordinary beginning? It was to complain to the Bishop of London for sending missionaries of the S. P. G. to Massachusetts! Not content with distraining and imprisoning the Church people to make them help to support Congregationalist ministers, they wished to deprive them of the chance of having any clergy at all to minister to their spiritual wants! There is, in this precious document, food for comment by the hour. They do not see the need of sending missionaries to Massachusetts; although they thought it *very* necessary to set up Independent preachers in England. Their first reason is: "We think we may justly claim the



name of a Christian Country or people;" as if the same could not have been said of England itself. They add: "We believe and own all such Doctrines & Duties as are contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old & New Testament, consenting to and receiving all the Doctrinal Articles of the Established Church of England;" as if the same could not have been said of the Church of England itself. The next statement is, that they have ministers of their own in every town; which the Church of England could also say for herself at home. But the *gist* of the trouble is reached when they say:

The Missionaries that come among us shew a very uncharitable & unchristian spirit, particularly by insinuating that our Ministry is no Ministry, not having had Episcopal Ordination, and that so all other Administrations are null & invalid, etc.

From which one thing is evident, that the maintenance of the Apostolic Succession, as necessary to a regular and valid Church organization, is not a "novelty" brought in by "Puseyism," but is as ancient, in New England at least, as the year of grace 1734. But, then, did not our last-century Puritans see the beauty and advantage of having divers sorts of Christians rivalling one another on the same field? Their descendants have *now* discovered that this variance and struggle of Churches and sects is one of the most beautiful and beneficent arrangements of God's Providence,—it is the perfect and complete realization of our Blessed Lord's prayer that we "all might be one." But what did they think about it then? This is what they say on the subject to the Lord Bishop of London:

Which things tend to breed disorder and confusion in our Churches, by cherishing a small number of *disaffected persons* in several places, to the ill example of a whole town, produces wranglings, strifes, ill names, needless disputations, instead of Godly Edifying, &c.

What a pity it was that they did not think of this before they started Independency in England! But, besides this, they complain of a special "injustice" under their peculiar circumstances:

We cannot but look upon it as great injustice, it having been often openly declared to the world that our Fathers left their Native Land, & at a vast Expence purchased & subdued a wilderness, that they might in a place of their own serve God according to their Consciences in peace, without giving offence to the then Governing powers—a liberty which we account dearer than any temporal interest whatsoever, which some Missionaries have endeavored to wrest from us, etc.

Strange, that the men who penned these words did not see that



they were condemning themselves doubly; first, by the fact that *they* made disturbances and divisions in England originally, though they were as small a minority there as Church people were in Massachusetts; and secondly, by taking for granted that to "serve God according to their conscience" was not as dear to Churchmen in the Colonies as it had been to Independents in England.

But caricature itself can hardly outdo the effect of their statement that they "heartily wish . . . that the Missionaries might have the worthy views of carrying the Gospel among the miserable Heathen who have not known the way of Life." While the godly Puritan was getting ten days' work out of all the Indians who got drunk, and enjoyed the monopoly of selling them guns, swords, powder and shot, and kept the whole trade of furs and peltry in his own pious hands, and was quietly embezzling for his private profit the endowment long before provided for the express purpose of evangelizing the Indians—an endowment producing, at one time, near £1,000 (p. 645)—while all this was the case, what an astonishing stretch of charity it was, that he could "heartily wish" that the whole expense of sending missionaries to these "miserable Heathen" should be borne by the Church of England!

One other characteristic touch and we have done with this precious document. When we remember all that was suffered by Cutler and Johnson and others, who gave up positions of high authority and comfortable support in order to follow their consciences into the Church; when we remember the great delay and expense of going to England for Holy Orders in days when the dangers, cost, and trouble of travel were so much greater than now—more than *one tenth* of those who started on that errand dying of small-pox or other diseases, or shipwreck, before their return—when all this is borne in mind, there is something inexpressibly base in the following insinuation, and the hypocritical *salvo* with which it closes:

And we have reason to fear that the prospect of a better salary than what our Ministers generally have . . . has been the great inducement to some of our young men to go over to receive Orders;—that we would not take upon us to judge men's hearts, &c.

In the light of this paragraph, we cannot but say that the Petitioners did well to begin with "acknowledging" their own "meanness" in the strongest sense of the word; nor could we find a more appropriate phrase with which to bow them out, now that we are done with them.

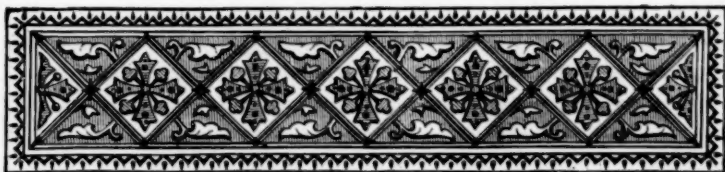
But when shall we come to an end? It is impossible, within our limits, even to refer to the numerous passages we have marked, concerning the absurdities of the "great revival" that so convulsed the country, and the splits and animosities engendered by it; of the labors of Dr. Cutler, and Samuel Johnson, and the valiant John Checkley, who was prosecuted for publishing a work in defence of Episcopacy, and Caner, and Bours, and Price, and Bass, and Apthorp, and Weeks, and Gilchrist, and the famous Mather Byles, and Parker, and so many others, with details concerning Whitfield, and the troubles at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. But, before closing, we must express a *suggestion*, a *wish*, and a *wonder*.

The *suggestion*—though we are loath to make one which will add to the labors of the editor—is that, in preparing his table of contents, he will add a few words indicating the general subject of each letter or other document. The alphabetical *index* which he gives is much more laborious, and we would not have it omitted by any means. But to read in the table of contents, about forty times over, the interesting words, "The Rev. Dr. Cutler to the Secretary," or "The Same to the Same," with absolutely *no* hint of the interesting points in any letter, is like visiting a picture-gallery, and carefully looking up a number in the catalogue to find only "Portrait of a Gentleman." The calendaring need not be very full; but a mention of the leading points will be a wonderful help to those who have neither leisure nor inclination to read the whole volume straight through from beginning to end.

The *wish* is, that the venerable author of "Puritanism," now that he has the leisure, would get out a new edition of that spicy book, which was the bold pioneer in the tough work of correcting the absurd fables of the oral tradition of Puritan New England, by a calm appeal to historical facts. Since the day when that book appeared, wrinkling the cheeks of Churchmen with laughter, and the brows of Puritans with rage, there have been many delvers in the same field; and there is now—including the volume before us—abundance of material for enlargement, enrichment, and completion. No hand more skilled, no pen more pointed, could well be found to undertake it. The material cumpers the ground, and waits for the work of the master-builder. So much for our wish, which we know will be supported by thousands of Churchmen.

The *wonder* is, that, after such long years of effort, there are not yet two hundred and fifty subscribers to this magnificent series of volumes, in which the material for the future historians of the

Church of America is treasured up so abundantly, so accurately, so laboriously. It is impossible to open their pages anywhere without finding something characteristic or important, in the racy speech of those old days, when men used plain talk because they were in earnest. Meanwhile, there is double expense, and double honor, to the few who stand by the work through thick and thin, from beginning to end. And there ought to be more than double honor to the indefatigable editor, for his courage in going on, although his supporters are so few; and for doing his part with such rare fidelity and conscientious accuracy in every detail. It will hereafter be impossible for any honest man to write of our Colonial Church History without expressing his heartiest thanks to the Rev. Dr. Perry.



## THE SPIRITUAL ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

### III.—THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION AND THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

IN introducing this last division of our general subject, a few words of recapitulation must again be allowed, in order to bring together into one focus, and render clear to a single glance, the whole extent of the movement under consideration. Our starting-point was the tacit assumption of certain modern writers, that Christianity is, for all practical purposes, simply a moral scheme; that the whole content of Christianity, as a religion, is merely a means to a moral end. We began, then, with an analysis of morality in the abstract, and found that that term names the relation between abstract free-will, or indeterminate volitional capacity, and the abstract right, viewed as an absolute, and expressed to universal consciousness in the moral law. This relation is, necessarily, persistently antithetic. Proceeding to Christian morals, as set forth in the New Testament, we found at once a distinctive peculiarity. Christianity brings into morality a new principle, the purpose and the effect of which is no less than to resolve the antithesis, which asserts itself as an ultimate. This principle of spiritual freedom (or Christian liberty, in Apostolic phrase) annuls the separatedness of the moral object and subject, and reconciles their constant opposition by embracing both within the circle of personality as its common factors. It declares objectivity to be the very nature of the subject

itself, so that the distinction between subject and object is purely a formal one in the vital unity of spiritual being. This discovery of the unity of subject and object as the root of morality—its underlying vital truth—and as the explanation, or *raison d'être*, of the moral law, led to the *transition* from the moral to the spiritual sphere. And in this way: The moral sphere is that of the dualism of subject and object. This dualism is cancelled by the principle of spiritual freedom. But this cancelling is a purely speculative result; it falls wholly within the objective element; it pertains wholly to spirit in its ideality; it brings no practical, no subjective change. Hence arises a new opposition between the ideality and the reality of human spirit; or, rather, the old opposition of subject and object passes into this new phase. The unrest produced by this disturbance of equilibrium between the ideal and the real, the cognitive and the active [it is just this which is described in the seventh chapter of Romans] is then the direct spring of the transition to spirituality. As we see, the old dualism, while speculatively cancelled, practically abides, though in another form. That is to say, the first resolution of the antithesis has only produced another. Following, then, the persistent dualism, the transition is also twofold, speculative and practical; or, returning to the old determinations, objective and subjective. First, we go back to the idea called *law*, which we have found by the first resolution to be the ideality, or essential nature of human spirit, and fill out the circle of its complete totality, in order to discover what it is in itself, as a self-subsistent, or actual. As such it is found to pass from the condition of an abstract conception, merely *opined*,<sup>1</sup> to the thoroughly genetic, self-

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<sup>1</sup>It is as such that Mr. Matthew Arnold names it the "not-ourselves that makes for righteousness." This definition Mr. Arnold offers as expressing such an idea of God as is verifiable by experience. "The masses," he says, "with their rude practical instinct, go straight to the heart of the matter. . . . They begin by asking what proof of God we have at all. Moreover, they require plain experimental proof, such as that fire burns them if they touch it." The instinct and the requirement here are certainly "rude" enough, but they go heaven-wide of the "heart of the matter." But what notion of religion can a man have, who admits the reasonableness of this demand? and what notion of philosophy can a man have, who thinks proof of the sort required can be furnished for "the Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness?" Certitude in the one case is gained by outward experience (sense-perception), and in the other case by inward experience (self-consciousness). Mr. Arnold is evidently unaware that on this little distinction of *inward* and *outward* the whole question hinges; and that, by letting in the validity of inward experience, he has, in principle, let in all that "metaphysic" he is so anxious to

explicit notion of absolute personality. Secondly, as the moral law has been seen to be not external, but only objective to the concrete human spirit, so now, when, in its actuality, it is found to be God, it still remains only objective, not external. The essential being of the concrete relative spirit resides in its unity with the concrete absolute spirit; the inward ideality of human spirit is Divinity. The consciousness of this truth is the *religious consciousness*, in which the pure self-consciousness is completed. Here we finally reach the subject, announced by the title of these papers, that essence of Christianity which was spoken of in the first one, as contradistinctive from morality as such. It is simply the unity in essence of God and man, through the homogeneity of spiritual being. Although morality is the starting-point, yet this position is only reached by abandoning that of morality proper, and, in fact, by contradicting

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exclude. For, as matter of fact, the experience to which he refers is spiritual as well as moral. To that experience, the existence of a personal God is a fact of equal certitude with that of moral law, or an *ἔθνη* in things, or an abstraction "making for righteousness." "Religion," Mr. Arnold says, "means simply a binding to righteousness, or else a serious attending to righteousness, according to the view we take of the word's derivation." But etymology does not carry us so far. Religion simply means a binding to, or an attending to; to *what*, is not said. When we look to human history for this "what," we find that religion is essentially a binding to a Person; it is the human spirit's sense of his essential relation to a *not himself*, which is also a *like himself*. And it is mere wilful blindness on the part of Mr. Arnold to read the Old Testament, and the teaching of Christ, as if this conception of personality were, in the one case, only a poetic accretion to the idea of righteousness, and, in the other, only introduced in language of accommodation to the common belief of the Jews. The personal strain, the cry of heart to heart, the appeal to "One who, like as a father pitieth his children, is merciful to them that fear Him,"—this is the key-note of Jewish, as of Christian, religion. Righteousness is, undoubtedly, the essential qualification of the idea of God; but fatherhood is its very core.

The whole essay ("Literature and Dogma") strikingly exemplifies the crude vagueness incident to the thinking of the purely literary mind. Indeed, in his introduction, Mr. Arnold sets forth this vagueness as the special excellence and special recommendation of the "literary" treatment of theology. His description of a literary term, as one that aims at no scientific precision, but one merely "thrown out at an object of consciousness not fully grasped by the mind," applies quite accurately to the literary method, which he desires should supersede the scientific. That while making merry at the expense of scientific methods, and those who employ them, he should fall himself into the most genial but most utter confusion of very simple distinctions, is therefore only a natural consequence—perhaps, in Mr. Arnold's view, a further excellence—of the method he employs.



it; for morality must, necessarily, always remain at the separation of God and man, as moral object and moral subject. Morally, man's relation to God is an external one; spiritually, it is an internal relation.

As the transition, following the antithetic duplicity, was at once speculative and practical, so the spiritual sphere, when reached, contains a like distinction, not from any further persistence of antithesis, but according to the organic distinction of spiritual faculty into cognitive and active powers.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the *Christian revelation* is, in its generality, a declaration that the unity of the Divine and human is the ideal truth of humanity, and the *Christian life* is man's practical relation to this revelation; or the actualization of this ideal. We conclude, then, with a brief drawing out of these two heads.

1. We may sketch the outline of the Christian revelation, so far as it refers directly to our subject—the relation of man to God—in few words. It will suffice to touch upon three general points: (a) the original relation, unity with God; (b) the breaking of that unity through sin; (c) its restoration through redemption by Christ.

(a) Man's native unity with God results from the essential homogeneity of spiritual being. God is pure spirit; in this truth man's relation to this truth is also posited. For since man himself is spirit, he is mirrored to himself in God, and in Him finds *his own* essential being. Thus man is comprehended in the idea of God. In saying this, we touch on the metaphysic of One and Many. We shall not enter upon it here; for metaphysic is explanation, and we are concerned only with statement. The statement then is, that the One, and its Many units, are absolutely only the same thing. The *plurality* in which they appear is qualitatively indifferent to them,

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<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered that this distinction constitutes no separation. Intelligence and will are not to be conceived as lying side by side, and independent of each other; they are but action and counter-action of the one spiritual life. When intelligence has comprehended outward objects, it has made them *inner*; it has determined them as *its*. But intelligence that *determines* objects, is will. Hence, spirit is constantly transcending its organic distinction; there is constant transition from intelligence to will, or constant conversion of the former into the latter; will is only thought in act: thought is only will in *potentia*. Thus the *revelation* addressed to the intelligence is at the same time addressed to the will; the *life* is only the acting out of the new comprehension. Herein is seen the necessity of "dogma," or definite objects of intellectual apprehension, to religion, although religion is a practical concern; in fact, just because it is a practical concern. And hence appears the impotence of all attempts to divorce religion from theology, and the inevitable evaporation of religion in the process.



for it remains external to their common essentiality. Now this immediate unity of God and man is only the implicitness of their ideal unity. It is the *momentum* of Identity from which Difference is excluded, but it is as certain that Difference is not extinguished by such exclusion, as it is that Identity, in spite of Difference, subsists. The unity of God and man is not to be superficially conceived, as if God were only man, and man without further condition were God. On the contrary, man becomes divine only in so far as he annuls the merely natural in him, and renounces his merely natural being, for the natural is the unspiritual.<sup>1</sup> It is with the immediate, implicit unity, however, that the Christian revelation begins. Man came from heaven and the bosom of his Father, as it were a Divine infant. He awoke to life on the earth, in the immaculate purity of innocence. The crowning work of creation, he, above all other creatures, was "very good." Heaven lay about him; he breathed the native air of angels; he lived in the light of God's presence, and, in the peace of that intimate communion, his soul opened like a flower to all Divine influences. This was original righteousness,—man's natural, unconscious, instinctive union with God. He followed his objective or Divine nature but blindly; merely because his subjectivity was not awakened, and he did not know himself to be a self-determining being. Such estate of innocence could not, in the nature of the case, be the lasting condition of a spirit; for it kept dormant, and in abeyance, one half of his essential being.

(b) Hence came the Fall, the severance of the original unity through sin. What is sin, or the sinful? It is simply the usurpation by subjectivity of that supremacy in the spiritual life which rightfully belongs to the objective principle. In other words, it is the attempt to give material validity to the spirit's purely formal freedom, by setting up the individuality which *we are* against the universality which *is us*. But this assertion of subjectivity is necessary to the process of self-consciousness. Man's being is in its nature self-cognizant, and man's existence (like all existence) is simply the expression and realization of his inward being. The first step toward that realization must be his acquirement of the consciousness of his abstract freedom, in contraposition to his uncon-

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<sup>1</sup> "To be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. . . . If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."

scious obedience to his essentiality. The first proper action—the first action *of his own*—of a self-determining being must be to assert the subjectivity. But that is necessarily alienation from God; it is precisely the principle of evil. Thus the Fall is no merely contingent event; it is the necessary transition by which man becomes man. The story of the garden, the tree of knowledge, the serpent, may be rejected by the rationalist as an Oriental fable; but whether literal or allegorical, it is the eternal mythus of man. Man *could not* remain in Paradise. That condition of merely *natural* goodness—goodness without the knowledge of evil or the exercise of choice—belongs only to the immaturity of the infant or the instinct of the animal. And so God confirms the words of the serpent: “Behold, the man is become as one of us, knowing good and evil.” Can these words mean less than this, that at least the first step toward complete self-consciousness—in which the spirit becomes conscious of its Divine essence, and of which the practical effect is the attainment of *God-like* holiness by growing unto a “*perfect man*,” for that is “the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ”—that the first step toward this is the knowledge of evil, and the knowledge of it by its commission? If this is their meaning—and we repeat, can they mean less?—God’s words may well appear mysterious and startling, but they remain God’s words, to be comprehended if possible, but in any case to be accepted. When we say that the Fall is a necessity to human development, we affirm the paradox that spirit must first be evil, in order to being perfectly good;<sup>1</sup> and further, that its being at first evil is part of God’s eternal purpose,—that evil is an essential element in the system of His universe. If these propositions seem over-venturous, their justification is found in this, that they are implicit in the Divine declaration, “The man is become as one of us, knowing good and evil.” It is certain that we stand here on very delicate and difficult ground; but the difficulty cannot be disposed of by brushing away propositions that are innocent of creating it, and that merely express the facts of the case. For at the threshold of the subject there lie two facts which cannot be pushed aside, but must be faced. The first is the existence of a God who is the perfectly holy, the infinitely wise, the infinitely loving, and who is also the one Supreme whose throne is from everlasting, by whose all-perfect will all that is, or can be, is

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, this applies only to relative spirit. The absolute Spirit is eternally in full and final consciousness. With Him is no process of self-realization, for He is eternally self-comprised and self-complete.

ever ordained and governed. The second is, that in the universe thus subject to its Creator's omnipotent control, and constituted solely according to His holy will, evil exists both in possibility and in fact. Any adequate view of the subject before us must be based upon and reconciled with these two facts. To some, these facts seem mutually contradictory. In his recent volume, "Enigmas of Life," Mr. Greg, staggered by the apparent contradiction, seeks to solve it by a bold denial of Divine omnipotence. His statement is, in effect, that the existence of sin and pain may be reconciled either with a belief in Divine goodness, or with a belief in Divine omnipotence; but cannot be reconciled with a belief, at once, in the absolute goodness and the absolute omnipotence of God. Dismiss, then, he says this unwarranted hypothesis of a Divine power absolutely infinite, and the difficulty, which is "of our own making, and arises out of our inconsiderate use of a single word—omnipotence"—is disposed of. This is certainly a curious instance of what Macaulay calls the "slovenly way in which most people are content to think." Look at it. Suppose we give up the omnipotence of God, then faith in His goodness is saved because He is not responsible for evil. He is exonerated in the matter, because He cannot help it. As regards God, then, some difficulty seems to be removed; but as regards evil, none. It still remains as before; only the source of its existence remains unaccounted for. But the source of its existence is, at bottom, the whole difficulty; and hence no difficulty is removed, even as regards God. For if God is not the absolute *principlum* of the universe; if His will is not commensurate with total actuality, and *therefore* He is not responsible for evil, the question follows, who or what *is* that absolute *principlum*, and who *is* responsible for evil? In taking away from *God* the power to *prevent* evil, you have only placed *elsewhere* the power that has *ordained* it. We may, then, dispense altogether with a God of limited power in this consideration, for it is plain that there is, back of Him, a more powerful God, who has willed evil. The difficulty is simply pushed a step rearward; it remains just as before. The earth rests on the tortoise, and the tortoise—where? If God is not omnipotent, then there is some other omnipotent being. We cannot get away from omnipotence; for it is an essential constituent in the absolute explanation of the universe. And so it is an essential attribute of God; for if God is anything, He is that explanation. That the existence of evil seems to contradict the omnipotence of a perfectly holy God, may teach us that His thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor His ways as our ways, and that our partial and superficial views must be deep-

ened and elevated if we would enter into the mind of God, and see His universe as He has made it. The difficulty, then, centres entirely in our conception of evil, and it will only disappear when we come to see that evil, *in its ultimate truth*, is not evil, but a means to good; that it is God's instrument, which He knows how to use for His own purpose. Evil is the spiritual negative, and the key to this whole matter, as to every other speculative problem, is the comprehension of the Negative in general. This is much too wide a subject to enter into here; a few general assertions must suffice. Only in its immediacy is the negative merely negative, mere exclusion of the positive. In its totality the negative is not external to, but immanent in, the positive; it is a constituent factor *of* the positive, and so an element equally essential *with* the positive in the necessity to be. In this, its higher function, as the universally determining principle, it is the actualizing force, which converts the abstract positive into a concrete self-subsistent. Thus it is the vehicle of dialectic progress, for its negating is only to restore affirmation on a higher plane. To explain at shortest: the immediate negative is not an ultimate, for it is a *momentum* of antithesis. *As negative*, therefore, it is not permanent, but the phase of a process. *As negative*, it is only to be negated. Its own negation is its final cause; hence its own negativity is its true character; that is, its true being is out of itself. It is the negation of this immediacy that is the negative in totality. That is, the negative in totality is the negative of a negative; but as such, it is a self-related negative. But self-relation is affirmation; the negative of a negative is a positive.<sup>1</sup> As,

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<sup>1</sup> We do not suppose that the brief statements above have made clear what is at once the vital nerve of speculative thinking, and the fundamental principle on which the universe is built. Yet, if carefully weighed, they may be found of some aid to a clearer insight into the much-vexed question of the "origin of evil." An intelligence of all that is contained to thought under the term negative, can only be gained by a thorough study of philosophy, and, in particular, the works of Plato, Proclus, Spinoza, Fichte, and Hegel. In attempting a philosophic treatment of subjects, for which that treatment is the only one adequate, one labors under this disadvantage, that the general reader has no conception of philosophy as a definitive science, gradually matured through the labors of successive generations. The demonstration of the forty-seventh proposition in the first book of Euclid is rapid and easy, because it proceeds upon forty-six previous demonstrations. If no acquaintance with these, on the part of the student, could be presumed, it would be a very different matter, both for him and for the teacher. In like manner, it would wonderfully simplify many stock puzzles in philosophy, now placed beyond the "limits of human thought," if men, instead of debating them off-hand,

then, the negative generically is the motive soul of cosmic evolution, so evil, a specific negative, is the motive soul of spiritual development. A word to make a little clearer its function in that development: Its objectivity is the spirit's true being; the purpose of its existence is to actualize that being; the only means of fulfilling that purpose is the negation of its subjectivity,—that is, the negation of the negativity of its true being. But that subjectivity is its self, or *self-ness*; hence, its (formal) self-realization is its (substantial) self-negation. From its constitution as a self-determining, the realization of the spirit's ideality must be a self-realization; it cannot attain to its true being by means of any external influence,—it must do so solely by its own action, through its own experience. But in order to realize itself through self-negation, its negative, the subjective self, must first be posited as the spirit's affirmative truth. Otherwise there is nothing to negate; until something is affirmed, it cannot be denied. If the spirit attains its true being only by negation of its false being, then, before it can negate that being, it must first posit it as affirmative, and essay to establish its validity. Such, then, is evil; such its necessity to the process of self-consciousness; such the function it fulfils, by God's ordering, in the spiritual universe.

The foregoing concerns the higher function and ultimate purpose of evil in the Divine scheme. We have been looking beyond the negative, to negation of negation, which is its inward truth. We have been looking upon evil, as the *limit*,—only posited to be transcended, and whose essence resides in this, that it is to be transcended. As such abstract limit of the objective passivity of will, evil holds the same place toward in it which the moral law holds toward the subjective activity. That is, it is only in their immediacy that either is a limit; in their whole truth, they are not limits, but media of the spirit's self-realization. But, viewed as a limit *to be transcended*—viewed, that is, as a medium of self-determination—the *evilness* of evil falls from it. It appears as simply a necessary phase in the spirit's life, and its inherent necessity precludes individual responsibility, and renders any moral discernment between the evil and the good as idle as it would be between caterpillars and the butterflies into which they grow. The immorality of this result is easily accounted for. We stand here, at the going over of the negative into the positive, in which its negativity necessarily

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would find the *beginning* in philosophy, and begin with the beginning. That is the clue to the whole labyrinth. That first step will show the next to be taken, and enable one to take it.

disappears. To see the evilness of evil, to see the negative as merely negative, we must return to the sphere of the first negation. In its immediacy, and that is its practical aspect, evil is a limit, and a limit that is not, *as yet*, transcended. That evil shall be a *momentum* of spiritual progress, consists entirely in its being a *passing* phase. The contraposing of subjectivity is *only* in order to its transcendence. In this transcendence, and the consequent return to an objective life, now on the higher plane of consciousness of the objective as the subject's own essence, lies all that is properly advance. The movement to subjectivity is only the step backward to gather impetus for a forward leap. But, even with that purpose, it is none the less a step *backward*. It may be what we call a "necessary evil;" but, even as such, it is none the less wholly evil regarded in itself. But now suppose the step backward taken, and no forward leap to follow; suppose the movement to subjectivity is not as to a passing phase, but as to a permanent condition,—then we have what is properly evil, then we have sin in all its sinfulness. In strictness, what is sinful in the spirit is not its first reaction from unconscious innocence, but persistence in that reactionary attitude; it is not that the self-will has claimed control, but that such claim is allowed; it is not that a false principle has asserted itself, but that it maintains supremacy; it is not that the spirit has turned from God, but that it fails to return to Him. Now, just this, that the spirit *remains* in self-will and estrangement from God, is what is meant by original sin. Original sin is no theory; it is an obvious fact. As such, it is insisted on by St. Paul as the first thesis in his exposition of the Gospel to the Romans. Humanity has forsaken God and its life in God, and turned back into itself, and that self-life for which brutes, not men, were created. So that now it is *powerless* to return to God and goodness; even though its unhappiness in its present condition gives birth to vague longing for such reunion. In St. Paul's phrase, man thought fit to cast out the consciousness of his unity with God, as the truth of his being; and so he made himself an outcast from that communion. He would be a rebel, and so he must be an outlaw. This powerlessness reveals the truth, that "whoso committeth sin is the slave of sin." For when any abstract is set up as an absolute, it inevitably negates itself, and passes into its own opposite. Thus, the power of choice is set up in its abstractness as the freedom of the will; and, at once, that vain assumption is met by the irony of irresistible logic. Such a contradiction of its own essence on the part of spirit cannot stand; the power of choice lapses into the tyranny of natural impulse, and the



will is enslaved. That this attempt at independence is found to be the worst dependence, and this fancied *self-ness* is felt to be actually an *out-of-self-ness*, while, at the same time, the spirit is powerless to escape from the yoke it has bound upon itself, and languishes in its lonely atomism, an exile from eternal God,—this is the *unglückliche Bewusstseins*,—this, in St. Paul's language, is that "death" from which he cries to be delivered: "Oh, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Let us follow him in his next words: "I thank God [who does deliver me] through Jesus Christ."

(c) The two foregoing points of man's original unity with God and actual alienation from Him, are facts preliminary to the Christian revelation proper. That, in brief, is this, that God in Christ has reconciled the world unto Himself. God the Word, incarnate in the Son of Man, by His passion, resurrection, and ascension, has done for mankind that which they could not do for themselves,—brought them again into unity with Himself. But this new unity is not merely a restoration of the old, it is a better gift. What was broken in Adam was man's implicit, unconscious, or strictly natural unity with God; what is given in Christ is his explicit, self-conscious, or strictly spiritual unity with God. Thus God makes evil a means to good. Viewing the Fall as entering into His eternal purpose, we have not to regard that purpose as failing of its original intention, and requiring to be amended by a new device. Rather, the whole scheme of spiritual life—original unity, alienation, and reunion—lay as one in the mind of God, and moved uninterruptedly to its fulfilment under His serene, far-darting eye.<sup>1</sup> Again, the original unity

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<sup>1</sup>There has been some difference of view as to the purpose of the Incarnation. Aquinas took it to be strictly redemption, following Augustine: "*Si homo non periisset, Filius hominis non venisset.*" Scotus, on the other hand, held the Incarnation to be God's eternal purpose, irrespective of man's sin. The former view was supported by such texts as St. John, iii. 16; Gal. iv. 4, 5; and I. Tim. i. 15; and the latter by such as Ephes. i. 4, and Col. i. 26. But each view, so far as it excludes the other, seems a somewhat partial one. For if redemption be the purpose, it is none the less an eternal purpose; and if the purpose be eternal, it is none the less redemption. On the one hand, we cannot say that the Incarnation was irrespective of human sin, for then there is no purpose alleged, and none appears; and, besides, the Scripture says not only that "we were chosen in Christ from the foundation of the world," but that "the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world." On the other hand, we cannot make redemption a purpose dependent on a contingency, as Augustine's words seem to do, for such a purpose is repugnant to the character of absolute will, and is also at variance with the assertion, "the



was merely objective, or in the objectivity of spirit, and so it was broken by the antithetic assertion of the subjective element. If the reunion is merely return to immediate unity, it must be by extinguishing the subjectivity. But that cannot be, for subjectivity is essentially immanent in spirit. The reunion with God is therefore through the self-mediation of spirit and the resolution of the antithesis between its abstract *momenta*. As thus: the spirit's objectivity is its unity with God; hence subjectivity is separation from God: but objectivity is the subject's own nature; hence unity with God is the subject's true being. Its alienation from God was also its being divided against itself, and so its coming to itself is also its return to God. This is expressed by our Lord in the simple language of parable: "And when he came to himself, he said, I will arise and go to my father." Now, as was said above, the nature of spirit as self-determining necessitates that any return to unity with God shall be by its self-movement. It must come of itself; it cannot be made to come even by the Omnipotent without His destroying His own work. But here we seem to encounter an insuperable obstacle, for we have seen that original sin renders it powerless so to return.<sup>1</sup> The problem is solved by the Incarnation. God the Word became man; in His single Personality He took human nature into unity with the Divine. In the human birth of a Divine Mediator, perfectly man, but perfectly sinless, is found the revelation of the secret unity that underlies the antithesis of finite and infinite being; that unity from which distinction springs and into which it returns. "It pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell;" the fulness of Divinity and the fulness of humanity. "Wherefore in all things it behooved Him to be made like unto His brethren;" man in human form and countenance, man in all the wants and weaknesses of the body, man in the human heart that weeps in sympathy and trembles in dread, man in the human soul that grows in wisdom and is tempted to sin; yet not merely the babe of Beth-

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Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world." That assertion covers the whole ground, and conciliates both views. And if redemption thus lay eternally in the Divine mind, the Fall which made it necessary must have done so too.

<sup>1</sup> Let in the principle of Pelagianism, and it is all over with Christianity. If man can originate the movement of return to God, there is no need of a Mediator, and "the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God" is rendered superfluous. Nay, more, it is all over with Theism; for a God thus inactive is Himself superfluous, and man becomes potentially his own god.

lehem, the carpenter of Nazareth, the wandering teacher, the victim of the unscrupulous priesthood, but He whose Name was Wonderful, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the High and Holy One that inhabiteth eternity, round about whom are clouds and darkness, while righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His seat. In the Incarnation, grasped in the full depth of its significance, centres, and from it flows, all that we call atonement, redemption, reconciliation, restoration. For the point is this: the Word did not become a man, but "flesh;" it was not an individual that was raised to community with the Divine; it is human spirit in its universality that is so raised. Thus the Incarnation is no less than the re-creation of humanity. "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."<sup>1</sup> And so on this, its spiritual side, we are not to look on Christ's work as representative or vicarious. He is not a substitute for humanity; He is humanity itself. Now, what is the process by which humanity, thus new-born into the world in Christ, effects its reconciliation with the Divine? It is necessarily suffering and death. The new creation of man, not now in the likeness but in the very person of God, is by his death to that subjective individuality and alienation from God, which, in a word, is sin. And it is the natural death of the Sinless Man that is made the "sacrament" of the inward death of human spirit. That is to say, it is a representation which is rather a presentation, since in it the thing represented is itself *essentially* present.<sup>2</sup> Viewing the

<sup>1</sup> "The first Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam a quickening spirit. Howbeit, that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. . . . And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly."

<sup>2</sup> Precisely how Christ's death effects our reconciliation with God, the Scripture does not declare, any more than it declares how that death makes atonement for us. Its object being revelation, not explanation, it simply declares the fact. "Now in Christ Jesus we who once were far off [from God] are brought near by the blood of Christ. For He is our peace who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, that is, the enmity, . . . for to make in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace; that He might reconcile us unto God in one body by the Cross, having slain the enmity on it." And again: "It pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace by the blood of His Cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself. And we that once were alienated, and at enmity [with Him] in wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh by means of His death, to present us holy, and unblamable, and irreproachable in His sight."

Passion, therefore, in the light of the Incarnation, we see that Christ's death is not merely a dying *for* man, but also the dying *of* man. When Christ suffered, humanity did not *merely* stand idly aside, to reap the benefit of a vicarious sacrifice. For in so far as that sacrifice is vicarious, it is a transaction quite external to humanity, and therefore one that can be of no *spiritual* avail. We have no disposition to invalidate the vicarious character of the Atonement, as the propitiation for sin; only, that is something which concerns purely moral relations, and hence is foreign to our present subject. Our point is simply this: that while the vicarious is undoubtedly one aspect of the truth, in another aspect it is equally true that humanity itself was nailed to Christ's cross, and in His death itself mysteriously died. St. Paul is brief, but distinct, on this point: "Our old man is crucified in Him." "One died on behalf of all; therefore all died." The Redeemer took humanity into Himself, that in Him it might suffer and achieve what in itself was impossible to it. He made it do and bear that which was utterly beyond its native strength. He carried it to meet the Tempter in the desert, and overcome him; He carried it about with Him, through a life of penance; He carried it forward to agony and death. Now, what is that death? We have said that it is death to sin, to that immersion in mere nature which is estrangement from the Divine, to that slavery to natural impulse which we vainly imagine to be freedom. But all this is precisely spiritual death; that, as we have seen, is what St. Paul most accurately names it. Hence death in Christ is death to death, or the death of death, and that is—life; it is the negation of a negative, and that is an affirmative. Consequently, death in Christ implies and carries with it a resurrection to new life. That death is really the entrance into life; it is itself new birth. And so St. Paul exclaims: "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless, I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." So he tells the Romans: "Now if we died with Christ, we believe we shall also live with Him. If we have become united with the likeness of His death, so shall we be also with His resurrection. For the death which he died unto sin He died once for all, but the life which He liveth, He liveth unto God. Thus do ye also account yourselves dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus." So also he writes to the Ephesians: "Even when we were dead in sins, God quickened us together with Christ, and raised us together with Him, and seated us together with Him, in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus." Thus in Christ mankind dies, revives, and ascends to communion with the Father. In this wondrous

way the Second Man, who is the Lord from heaven, not merely repairs the ruin the first man wrought, not merely restores us to the condition from which, but *in* which, we fell, but carries us in Himself to completer self-consciousness and fuller spiritual life than was ours before the Fall. It is not merely that Paradise is regained; it is a higher, holier place which He prepares for us in the mansions of our Father's house.

Now, what is important to mankind in the Christian revelation is, that it is a revelation of fact; it declares the actual truth of the human condition. This, that Christian theology is a purely practical matter, and deals simply with facts, is something not sufficiently recognized. It is true that theology is a system of truth, and a system must be systematic,—must have a certain inner, coherent structure; but it is a structure, not a construction; it is something organic, not something artificial. A system is an organism, and the study of an organism embraces biology as well as anatomy. The anatomical articulation of dry bones is useful for certain ends, but it gives no idea of the vital forces which throb in the pulses and glow in the eyes, which animate with emotion and inspire with activity. What idea of vitality could the student of anatomy acquire, who should know nothing beyond his specialty? Now, we think that dogmatic theology is too often taught as if it were merely an anatomy of propositions and consequences, in which accurate definition and logical arrangement were the only things important. For this method, however satisfactory it may be to the scientific instinct, has the effect, upon ordinary men, to deprive Christian truth of its life and reality. The abstract treatment of the matter removes it from the range of their habitual mental activity; spiritual things appear to hold no very close relation to the daily walk of the world's business; they fail to arouse any practical interest, because they fail to awaken any vivid sense of their actuality. This result is the more difficult to avoid, because, to keep the figure, Christian truth is, after all, an anatomy as well as a biology. It has speculative bones as well as practical flesh and blood. But the true method is, to teach the anatomy with constant reference to the biology, and the biology always as chiefly important. Ordinary men might turn away from pure mathematics, as a barren intellectual exercise, were it not that, in applied mathematics, they see them to be the basis of the mechanical arts. We must teach applied theology. We must bring Christian truths down from sublime speculations to practical principles. We must show them as underlying and sustaining the whole fabric of human life; as answering the three great questions of exist-

ence,—What? Whence? Whither? as a clue to all puzzles, and a light shining on a path else buried in darkness; as a “power” to heal the woes of a diseased, disordered world. Thus Christianity was taught by the Apostles. To see its doctrines as they really are, we must look on them as St. Paul did,—as living, glowing, pulsating, as the real of all realities; to be grasped by the mind as the things nearest and dearest to its being; to be cherished with warmth and passion. To this mind of faith, heaven opens inward, and spiritual truths come to us, not like voices in a troubled dream, not like doubtful theories of uncertain things, but, though wearing an unearthly brightness caught from the glory that streams around the Throne, as a message to be credited, to meet with ready acceptance, because speaking of those eternal verities in which our inward self ever lives and moves; because speaking of things familiar, and wakening memories of home.

2. The Christian revelation is the revelation of Jesus Christ. It centres in the exhibition of His person, and in the declaration of His work. He, the very God of very God, is also the Son of Man; in His single personality, He is the concrete unity of the Divine and human. As such, He sets Himself before the eye of humanity, with the emphatic declaration, “I am the Truth.” This unity with God is the truth—the highest actuality—of man’s being. Of this declaration, which expresses Christ’s inward being, His life is the realization. He is the ideal unity of God and man, and, by His suffering and death as man, He restores mankind to actual unity with God.

But, in this restoration, the human race, in its generic unity, is alone concerned, since, in the Incarnation, God the Son became Man—the Word was made Flesh. The transaction was wholly in the generic, and did not touch the particular as such. Now, His generic nature stands over against man’s individuality, and constitutes His objectivity; it is that which is us, rather than that which we are. Hence, the restoration effected by Christ’s reconciliation is purely objective to the individual. As such, it follows that, as regards the free activity, it is restoration simply *in potentia*. It still remains that the subject shall realize it, shall enter into it and make it his own. This, then, is the end of the Christian life, the realizing by the individual of the ideal truth, or potentiality, revealed to him. In theological language, Christ has redeemed all mankind,—that is, made it possible for them to be saved; it remains to realize that possibility. Redemption is potential salva-



tion; the end of life is actual salvation. Thus, the "life" is simply the externalizing or actualizing of the "revelation;" it is the making explicit what is given implicit; it is the *acting out* of a new comprehension. And so, as we have said, the revelation addressed to the cognitive powers is therein and thereby addressed to the active powers, for these are but action and counteraction of the one spiritual being. Hence, it will be seen that, essentially, the Christian life is not a moral, but a spiritual life. And so St. Paul says: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature,"—not a better man, but a re-creation. To be in Christ is not a matter of moral elevation, but of spiritual regeneration. The end of Christian life, we say, is to realize our ideal unity with God as it is revealed to us in Christ. That is to say, it is to become what Christ is; it is to "come to a perfect manhood, the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ;" it is to be "conformed to the image of the Son, that He may be the first-born among many brethren." Now, what is the means of attaining this end? How is man, alienated from God by sinfulness, to return to union with Him? The question, answered generically and objectively, recurs in its application to individuals and to subjective will. The answer again is Christ; as He is the end, so, also, He is the means. He says, "I am the Truth;" and He adds: "I am the Way and the Life; no man cometh to the Father but by Me." He is "the true Light that lighteth every man," and "He is the Bread of God that cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world." He tells us: "I am come that ye might have life, and have it more abundantly." "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life." "To as many as receive Him, to them He gives power to become the sons of God." In general, then, here is abundant assertion of the fact that it is Christ who effects our restoration to unity with God, subjectively as well as objectively, for the individual as well as for the race. But more particular specification is desirable. The question takes a new form,—How is it that He does so? By what agent and through what media does He come in contact with our souls, who has "gone to His Father," and whom we "see no more?" We learn from Scripture that His agent in this work is the Holy Ghost, the Life-Giver, and His media the Church system as established by the Apostles.

(a) In the last conversation which Jesus held with His disciples previous to the Crucifixion, recorded in the fourteenth chapter of St. John, He spoke to them of "another Comforter," even the Spirit



of Truth, whom the Father should send in His name, and who should abide with them forever, dwelling with them, and being in them. On His reappearance after the Resurrection, He recurred to this that He had spoken, and said: "Behold I send the promise of My Father upon you; tarry ye in Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high. Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." "Ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you." And the Scripture record goes on to tell how that ten days after these words, spoken on the eve of the Ascension, as the Twelve were all with one accord in one place, there came a sound as of a mighty rushing wind, and the appearance of cloven tongues of fire sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. This communication of the Holy Spirit, this being filled with the indwelling presence of the Divine, was the gift of that transforming, regenerating "power"<sup>1</sup> by which the human spirit rises out of its sequestration in subjectivity, and returns into its objective life and communion with its Father; it is the drawing of the soul by God to Himself.

Thus while it is said, "To as many as receive Him, Christ gives power to become the sons of God," it is also said, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." All are sons potentially in Christ, but actually only so many as are led by His Spirit, for "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of

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<sup>1</sup> Let it be borne in mind that we are not treating of spiritual life in general, but of the Christian life in particular. Hence we are viewing the plan of salvation in its logical connection and historic sequence, rather than *sub specie eternitatis*. It is true that Christ's redemption of mankind, as a Divine act, and as one on behalf of the human race in its solidarity, is a universal act, as regards both place and time. And it is true that the gift of the Holy Spirit, as the communication of power to actualize redemption in salvation, necessarily goes together with Christ's eternal act, and follows its universality. Thus, as the Son is slain, so the Spirit is given "from the foundation of the world." But as it was necessary that the redemptive act should be externalized in history, and limited to a definite point in place and time, and so Christ was crucified on Calvary; so there was the same necessity with regard to the gift of the Spirit, and, in consequence, He descended visibly on Pentecost. And that such manifestation should be necessary (which is shown by the fact of its taking place) shows that it was not a merely formal transaction, but one having substantial purport, and bringing that to be, which was not before. Accordingly, we find Scripture speaking of Christ's sacrifice in the flesh, and the coming of the Spirit consequent upon His ascension in the resurrection body, as the events which have brought life and immortality to light in a sense, and to a degree, which they could not effect while they remained ideal in the mind of God.

His." It may be asked: If it is the action of the Holy Spirit that leads to this result, how does this correspond with the texts above cited, which declare that spiritual life is given by the Son? The difficulty clears up when we turn our minds to the *unity* of the Trinity. It is the very essence of the mystery of that doctrine that there is a unity of One and Three taken in the same sense, and from the same point of view. Though we apply the unity and plurality to different terms, and speak of a unity of substance, and a triplicity of persons, this is merely language of accommodation enforced by the necessities of language, and the speculative limitedness of the category of number. The truth will not be so explained; it still remains a contradiction to understanding in thought and terms. The unity subsists in and through the plurality (*i. e.*, its own negation); and the plurality, *as plurality*, is unity—or its own negative. Thus, the coming of the Holy Ghost, and His indwelling presence, is, in a certain sense which we need not attempt to define closely, the coming, the presence of Christ. And so He himself declares in the conversation above referred to, wherein, speaking of His own departure, and the coming of the Holy Ghost, He says: "I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go to prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto Myself." And immediately after the promise of the "other Comforter," He adds: "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you;" and further on: "Ye have heard how I said to you, I go away and come again unto you;" still further: "A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father;" and almost His last words before His ascension were: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." These promises of speedy return to remain forever were fulfilled in the coming of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, just as it is His presence that is to be understood in Christ's words: "If a man love Me, my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him." It is "in the unity of the Spirit"—that Person called indifferently, the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of Christ—that the Father and the Son make their abode with the individual soul.

Now, as it is evident in itself that a power which comes into direct contact with human subjectivity, and helps toward its realizing for itself a condition made possible for it, is of greater practical advantage than that whose operation is wholly objective, and hence ideal, so we find Christ speaking of His second coming, in the person of the Spirit, as something of higher benefit than even His first coming in the form of man. He tells His disciples: "It is expe-

dient for you *[συμφέρει ὑμῖν]*—it is for your gain] that I go away ; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart, I will send Him unto you.” Christ’s spiritual presence could not be until in the flesh He had ascended to the Father, for the power of actual return to God could not be given to individual men until, in Christ, mankind had thither ideally returned. The “life” could not be given until the “revelation” was complete. This it may be that underlies those dark words to Mary on the resurrection morning: “Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father.” It is as though He had said to Mary, “Touch Me not, for I am not yet gone away from you ; but when I go away, I will send the Comforter to you, and then thou shalt touch me.” And this excellence of the dispensation of the Spirit, and its dependence upon Christ’s departure in the flesh, appear in St. Paul’s words, “Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh : yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him [so] no more.” The practical condition of the individual man “in Christ” as a “new creature” is brought out by that saying of the Lord’s last discourse: “When He (the Spirit) is come He will convince the world of righteousness, because I go to My Father, and ye see Me no more.” First, in His return to His Father, mankind has returned to its Father, and that unity with God is its “righteousness,” its conformity to the essence of its own being. And in that return of generic manhood, the individual potentially returns. Again, Christ’s return to the Father is the condition of His coming in the Spirit which is His entrance into the subjectivity, and the communication of power to the individual, by which he may realize the righteousness now potentially his. It bears upon the former point—that the coming of the Spirit is the coming of Christ—to compare this verse with one a little below: “Because I go to the Father, and ye see Me no more ;” “And ye shall see Me, because I go to the Father.” They should see Him no more in the flesh, but they should see Him in the Spirit.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Believe it, while Christ tarried here in the flesh, His Apostles who saw and conversed with Him, who walked by His side, who lay on His breast, were further, immeasurably further from Him than we may be, if we will. To them He was still an external example, an external voice, an external force. Christ *in us* is the hope of glory. Therefore, by faith and love directed upon the known channels of His presence, man may renounce, in a sense, his own sinful individuality, and be clothed with the sanctity and perfection of His Saviour. . . . Can we realize what is involved in the expediency of our Lord’s ascension? Not if we content ourselves with virtues which paganism might

(b) The Holy Ghost, then, is the agent in whose person Christ imparts to the separate souls of individual men that principle of spiritual life which is communicated to the race in its unity by the Incarnation. Now what is the manner of the Spirit's working, and what are the media He employs? As the work of redemption applies to generic humanity, since it concerns the essential nature of man as man, so the work of sanctification applies to all mankind, has to do with associated man, and is brought home to the individual through his identification into a system of generic life. For the revelation declares a new beginning of humanity,—“old things are passed away, all things are become new; the old man is crucified with Christ; we all died in Him, that henceforth we should not live unto ourselves, but unto Him.” It declares that the immediate self, or the self-will, is the root of all evil, and that it must merge itself in unity with its own objective nature, as revealed in Christ. Hence the Christian life cannot be an isolated independence of individuality, nor any merely moral or subjective process, but must be the mutual interdependence of each upon all, and all upon Christ. Unity with the Divine is only gained through fellowship with one another.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Christian life is necessarily a Church life. As redemption is given to mankind in its generic unity in Christ, or—according to the view above taken of the Incarnation—as the race, in its unity,

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have taught us, although the Son of God had never become incarnate, and had never suffered on the Cross. Not if we forget that we are the subjects of a Spiritual Dispensation, in which forces more extraordinary are at work, and results more wonderful are produced than any which fall under the cognizance of sense.”—*Liddon, Oxford Sermons.*

<sup>1</sup> The philosophical necessity of the Church system becomes apparent when that system is seen to be the realization of a universal through particulars in a singular, and, conversely, the idealization of particulars through a universal into a singular. Less philosophically, the function of the Church in relation to the religious life may be explained as the same with that of the State in relation to the secular life. The State is the organic unity of all its individual members; it is a reality, and not a mere name. The true life of the individual, all that redeems his existence from savagery and animalism, consists in his being taken from isolation and atomism, and made a member of the civic community. The recent excesses in France, and the present condition of Spain, show that attacks upon the State, in the attempt to return to the so-called “state of nature,” and the disintegration of social unity in the interest of individualism, inevitably plunge mankind into a confusion of barbarism in which the gift of life is made a curse. As, then, the individual is born into essential relations with civic society, and in them finds all that makes his temporal life worth having, so he is born into essential relations with Christian society, and in them finds all that makes his spiritual life worth having.

redeems itself by its death in Christ, so sanctification is given to Christians in their collective unity in the Church. In that collective unity is the indwelling presence of the Spirit; to that collective unity the promises of salvation are made, and the means of grace are given. The spiritual life which animates the Christian is bestowed upon an organic unity of individuals, not upon individuals severally; it is bestowed upon the individual, not immediately, but mediately; upon the individual, not as individual, but as member of the organism. The Church is no abstract generalization,—it is a concrete reality; it is no mere name for the aggregate of individuals,—it is that which, including individuals, supersedes their individuality, holds them in a new relation, and gifts them with a new condition.<sup>1</sup> There is no truth more integral and vital to Christianity than this,—the substantiality of the Church; and there is scarcely any that has suffered more at the hands of men,—first by distortion, then by repudiation. “He that hath the Son hath life;” but that general declaration, taken by itself, is not the whole of Christianity. Christianity proceeds to practical specification,—proceeds to show *how* we are to “have the Son;” to show that having the Son is not an immediate certitude of subjective consciousness, but a process that necessitates a system of mediation. As such a system, the Church, in relation to the individual, is the one great sacrament, “the outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace, given to us as the means whereby we receive the same, and the pledge to assure us thereof;” and, like the sacraments proper, it is “ordained by Christ Himself.” He says of the Apostolate, “Upon this rock I will build My Church;” and St. Luke implies that the action of the Apostles, in founding the Church, was virtually that of the Lord Himself, according to the maxim of the com-

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<sup>1</sup> These statements may seem to draw near to the Romish position, that there is no possible salvation outside of communion with the Church. But that converse by no means logically follows. The Christian life, it has been said, is the actualizing of the revelation; it is the acting out that new comprehension. Hence, communion with the Church is the exclusive means of salvation to those only to whom that full revelation is sufficiently proposed. When the Gospel defines the terms of salvation, it speaks only to those who shall hear it. It is not addressed to those who shall not hear it; and, consequently, is altogether silent as to any provision which, in the Divine economy, is made for them; and this silence affords no ground for the Romish inference. Scripture contemplates the time when the kingdoms of the world shall have become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. In the idea of Christianity, as universally known and universally lived, the Church is coextensive with the world.



mon law, *qui facit per alium facit per se*, when he opens the Book of Acts by saying, "The former treatise have I made, . . . of all that Jesus *began* both to do and teach, until the day in which He was taken up." It is as if he said, the present treatise is of what Jesus did and taught after He was taken up, to carry out the work He began on earth. As the idea of the Church is of integral importance to Christianity, so it is clearly set forth in Scripture. St. Paul tells the Romans, "We being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another;" and again the Corinthians: "As the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body," so also is Christ (here he identifies the Church with Christ, just as our Catechism says that by Baptism we are made members of Christ). "For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." And again: "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular." To the same effect he writes to the Galatians. Meeting them on the Judaizer's position, that the hope of Christians was all derived from the promises made to Abraham, he says: "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." That is to say, the promise made to Abraham was to be inherited by one only, that is, Christ. But he continues: "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." Christ, that is, comprises His baptized. He inherits as the sole heir of the promise; but every baptized person having in his baptism "put on Christ," inherits in Christ. Therefore, all Christians are in Christ; in Christ they are all one. "Being one in Christ, they are jointly the one heir of Abraham; jointly, in Him, they are the visible representative of Him; jointly, in Him, they are even called by the sacred Name itself, Christ."<sup>1</sup> Again, he tells the Ephesians that Christ is "the Head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." He urges them to "grow up into Him in all things which is the Head, even Christ, from whom the whole body, fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, maketh increase unto the edifying of itself in love." Again, he bids the Colossians "give thanks unto the Father, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son, who is the image of the invis-

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<sup>1</sup>Bp. Moberly's "Sayings of the Great Forty Days," p. 80.



ible God, the first-born of every creature, and the Head of the body, the Church." He says he rejoices to suffer for Christ's body's sake, which is the Church. He speaks of Christ as "the Head from which all the body, by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God." And he reminds them that "in one body" they are "called to the peace of God." Again, changing the figure, he speaks of Christians as individually "temples" of the Holy Ghost, and, collectively, the temple of Christ: "Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you;" "Ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you;" "Ye are fellow-citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God, and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye are also builded together for a habitation of God through the Spirit." "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are;" "Christ is a Son over His own house, whose house are we, for we are made partakers of Christ." And the same language is used by St. Peter: "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light." In these passages—and still more forcible evidence, though less producible, is found in the general assumption of these principles as the underlying groundwork of all the Apostolic writings—the truth is brought out that the spiritual life of the individual in Christ resides in his membership with the communion of all Christians, even as the life of the hand or the foot resides not in itself, but in its sharing the common life possessed by the body as a whole; that the Church stands to him in the place of Christ, and that his entrance into union with Christ, by which he is "filled with all the fulness of God," must be by his entrance into His Church, which is filled with the presence of the Life Giver. As everywhere it is plainly taught that the blessed condition of Christians consists in their being "in Christ,"<sup>1</sup> so everywhere it is as plainly taught that to be in Christ means to be in His body, the Church; as, for instance, when the Lord would touch men's hearts, to draw them to Himself, it is written that He "added daily to the Church" those whom He would save.

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<sup>1</sup> Some express statements to this effect are: II. Cor. ii. 14; v. 17; Phil. ii. 1; iv. 4; Eph. ii. 6, 10, 13; iii. 13; I. Thess. iv. 14; Col. iii. 1, 4. Compare St. John, xv.

The first point in the true conception of the new life in Christ we have already seen to be that it is essentially not a moral, but a spiritual life. Its end is not the conformity of subjective will to the abstract law of righteousness, but the merging of subjective will in objective will, in order to conscious union with the Divine; so that, "now in Christ Jesus we who sometime were far off are made nigh, for through Him we have access by one Spirit unto the Father;" and so that in Christ men are "new creatures," are "made like unto Him," are "conformed to His image," "grow up in all things unto Him," and are "filled with all the fulness of God."

In like manner, we now see that the second point in that conception is that the life centres in a generic unity, and that, as regards the individual, it consists in his relation to that unity. That relation is not extrinsic, but intrinsic. It is a vital relation, analogous to that of a bodily member to the organism to which it belongs. It is not an immediate relation of the individual to Christ, but a mediate relation through his incorporation into the organic whole, there to share the one and single life given to all in common. Thus, as religion is not a matter of mere morality, so it is not a matter of mere individualism. Christianity has a deeper purport and a wider scope. Dealing with essential human nature, it shows that unrighteousness is not to be taken in its abstraction as an ultimate, but to be further understood as ungodliness, departure from God, and that the end of life is not righteousness, as such, but, rather, a return to God, the moral law being only a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ. And, dealing with the human race in its entirety, it further shows that personal religion is not a purely individual interest, but is inseparably involved with Church membership. The relation which the individual holds to God, he holds not in his separate individuality, but in his generic nature as a human being. All other men, as men, hold *the same* relation; and if it is held by man, as man, it is held in common. Of the religious life it is true, as the Apostle says, that "no one of us liveth to himself." And as much is implied in the prayer Christ taught His followers, *Our Father, give us our daily bread, forgive us our trespasses, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.*<sup>1</sup>

(c) The Church, then, the Body of Christ, the habitation of God through the Spirit, is the one great medium for the sanctification of men. What, now, is the medium employed to bring men into that corporate unity, and graft them into that common spiritual

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<sup>1</sup> In primitive times this prayer was said by the *baptized* only.

life? The answer will bring out more prominently a third point in the Christian life not yet fully emphasized, namely, that it is not the old moral life purified and elevated, but essentially a new life. The Sacrament of Baptism, in that it is the medium of bringing men into the Church life, and thereby making them "partakers of Christ," is a new birth of the human spirit. Original sin was said to be the subject's continued estrangement from the objective law of his being—unity with God; "for in Him we live and move and have our being." This condition is a fact of common consciousness and of human history. Now, starting from this position, it is plain that the first step in return to communion with God cannot be by an act of the subject's own. The subject's act of departure from God has divided him from Him, and divided him against himself in the persistent discord of moral antithesis, in that perpetual struggle of the two selves in which the lower gains ever increased ascendancy,—"the law in my members warring against the law in my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." Through the subjectivity, escape there is none from this condition, and the Apostle utters the cry of all humanity, in its helplessness against itself, for a savior outside of itself, in the words: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" We have seen that this deliverance comes to man through his re-creation in the second Adam. By virtue of that re-creation (or new-begetting), there co-exists with the natural or psychical life a certain embryonic spiritual life which, of itself, cannot come to birth. That is, the objective consciousness is so far quickened by God, its maker, that, though it cannot attain to full executive power and direct the subject's action, it exercises the same restraint over it as that of a parliamentary opposition, and checks its rush to extreme measures. An embryonic condition is life, but it is unconscious life, it is not self-life; it is life in another, it is self-life only *in potentia*. And, in like manner, the re-creation of man in the Incarnation of Christ, viewed as an eternal act, is wholly within his objective nature. For the unconscious life to become self-conscious life, birth is necessary; and, in like manner, for the objective life to become spiritual life, it is necessary that the subject enter into it. And this, in relation to physical birth, is called by our Lord, *new birth*. He declared: "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God;" and, in answer to the question, "*How* can a man be born again?" he says: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Thus, the plan of salvation narrows down steadily from the general and

abstract to the special and concrete. Christ is the Life of the world; that Life is given in the fellowship of the Spirit; that fellowship is given to mankind in the Church; and the Church is given to the individual (or the individual is brought into the Church) in Baptism. Therefore, the spiritual life in Christ is given to the individual in Baptism. The sorites is a regular one, and cannot be broken.<sup>1</sup> This "comprehension," to use a term of logic, this fulness of content it is that gives the Sacrament of Baptism its high dignity, and also its immense importance to practical Christianity. That importance it is hard to overrate, when we consider how great things it sums up and stands for and embodies. And it is because Baptism is not looked upon as a high concrete, comprehensive and inclusive of all that in the Divine system of salvation leads up to it, but is isolated from that system, and emptied of the content which—as may be seen by retracing the above sorites—is successively poured into it, that it is slighted as a merely formal rite.<sup>2</sup>

The relation of Baptism to the doctrine of universal grace need be no source of perplexity. Mankind is eternally re-created in Christ (eternal simply means without relation to time; eternity is not endless time, as is commonly supposed, but negation of time). With that eternal re-creation of the race, goes the communication of the Holy Spirit to individuals, as the necessary particularization of Christ's generic work. But it is an absolute necessity that what is ideal should actualize itself; there *is* no empty or abstract being; it is of being's own "energy" that it passes into existence, as it is of its own nature that it must do so. So, here, the ideal and eternal re-creation of man requires actualization in time. This actualiza-

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<sup>1</sup> This, again, seems to involve the Romish converse that eternal life is given only to the Baptized. The position is substantially the same with that referred to in the note on page 40, and the considerations there offered against that are of force against this. The Gospel being addressed only to those who are to be baptized, says nothing of the condition of the unbaptized, to whom it is not addressed. It simply urges the necessity of baptism for all who hear it. Christianity is designed to be the universal religion, and, in that design, "all nations and every creature" are to be baptized. Baptism is an essential medium in the Divine plan of salvation; but, while that plan as yet is unrealized, multitudes die unbaptized. This necessary consequence, however, need give us no concern; God can and will make due provision for it. We may safely leave those who, through ignorance, die unbaptized, to the all-wise love of the Father of Spirits, who has said, to whom little is given, of him little is required. And God's rules are for *us*, not *Himself*.

<sup>2</sup> As by Dr. Vaughan, "On the Revision of the Liturgy," and the late F. W. Robertson, "Sermons on Baptism."

tion is threefold: First, the death of the Incarnate Son on Calvary; second, the visible descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost; third, the taking of the individual, in Baptism, into this death of Christ and this outpouring of the Spirit. All who are acquainted with philosophy will know that actualization is not a formal relation, but a material determination. It is externalizing, but the externalizing of an inner is not external *to it*; on the contrary, it is of its essence, it is its own development, and that implies *substantial* change. Hence, those who, with a single eye to universal grace, will allow to Baptism only a formal purport, speak of it as merely a change of relation or external condition, and imply that the individual, before Baptism, is essentially, in himself, in the same condition as he is after his Baptism, which is only declarative of that condition, are as much in error as those others who, with a single eye to Baptismal grace, speak of the Sacrament as the first and only communication of the Holy Spirit to the soul, ignoring that which is given them at their natural birth into a humanity restored and re-created in Christ. To the first, it may be said that Baptism has just the same necessity and the same substantial purport as have the actual death of Christ and the actual descent of the Holy Ghost. If the eternal death of the Lamb "before the foundation of the world" was not enough in itself, but His historic death in time and place was a further necessity and something of substantial value, then the *grace* of that eternal sacrifice was not enough in itself, but there was a further necessity of Baptism into the actual death of Christ, and that has a corresponding substantial value. And the exclusive advocates of universal grace, or of Baptismal grace, may alike be reminded of the singular clearness and force of the analogy our Lord uses to describe Baptism. To the second class, it may be urged that birth implies pre-existent life, and, to the first, that if birth is only a change of relations, it is a change of *essential* relations, and indispensable to the continuance and development of the pre-existent life.

In many places, Scripture speaks of the blessings conferred by Baptism in the highest terms.<sup>1</sup>

It may seem to many that nothing but a moral change can be of benefit to a moral creature, and, consequently, that a sacrament external to subjective will cannot be of benefit. (We trust it will

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<sup>1</sup> Eph. v. 26; Gal. iii. 27; Col. ii. 12; Acts, ii. 38; xxii. 16; I. Cor. xii. 13; Mark, xvi. 16; Titus, iii. 5; I. Pet. iii. 21. Though in neither of the three latter passages is salvation annexed to Baptism alone.



be seen by this time that a sacrament can effect a change of subjective will; that is, there may be a change of subjective will other than by itself, since subjective will is not the whole man, but spirit is the living unity of subject and object.) Such persons will be apt to insist much on the necessity of repentance and faith in the subject of Baptism to constitute its validity. Repentance and faith amount to "conversion" in mind and will, but it is not the doctrine of the Christian Church that previous conversion, in the sense in which it is commonly understood, is indispensable to reception of the grace of Baptism. Personal faith and repentance are required of adults, but personal faith and repentance are not essential requisites to the Sacrament, for Infant Baptism is "in any wise to be retained in the Church as most agreeable to the institution of Christ," and that the professing of faith and repentance by others in behalf of the unconscious subject of Baptism is sufficient for the bestowal of the grace, shows that these are regarded only as negative conditions. What is meant is rather an absence of such impenitence and unbelief as would constitute a bar to the entrance of the grace of the Spirit. "Faith and repentance are necessary prerequisites in the case of adults. But then the reason why these graces are requisite is not because they contribute their share to the production of the grace of Baptism. That would be to derogate from the free gift of God, and from the bounty of the Giver. On the contrary, we must ever esteem the grace of God to be free and unmerited, and not attracted to us by any good which is in us. It is not the active quality of our faith which makes us worthy recipients. That would be to make faith a fellow-worker with, and in itself independent of, the Spirit of God, which is closely bordering on the semi-Pelagian heresy. . . . It is not the active quality of his faith which seems to qualify the adult. It is rather that it implies and assures an absence of that repelling obstinacy and hard-heartedness which make sinners reject the mercy of the Lord. The very helplessness of infants is, in this case, their protection. We cannot too much remember that God's gifts come from Him and not from us; from His mercy, not our merits, our faith, or our obedience. The only obstacle which infants can offer to grace is the taint of original corruption. But to say that original sin is a bar to receiving remission of original sin (which is one chief grace of this Sacrament), is a positive contradiction in terms. Again, the theory that the faith of parents or of sponsors is necessary to give effect to Baptism in infants, is not to be maintained for an instant. This were to cross the whole principle of evangelical mercy. It would be to make the child's salva-



tion hinge on its parents' faithfulness. It would make God's grace contingent not even on the merits of the recipient, but actually on the merits of the recipient's friends. And this theory does sadly derogate from the grace of God, which acts ever freely and spontaneously, and grievously magnifies the office of human faith, which is, humbly to receive mercy, not arrogantly to deserve it. . . . Luther, who of all men spoke most earnestly of the importance of faith and its office in justifying, complains that Papists and Anabaptists conspire together against the Church of God, 'making God's work to hinge on man's worthiness. For so the Anabaptists teach that Baptism is nothing, unless the person baptized be believing. From such a principle,' he says, 'it needs must follow that all God's works are nothing, unless the recipient be good. Baptism is the work of God; but a bad man maketh that it is not the work of God'" (Bishop of Ely on the Articles, Am. ed. pp. 625, 626, 646).<sup>1</sup>

What leads to this over-insistence on faith and repentance is a confusion of regeneration or new birth, taking those terms as synonymous with renovation of character.<sup>2</sup> But the first is in order to the second.

"We may therefore define the *internal* grace of Baptism to consist rather in the assured presence of the Renovator than in the actual renovation of the heart. The latter is, indeed, the natural result of the influence of the former; but it requires also another element, namely, the yielding of the will of the recipient to the

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<sup>1</sup> See some excellent remarks in Moberly's "Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ," to the effect that the sponsors are representatives of the Church, the true Mother of the baptized, who appears by them; so that the faith professed is not only that of the sponsors personally, but that of "the Church of Christ, whom the sponsors on the special occasion, and for the special purpose, represent" (pp. 139, 140, and the whole lecture).

<sup>2</sup> We have avoided throughout the use of the word "regeneration," because that word, lying at the source of much of the discord and controversy which has enveloped the doctrine of Baptism, may convey different meanings to different readers. The word is liable to two objections: (1) Regeneration is the Latin *regeneratio*, which means new begetting, and, consequently, is no translation of *παλιγγενεσία*, which means new birth, and which has this meaning, and not that of regeneration, in Titus, iii. 5. In the Baptismal Office it is used as a synonyme for new birth, the Saxon following the Latin, as is so common in the Prayer Book. But it has not always been so taken, since it is strictly not a synonyme for it. It states not new birth, but new begetting, and if Baptism is supposed to be the latter as well as the former, there is at once a confusion of sacramental grace with universal grace, or a confusion of birth

previous influences of the Sanctifier" (Bishop of Ely, *ut supra*, page 622). So Waterland: "Regeneration may be granted and received (as in infants) where renovation has yet no place for the time being." Again: "Regeneration and renovation differ in respect to the effective cause or agency; for one is the work of the Spirit in the use of water, that is, of the Spirit singly, since water really does nothing, is no agent at all; but the other is the work of the Spirit and the man together." And this agrees with St. Paul: "We are buried with him by Baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead, even so we also should walk in newness of life." He says we should walk, not do walk. That is, Baptism is the new birth unto righteousness, not righteousness itself. It is the new birth, and that is the beginning of the Christian life; renovation, or sanctification, is the work of the life that follows that beginning.

Here we are obliged to stop with this exhibition of the conditions of the Christian life and its commencement; our limits will not allow us to follow it out from its beginning. That life is the practical activity of the spirit, working out its own salvation in union with the Spirit of God; carried on in communion with the Church; nourished by participation in all its means of grace, and by constant intercourse with God through prayer. Always it is a spiritual life; that is, the moral life, not simply as such, but taken up into a higher plane, transformed into a higher consciousness. For the reality of this spiritual life we can appeal to the religious consciousness; that consciousness will respond, and its answer is as reliable as that of the moral consciousness to Mr. Arnold's appeal in behalf of an abstract "power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness."

Hasty and incomplete as this view of the Christian revelation and life has been, it yet may serve our purpose in these papers, which is to show, first, by the "revelation," that Christianity is not

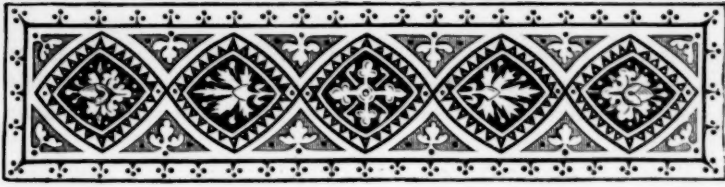
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with the preëxistent life. (2) *Ἀναγενεσία* occurs in Matt. xix. 28, in a tropical sense, unknown in classical usage, for "renovation," the renovation of all things at the last day, when "there shall be new heavens and a new earth." This secondary and derivative sense is commonly confused with the literal and primary sense, namely, new birth, and so baptismal regeneration is taken to signify moral renovation; thus Baptism is "made not only the seal of the new birth, but the sacrament of progressive sanctification." That is, birth is confounded with the subsequent life. A common but erroneous reading of Titus, iii. 5, which makes *ἀνακαινώσεως* depend upon *λουτροῦ*, makes St. Paul favor this view; but see Alford *in loco*. We hold him to be thoroughly sound in understanding *διὰ* again before *ἀνακαινώσεως*.

merely one of many religions, out of which the true religion is to be constructed with much painstaking and study,<sup>1</sup> but that if it is anything, it is itself the one true religion, self-complete, and absolutely exclusive of others; and, secondly, by the "life," to show that Christianity is not mere morality, that the essential element in Christianity is something else than morality, and that in such a reduction of it as Mr. Arnold attempts, to mere morality, or even to "morality touched by emotion," Christianity utterly evaporates.

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<sup>1</sup>We may add to our former references to the advocates of this theory, Johnson's "Oriental Religions" (*Introduction*).



## SOME OF THE TEACHINGS OF MODERN ART.

WITH every civilized people, art is an essential element. Like the flower of the plant, it expands only at a certain maturing stage of life. Of whatever kind and character that is, the art of a nation must also be. As the flower might be called the essence of a plant, in the same manner is art the essence of a people's character and mental life—not, indeed, the only exponent of it, but certainly not an insignificant one. We may, therefore, justly say that the art of a people and the art of a given age exhibit the characteristics of that people or age. It grew from the people. It is a part of the people. It reflects popular modes of thought and feeling to no slight extent. Let a person think little or much of art, have a living interest in the same, or none, its value as an exponent of a people's character, and its reacting influence upon that character, cannot reasonably be denied or doubted.

If Mr. Ruskin's definition be accepted, art is the conjoint product of the *whole* man,—heart, head, and hand; the heart, the affections, giving the impulse, the intellect directing this impulse, and the hand executing, as a ready and fitting instrument. And if the artist, as of a necessity he must be, is a child of his age and nation, educated and marked by the family traits, we cannot expect of him an emancipation from that which distinguishes the age in which he lives, or the nation to which he belongs. Egyptian art emphatically

belonged to Egypt, Greek to Greece, Mediæval to the age of religious chivalry. And so, also, English, French, German, and American art have their peculiarities, which are not to be mistaken or confused together.

If these observations appear like those truisms which everybody is ready to admit, they are still not altogether out of place for the treatment of our subject. It has often occurred to the writer that there seems to exist, even among thinking persons, but a vague idea of the importance of contemporaneous art as a faithful mirror and exponent of the age. They scan current literature for lineaments of the inner life of thought, emotion, and morals in the community. They read, in popular theology, philosophy, and fiction, every shade of change that passes over society. They note, in the problems of daily life agitating the masses, signs of the times which it would be foolhardy not to study with earnest consideration. But art is either deemed of too little consequence, both as an impulse to, and a reflector of, mental life; or else her power, being veiled within the enchantments of beauty, steals over the analyzing intellect with a harmless and playful caprice, which may be indulged like the freaks of a handsome pupil by a sedate schoolmaster, who has not fortitude enough to correct the fairy. But if artists, like poets, are privileged characters, children of fancy who must have indulgence, what they say and do takes, nevertheless, a strange hold upon the people; all the more so if they fall in with the people's hobbies, with popular thinking, popular morals, habits, notions, and estimations. Popular speakers are only the people's mouthpieces. So, popular artists reproduce the people's fancies. "Artists must not expect that the people will buy what the artists like, unless artists first paint what the people like," once wrote a popular orator, famous for feeling the people's pulse, and uttering his oracles accordingly. Upon this sage advice, perhaps, too many artists are willing to exert themselves for filthy lucre's sake. Certain it is, that few are found, in any age, of iron hardiness sufficient to resist to the last, and for the sake of weighty truth, the temptations of fame or money. If a William Blake remains loyal to his reputation, he must be, to the wondering world, a sort of lunatic; and he may be assured of martyrdom. However, mentally isolated men are only expositors of themselves and their own mode of conceiving and depicting truth. Of the really useful man, it is required that he be in sympathy with his age; not like a sphinx of the past, looking, in dreary solemnity, from his bed of sand upon the rushing rail-train with its mock thunder. Aye, in sympathy!—yet not

with what is contrary to truth, to Divine will ; not with the vicious craving, the shallow vanity, the sceptical selfishness of the age. The question is a plain one: "Is the artist designed to be a leader or a lackey?" It may be said that there can be but few leaders, as well among artists as in other pursuits. True indeed; but not to the extent imagined. Leadership, after all, is a thing of degrees, just as it is in an army. There are the corporal and the commanding general, and between them many useful and necessary grades. So, also, in society, in intellect, in morals, and in religion. Does not the fault consist in the failure of artists to recognize the Heaven-appointed leadership of their profession? Has not the sacredness of their vocation been eclipsed by the love of gain, or fame, or public demand? Have they, as a whole, really a lofty object, of which they are humbly and, we may say, religiously conscious? Can the declaration of an ancient worthy be, in any sense, applied to a considerable number? "We painters occupy ourselves entirely in tracing saints on the walls and on the altars, in order that, by this means, men, to the great despite of the demons, may be more drawn to virtue and piety."<sup>1</sup> Is not rather the sweeping condemnation of Mr. Ruskin a mournful truth? "The artist is created an observer and an imitator, and his function is to convey knowledge to his fellow-men. For a long time, this function remained a religious one; it was to impress upon the popular mind the reality of the objects of faith, and the truth of the histories of Scripture, by giving visible form to both. That function has now passed away, and none has, as yet, taken its place. The painter has no profession, no purpose. He is an idler on the earth, chasing the shadows of his own fancies. But he was never meant to be this."

Reluctantly the great art-critic acknowledges the glaring fact. Yet it is not a recent one. With blinded severity of judgment, Protestantism has been called "a failure." It must be confessed that, in this matter of art also, there are evidences of revolution, rather than reformation. The confusion of ideas and sentiment wrought there, date back into the classic revival of the fifteenth century. Prior to that, the testimony of an eminent writer,<sup>2</sup> of unquestionable authority, is to the effect that "the artist who felt conscious of his high vocation, considered himself the auxiliary of the preacher; and, in the constant struggle that man has to sustain against his evil inclinations, he always took the side of virtue."

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<sup>1</sup> Buffalmaceo, pupil of Giotto.

<sup>2</sup> A. Z. Rio, "The Poetry of Christian Art."



And again: "The studio of the painter became, as it were, transformed into an oratory; and it was the same thing with the sculptor, musician, and poet, at this epoch of marvellous unity, when every kind of inspiration sprang from the same source, and flowed instinctively toward the same end." Dean Milman also remarks<sup>1</sup> that the one characteristic of Christian painting consisted in that "*Its object was worship;*" "*It was mute preaching;*" "*Its aim was to awaken religious emotion, to suggest religious thoughts; and though being by nature traditional, conventional, and hierarchical, moving in the trammels of usage, and wanting invention and mobility, yet art was then exclusively Christian, and devoted to holy uses.*" In poetry, in architecture, in painting, religion was "man's dominant motive." Alas! what a contrast is set before us by these writers, between the proud lord of the brush, who paints for his own glorification, and the simple-hearted man of old, whose studio was an oratory, who trusted to prayer more than to his own wits, who looked up to heaven for inspiration; and, perhaps, making his entire work an act of solemn devotion, painted upon his knees! To how many now would the lines of Sandrart, on the death of Albrecht Durer, apply?—

"Die Welt ist ausgemahlt, der Himmel dich nun hat;  
Du mahlest heilig nun in deines Gottes Stadt."

("Thine earthly painting done, Heaven now embraces thee,  
And, holy, thou dost paint in the City of thy God.")

Certainly, times have changed the motive of the artist! Art has become thoroughly secularized. It was formerly a pursuit in the service of religion. It is now a pursuit in the service of the world. In the fierceness of the contest brought on by the rival elements of polished Paganism and Christianity, the tender flower of Christian poetic art was scorched and blighted. The artist's simple faith has vanished. His understanding is enlarged, but his imagination tainted. The accessory resources of painting have been rashly increased, and art has gained in extent what she has lost in depth. But is the exchange worth the price? Can science compensate for religion; knowledge for holy motive? From the first change of direction, in the fifteenth century, there have since been several marked periods; first of splendor, then of rapid decline, and again of resuscitation. This latter was effected, together with renewed energy in every field of mental activity, during the past

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<sup>1</sup> "Latin Christianity," vol. viii. p. 467.

fifty years. Modern times suffer no stagnation in any department of thought and enterprise; and as a faithful exponent of modern spirit, art also has exhibited those features which distinguish and characterize the age.

Without any more general reflections, we may understand best what these are, as portrayed by art, if we review the productions of some prominent men—*representative* men, they might be called—because, as will be seen, these men treat with *ideas*, rather than *facts*. They aim at something beyond the mere surface of their works. They are representative, each of a certain class of ideas; not of a given country only, but of minds in different countries, and on both sides of the Atlantic. They are thus men who belong to the civilized world. We have selected *three* such from among the artists. Two are still living and working; the third has gone to his reward, but must, nevertheless, be counted among the moderns; besides that, his works have the advantage of being generally known. The three men are, *Wilhelm von Kaulbach*, *Gerome*, and *Ary Scheffer*. To the mind of the writer, they seem to represent, respectively,—

- (1.) Intellectually rationalistic art;
- (2.) Sensually rationalistic art; and
- (3.) Religious ideal art.

If the nomenclature of this classification appears singular, we may, perhaps, be pardoned for a partial incongruity, by the consideration that the following review will sufficiently explain the meaning of these titles.

Kaulbach is a German, and now past the zenith of years and power. His track, therefore, must be deeply worn, and it cannot easily be mistaken. Indeed, from the outset of his artistic career he left no doubt as to his intentions. His characteristics appeared in his "Battle of the Huns" as decided as they have in "The Era of the Reformation,"—the last of his grand series in the new museum at Berlin, and illustrating the gigantic theme of human and historic development. He never cared in the least to disguise himself. Subtle as a fox, the character of which he rendered in such masterly style in his famous illustrations to "Reinecke Fuchs," he has as boldly, though artfully, held his burrow in view, and knew always when to strike for it. Creative, and wonderfully industrious, coming in the midst of the school of religious art which flourished with such marked influence at Munich under King Louis, and a pupil of the great Peter von Cornelius, the father of modern German art, and the Michael Angelo of his country, Kaulbach has ever stood in

contrasted isolation, both in thought and style. While the religious art of Munich, and indeed of all Germany, has been, and now is, Roman Catholic, Kaulbach is ultra-Protestant. Protestantism, as understood in Germany, has in him an able exponent. He is learned, precise, and accurate; intellectual and philosophical, and a sceptic. He is to be admired and judged of; not to be felt and sympathized with. He has no nourishment for the heart; he cannot warm the affections; he does not improve the morals, nor lift the soul to nobler impulses. Least of all can he excite to devotion, or kindle holy love and aspiration. His heaven is no higher than the clouds; his inspiration, if it is from any other quarter than his intellect, comes from Parnassus; most certainly not from Calvary. He is a philosopher, but no preacher. His eloquence, if it does instruct, does not inspire. His greatest works are historical or poetical problems, beautifully solved, but neither passion nor feeling make them instinct with life and power to persuade. They have no control over any one's affections. Even the "Destruction of Jerusalem" (perhaps his greatest and most pathetic work) is measured science, and the economy of art; but not the withering sweep of Divine retribution. So is "The Era of the Reformation," the cartoon to which is now owned in the city of New York. This is a rationalistic *résumé* of a great period, which has for its highest motto, upon one page of the open Bible, held aloft in Luther's hands, the words: "Du sollst deinen Nächsten lieben als dich selbst" ("Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"); the other page being sarcastically left vacant, as if this alone were the sum and substance of that Holy Book, the essence of the entire Christian ethics, those alone being worthy of an intelligent man's consideration, and all else of revealed religion not better than a blank. The composition records the triumphs of intellect in the various efforts of men, the discoveries and awakenings of mental life, and represents the Reformation's highest achievement to have been LOVE to MAN,—the humanitarian self-glorification of modernism.

With this, Kaulbach concludes his series of six gigantic compositions, that have for their theme the grand epochs in the development of the human race. Accordingly, the acme has been reached in the acknowledgment of man's individual rights, as the god of this world, and the sway of supreme reason. Christ figures as an historic personage once only in the whole series,—in "The Crusades," surrounded by saints and the Blessed Virgin! He appears to the enthusiastic warriors in sight of the Holy City as a vision in the clouds. But with the "dark ages," their faith passed away in

the succeeding centuries of the Reformation, dropping superstitions, and revealing the flattering dogma, that all these ancient systems of Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity have served to convince enlightened man of, as the noblest and only rational creed, is that of *human brotherhood*.

Kaulbach is simply the exponent of the religion of his time and country. Hence the applause that greets him. He is recognized as a high-priest of rationalism. With unerring fidelity he has, in a grand, imposing, captivating manner, expressed the creed of humanitarianism—and the effect is truly surprising. None could have done it so well and so artfully. A master-hand has completed a deistic epic! The Christ of history is, in it, a figure belonging only to the past, but having no central existence in the present or in the future. He is not in "The Reformation," except in what is left of semblance of His religion in the celebration of the Holy Communion. But what more is this Sacrament to the ultra-Protestant than a memorial of brotherly love, and a symbol of its Founder's martyrdom?

By a critic in "Blackwood's Magazine," with characteristic eclecticism, Kaulbach is described as "at once Protestant in his freedom, and pantheistic in his universality. His art seems, indeed, to be liberated from every creed, in the equal worship of all the gods. The Parnassian Hill, and the Mount of Transfiguration, are equally hallowed to its sympathies. The recitation of Homer to the Greeks, or the overthrow of Jerusalem by the avenging angels, are themes alike favored by this impartial muse of history." Such cant, intended for eulogy, deserves only pity; besides that, it narrows down the scope of Kaulbach's thought to individual representations, depriving him of the grasp his broad intellect undoubtedly takes. But it shows in what estimation his art must be held. The enthusiasm of the Germans over Kaulbach can, therefore, easily be comprehended; though it is not universal. Certainly one of the foremost artists of Europe, he is most emphatically a man of his age, and "the world loveth her own."

Quite another such man is Gerome. But he is a Frenchman, and exhibits his nation's characteristics. Excepting in art circles, he is not extensively known in this country. But we have selected him as a prominent instance of that phase of rationalism which we venture to call sensual, in contradistinction to the intellectual. Gerome, having a goodly number of compeers in the same general sentiment of irreligion in France, we need only point to the one peculiarity which lifts him, like a soaring luminary, above surround-

ing lights; and that is, besides the surpassing excellency of his technique, the cold, wanton heathenishness of many of his subjects, and the spirit that pervades them. He has been styled the "learned antiquarian among artists." He is more than that. Exact, and scientific also, in every subject he treats, he has so thoroughly identified himself with the spirit of Paganism in its most heartless aspect, that the spectator shudders before his powerful canvas. Not romance or fiction, but the sternest reality of fact, confronts him. A deliberate, determinate purpose is graven on every pictured line. No fiery passion has wielded that brush; no flashing impulse has thrown down a conception of temporary excitement or fancy. On the contrary, a rare, and at times astounding finish, and technical excellency, proclaim these works to have been cool and elaborate productions, carefully studied and considered, and most patiently persisted in. The same resolve, which, with a certain school of modern scientists, by painstaking, microscopic, and analytical investigation, seeks to overthrow the facts of revealed religion, substituting soulless, inevitable laws for a personal will, works for a like destruction among artists as well as among philosophers.

Neither are subjects of this kind with Gerome exceptions in the tenor of purer thoughts. They are the rule. The dramatic forms a strong element in the French character. Moderation is doubly a virtue in a Frenchman. His art loves excitement, the picturesque, and the showy. We expect it of him. His nature is passionate, and inclined to extravagances. There is little that is pure and holy in motive in the generality of French art. The trivial, the fantastic, and the impure, compose the staple which seems to be a necessity, a daily bread for modern Paris. Amidst such art, Gerome stalks with a classic air of coldness, and a reserve of conscious power. Rome in her debasement, and Eastern voluptuousness, furnish largely the subjects for his pencil. The brutal and the licentious appeal to recognition in his works by beauty of rendering and mastery of execution. His "Gladatore," the "Death of Cæsar," and the "Almeh," are witnesses.

It was truly said, that "the French *littérateur* and the French artist think of the *manner* before the *matter*." The *what* is of little consequence, and the *how* everything. What other than most injurious results to moral and intellectual culture can spring from such a standard? Taste without affection, skill without goodness, brilliant matter without purity of spirit,—can such art be noble or ennobling? Great *art*, whatever modern criticism may say to the contrary, *is a child of religion*. Divorced from the sanctities of religion, art is

but refined sensuality. She feeds the intellectual or the sensuous appetites of man, not his spiritual and higher nature. From a Divinely-commissioned teacher, she sinks to a mere titillator of unhallowed tastes and fancies.

From art such as this, we now turn briefly, and with delight, into an opposite direction. The pleasure would be increased tenfold could it be said with truth that Ary Scheffer, like the two men we have instanced, might be named as the representative of a large class of painters.

The distinction between artists is something more than difference in the subjects, and the treatment of their pictures. As the choice of a religious subject does not, of itself, constitute an artist a religious painter; so, also, the choice of a secular subject does not prove him to be an irreligious man. But, still, "by their fruits ye shall know them." No ephemeral inspiration—allowing that a man can have such; that sometimes he does rise above his level—can last through weeks and months, and stand the crucial and denuding test of continued toil, and the chafing, abrading effects of early change. To paint a godly, a faithfully devotional picture, the man must *be* verily what he strives to embody. Truly and forcibly has one said that every artist paints a Christ *such as himself could be*. Our highest aspirations are those of ourselves; either the unaided ones of merely human strength, or the sanctified ones of a heavenly origin. It is not strange, therefore, that we meet, in so-called religious paintings, with abundance of ability and beauty, and yet with little that has power to move the heart heavenward.

True Christian art does not belong to schools, except they be schools of devout and Heaven-taught men. On that account, Ary Scheffer remained an isolated personage. Such a man can have, in the nature of the case, no imitators. Piety must be genuine. Its counterfeit will result in a self-condemning grimace. Nor would it be easier to copy depth and intensity of feeling, especially where they have been deepened and refined by experience in suffering. The eyes in Scheffer's works look forth with a subtilty as unsusceptible of analysis, as the odor of flowers in the chemist's crucible. Of necessity, a mind so true in its essence must give birth to works original in their whole character. His subjects were not always taken from Holy Scripture. He chose a number from Goethe's "Faust,"—a poem no one has ever suspected of genuine Christian aim. But, still, Scheffer's Faust bears a religious impress; how different soever may be that of Goethe. He depicts sweet innocence subjected to temptation, in such a manner that you cannot



fail to love the one, and loathe the devil lurking behind the other. There is the presence of that indefinable something which proclaims itself to be pure and purely Christian; and never less so than in his "Marys at the Tomb," the "Magdalene," "St. Augustine and his Mother," "Christ's Agony in the Garden," "The Temptation of Christ," and the well-known "Christus Consolator" and "Christus Remunerator."

In truth, Scheffer has become a household friend with thousands, a companion whom they love; from whose deep and holy outflow, so simple, so earnest, so void of ostentation or display, so severe in their seriousness, and yet so lovingly gentle, they have drunk spiritual refreshment and consolation. He is a man for the closet and the sick-chamber, like a book of devotion. No one has ever portrayed even the love of woman in a holier mood than he in his "Dante and Beatrice."

No more need be said about him. He has had his biographer and numerous critics; while few voices dissent from the verdict pronounced by the public heart. We have ventured to speak of him again, as a bright example, to show what modern art might be in holy hands; what it ought to be for the fulfilling of her mission as a Heaven-sent teacher of "the beauty of holiness."

The classification we have made, in the foregoing pages, is, perhaps, a rough and very general one; yet between extremes it is easy to arrange modifications. Among numerous classes, *religious* art is lamentably in the minority. Indeed, we might almost in despair ask the question: "Where is the Christian art of the nineteenth century,—the art that preaches Christ?"

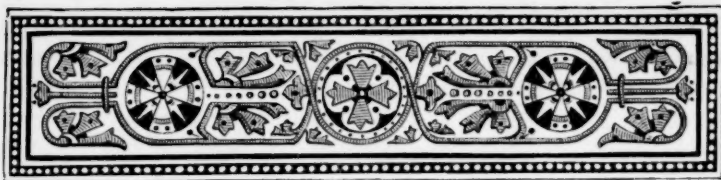
The designation, "Christian art," is more to the purpose of our subject than "religious art." The latter is too ambiguous and self-accommodating. It means anything men choose to foist into it, making of it a surname. Much of weak sentimentalism and hypocritical charlatanry covers itself with self-flattery under that propitiatory title. An artist thinks that because he paints anything faithfully, he therefore paints religiously. As it is with a creed, sincerity is made the standard of correctness; and from such a fallacy result interminable delusions. Nature and sympathetic humanity, the heathen and the infidel, have, and can manufacture their deities. To render homage to these is not by any means the distinctive mark of a pious mind. We need, in an age of doubt or of denial, some positive belief; and in art this belief must be cheerfully expressed to entitle her to the honor of the Christian name. Her religion must be the Christian religion without false mixtures. With few

exceptions, precious as diamonds, such is not now the character of her disciples. She shares the spirit of popular theology,—spurious liberality and contempt of all authoritative restraint. Scientific rendering and refined technicality assume despotism over the spiritual. But Christian art, happily, does not depend on perfect science and exact technique. She exists by faith and personal sanctity. Her perfection or imperfection of expression neither make nor unmake her Christian character. She may be defective, and childish even, and still be Christian. But neither can the most accomplished rendering compensate for loss of holy motive. Rather, it is the more captivating, the more dangerous in hoodwinking the simple, and disguising a false aim under the seductive drapery of naturalism. Much of this kind of art may be comparatively or negatively innocent, and it may seem a harsh judgment to demand more positive Christian motives, and to consign a large number of excellent and favorite works to a niche of doubtful character. We can only repeat, in our justification, what was before said in this article. As the choice of a religious subject does not of itself constitute an artist a religious painter, so also the choice of a secular subject does not prove him to be an irreligious man. Yet there must be some standard of judgment; and it is supplied by the Apostle: "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin." It is true that, ultimately, God alone can judge of men's actions according to this test; yet the test is given to men as a guide by which to regulate and try their own motives. And if art is a pursuit for which impulses must come from the heart, then it will necessarily be subject to the same mode of Divine adjudication which covers a man's whole life.

We would insist on a bold, outright, plain, and unmistakable profession. In times of war, men must inevitably take sides. Neutrality then becomes treason. That such a time of war for the Christian now exists, if it has not always existed, no serious-thinking person will deny. The demand here made may be ridiculed, or accused of intolerant bigotry and narrowness; the influence of art upon the people may be regarded as not sufficiently powerful, as much inferior to that of literature, by no means calculated to do extensive mischief. The age claims emancipation from all restraint; and to question the legitimacy of the freest possible liberty of choice in subjects, would look like sectarian assumption, both with artists and with the public. Notwithstanding, there are stern facts to confront us. There is, to speak boldly, the godlessness of art. "Whoever hath not the Son, hath not the Father;" and, certainly, the Christ who was made man, and suffered, and died, and rose again, and

sitteth on the right hand of Majesty, the God-man Jesus, appears very little, never very distinctively, in our present works of art. That is naturalistic, materialistic, humanitarian; it is not Christian. Whether this condition is mainly due to the influence of the spirit of the age upon artists, or the lack of deep devotion and piety among artists themselves, would be a somewhat delicate matter to enlarge on. Still, no doubt it will always be true that "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." We have known several cases of earnest and anxious men, who were absolutely forced back into secular art for want of sympathy in the public for that which is truly religious. The popular "taste" is all the other way. Christian, especially *devotional*, pictures go a-begging. As for church decoration by paintings, we are just now passing through what may hopefully and charitably be called a period of transition. The "Quixotic forays" of Puritanism against holy art being among the follies of by-gone times, and Christians in and out of our Church having scarcely yet recovered their cool reason and unbiassed judgment, nor feeling distinctly enough their religious wants, prefer, at present, to waste their thousands on gaudy polychrome in unmeaning ornament, instead of receiving Bible-lessons from their church-walls, and an incentive to holy meditations from paintings of truth, piety, and consecrated beauty. Gorgeous effect is sought, rather than the impression of sacred sentiment. Mere ornamentation, as senseless and often not one tenth part as tasteful as the Arabesque, is believed lawful in a Christian and a *Protestant* church. So far, indeed, has the Protestant sense yielded to art in the decoration of churches, that Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and even Unitarians, agree with Churchmen in this matter. But the decoration must mean nothing, embody no emblems, preach no truth, attempt no Christian story. To be sure, one good painting would convey more lessons than miles of polychrome; but the timid Protestant has not yet got on far enough to comprehend us. Another ten years may disclose a wonderful change come over him, as the last ten years most emphatically demonstrate. If a rationalistic eclecticism is now dominant, within which, as in a restless sea, principles of life struggle to crystallize themselves into individual form—a kind of re-creation in art, as well as in religious consciousness—the final issue may be a more healthy, more thoughtful, earnest, reverent, and Christian use of art. Following up the great Catholic revival, we shall then by degrees gain a natural equilibrium of agencies for the Church's great work; *natural*, that is, according to the Divine law of unity, which excludes no created force in our working out the general

design for which the Church was founded. The formative process is going on. While we look hopefully to the Church of our Redeemer as the ordained champion of revealed truth against unbelief and irreligion, and the magnetic centre to attract and gather into one communion of saints all the "unhappy divisions" of the present Christian body; so, also, can we look to her increasing zeal, devotion, and energetic spiritual life, to recall art to her bounden duty, sanctifying the artist's noblest productions by giving them the place of a teacher in the sanctuary. So long as the Christian artist is dependent on the moneyed picture-buyer, rough-handled by the greedy dealer, driven to ingenious tricks for selling his wares, tossed about like a puppet by the fickle tastes of the people, no flight above the clouds need be expected of him. Art is a legitimate link between the visible and the invisible. The art of no people ever saw its highest development, except by becoming an exponent of the people's religion. True æsthetic inspiration can come only from above. But private parlors and private galleries, with their conglomerate of subjects, supply neither impulses for Christian artists, nor congenial associations for Christian art. So long as church-doors are closed by blear-eyed prejudice, no creative quickening is likely to be given to consecrated art; and truly Christian paintings must remain isolated and secluded efforts. Let us trust that the times of restoration are not too far distant, and that, even now, the day-star of hope "flames in the forehead of the morning sky."



## POPE JOHN XII.

A. D. 955-963.

ITALIAN politics have ever been a tangled web, which, but for ecclesiastical intermeddling, would have commanded but little interest. But this interference in politics by the Papacy had European consequences. Upon that narrow peninsula were conducted policies, intrigues, wars, *coups d'état*, furnishing isolated acts, which, torn from their connection with the general tenor of events, were quoted as precedents and formulated into axioms that have borne results, for weal or for woe, to the whole of Christendom. The policy inaugurated at the close of the sixth century, of keeping secular Italy divided, by inviting the interference of powerful foreign princes, was fraught with other consequences besides those at first anticipated. It led to the complete reversal of the ancient constitution of the Western Church. State interference was undoubtedly inaugurated by the Arian troubles, but the aggrandizement of the Western Patriarchal See beyond its first limits, led to all the evils and usurpations of the Gregorian age, and to the disruptions of the later date of the Reformation. Every maxim of its political policy had a concealed ecclesiastical formula, which, forced into the background by immediate events, was persistently brought forward at every favorable juncture. The steps can be traced, the innovations proven, the results weighed, in the progress of the Papacy. False

exegesis, *obiter dicta* of irresponsible doctors, who never dreamed of the application yet to be made of their hasty assertions, forgeries of critical documents (pious frauds), are the inscriptions that criticism has carved upon the milestones of that progress. No new interpolated maxim was wrought into the polity of the Church, but can be tracked directly to its author, or the combination of events that suggested it. How it grew, when it was forced back, when received at fitting opportunities, by what machinations introduced, by what powers enforced, can all be clearly established. That, in the face of such overwhelming evidence, the falsities are still defended, the usurpations are unresigned, is only a proof of the secular lust of power existing potently in the Church of Italy. A study of the changes in the Papacy, far greater than those proper to the growth and expansion of a See wielding the wide jurisdiction conceded to Rome, has often been made. It is a comparative study, which definitely negatives her oft-asserted claim to unchanging sameness, and of true succession to the past of Catholic history and doctrine. Cornelius could never have advanced the pretentious assertions of Nicholas I. Nicholas would have shrunk from the policy of Hildebrand. The Hildebrandine Popes would never have yielded the concordats—a still wider gap—of the last four centuries. By the “logic of events” alone—by no other recognized links of doctrine or polity truly Catholic—is Pius IX. connected with Cornelius. Each sat in the See of Rome; were they to meet now, the one would be a heretic to the other. But the initial perverting maxim, which turned the patriarchate into a temporal court, which, to carry out its political schemes, did not hesitate to ally itself to Turks, Heretics, and Infidels, and to make the Jew its banker—that of seeking foreign aid—brought on curious revenges. When the weakness of the Byzantine empire against the incursions of the Lombards was proven, Zacharias (752) sought the aid of Pepin, and, to foil the negotiations of the Lombard kings at the Frankish courts, announced that to him who held the power belonged the kingship; while Stephen II. (755) added, as representative of the Roman people, the patriciate, in return for the defeat of the Lombard Astulph. Later on, Hadrian I. (774) sought the aid of Charlemagne; and the Emperor (800) received the Western crown from Leo III. In all these cases the right to confirm the election of the Pope was reserved to the Emperor, who, persuaded by forged documents, added liberal patrimonies to the private estates of the See of Rome. His interference, his right to give, not receive, privileges, his firm government of the Frankish Church, all show



the dependence of the spiritual upon the secular power. But, side by side, grew silently theories which were substituted when later opportunities were afforded. The coronation of the Emperor was, in his eyes, a consecration by holy rites of a power already secure, and a means of preserving the cordial coöperation of the Church. He held, as it were, a visitatorial power; but this suggested the counter theory that "he who could crown, could also depose." The pacts and grants from the empire were the first, the concordats were the reverse application of this power. Not the least signal instance of this visitatorial power was the bitter draught which Otho I. commended to the lips of John XII. (Octavian). Otho's act was doubtless contrary to primitive ecclesiastical law. But so was the whole series of preceding events. It was the legitimate conclusion drawn from the imperial right of confirmation and interference.<sup>1</sup> We have a record of it before us, by one of the participants in the deposition of John XII.; one who was well versed in the politics and intrigues of the time, having had employment in the court of Hugo, King of Italy, and then in that of his rival and successor, Berengar II., who sent him on an embassy to Constantinople. LIUTPRAND, in 964, Bishop of Cremona, counsellor and interpreter on Italian affairs to the German emperor, was of a Pavian family which had held State preferments. His father died when on a mission to the Byzantine court. His step-father had himself held office, and bought a place for Liutprand under Berengar. He was a useful subordinate, rather vain of his family, brooding vaguely over the hardships he and his had suffered while doing the State some service. His "*Antapodosis, or Retributions*,"<sup>2</sup> for what he had endured at the hands of Hugo and Berengar, is a chronicle of the affairs of Italy, from the death of Charles the Fat to the election of Leo VIII., and the expulsion of the intrusive Benedict (965). He is not always accurate, and his prejudices warp his judgment. He probably reflects, not unfairly, the temper of the Italians of his day. Often grave in language, living in an atmosphere of plotting and counter-plotting, he really is more truthful to his age than cautiously precise in fact; yet his inaccuracies, so far proven, are rather verbal

<sup>1</sup> The light by which to reconcile it to their own theories has puzzled Roman theologians. It has involved them in serious contradictions. The act now is asserted invalid, the Council that deposed him is a conciliabulum, and Leo VIII. is rejected from the lists as an invader of others' rights. Yet Gratian (1150) admitted his pact with Otho (D. lxiii. 23), and the Roman editors (1583) of Gratian admitted Leo's legitimacy.

<sup>2</sup> Some say, "*Reprisals*,"—a little softer.

than actual. He is almost the sole authority for the period from John XI. (931) to John XII. and Leo VIII.<sup>1</sup>

A reckless game, begun by Guido, Duke of Spoleto, and Berengar, Duke of Friuli, fiefs of the empire, to part between them, upon the death of Charles the Fat, the Frankish and Italian provinces, plunged Italy (from 884) into inextricable confusion. For Guido failed in his attempt, and turned upon his partner in the conspiracy. Berengar, twice defeated, sought aid of Arnulf, the German emperor. Intrigues, conspiracies, petty wars, savage retaliations, commingled to make the age an almost hopeless one. Lambert, Guido's son, succeeded in controlling the whole of Upper Italy for awhile (896), when he was murdered, and Louis of Provence (900) was invited to take the crown of Italy against Berengar, who tried to recover it, and finally did so (906). The Duke of Ivria, the Marquises of Spoleto and Camerina, Tuscany, Friuli, the Exarch of Ravenna, the Duke of Beneventum, with their dependent counts and nobles, passed readily from allegiance to conspiracy. The power Berengar, Lambert, or Louis, held one day, might, by a sudden and successful revolt, pass rapidly into the grasp of a rival. Gifts, honors, concessions, seemed to bind no one. The wealthy marquisate of Tuscany appears to have held the balance of power. The oligarchic misrule of Rome, by the many rival families there, kept it in a turmoil, all the more complicated that they were connected with the schemers of the Lombardic court. Sergius III., almost upon his election expelled by John IX. from the Papal Chair (and after Leo V. had succeeded John, to be himself seized by Christopher), came suddenly back from his retreat with the Marquis of Tuscany, deposed Christopher, and resumed his interrupted pontificate. He soon after allied himself with Theodora, the notorious mistress of Rome, and ruled with vigor for seven years. At

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the *Decretum* (1150) of Gratian contains only three canons taken from 890 to 1020 (*Dist. lxiii. c. 23*; Leo VIII.'s oath to Otho I. *c. 32*; Constitution of Henry and Otho, *c. 33*; Otho's pledge to John XII.). Of these, Leo's is genuine, as will be seen from the facts; the Constitution and Otho's pledge have received touches from the shaping hands (Anselm of Lucca and Ivo Camotensis), through which they passed on to Gratian. The absence of other references over a period of one hundred and thirty years, shows at least its barrenness for suitable precedents. The chronicles we have consulted, besides Liutprand and Pertz's hand-editions of Richerus and Widukind (nearly Liutprand's contemporaries), *Annales Altahenses*, Lambert of Hertsfeldt, Adam of Hammaburg, and last, Otto of Freysingburg, who enables us to extend the series by his free use of Ekkehard and Regino. Flodoard, the other main authority, we have not.

his death (911), after the transient pontificates of Anastasius III. and Lando. Theodora's influence brought in John X. (914) from the Archbishopric of Ravenna. John was equally able, but, after Theodora's death, not so fortunate; for, though he displayed statesmanship of no mean order, he fell (928) in the lawless struggles for power, by the cruel order of Guido and his wife, Theodora's viler daughter, Marozia. In the meantime, as rapid alternations in power took place in the Court of Pavia, Berengar had to contend with another rival, Rudolf of Burgundy, and, shut up in Verona, was murdered by one of his trusted officers, Flambert (924). Berengar dead, Rudolf absent in Burgundy, the Hungarian Salardo plundering Pavia, Ermengard, the widowed Marchioness of Tuscany and Ivria, plotting against the credulous Rudolf,—all these open the way for Hugo of Provence, who, after a short struggle with the Burgundian king, takes possession of the hapless throne.

Marozia and Guido (Hugo's half-brother), after ridding themselves of John X., and permitting the Apostolic Chair to be occupied, in the short space of two years, by two popes—Leo VI. and Stephen VII.—advance to it her son, John XI. Upon Guido's death, four years after (932), occurs Hugo's outraging marriage with Marozia, in the hope of obtaining the mastery of Rome. But Alberic, her son by her first husband, had all of his mother's ability and ambition. He rapidly organized a revolt while the marriage festivities were merriest, before Hugo could take any steps to secure the possession he coveted. Alberic turned his mother and stepfather out of the city, and kept it for himself for twenty years. John XI. died in 936, and for nineteen years the See was occupied on sufferance by Leo VII. (936-939), Stephen VIII. (939-942), Marinus (942-946), and Agapetus II. (946-955). The authority of the Apostolic See was a nullity within Italy, with such a master in Rome as Alberic, and such a king as Hugo was, at Pavia. Hugo used the temporalities of the Church as he pleased, and gave away her sees to his favorites or relatives. He made his illegitimate son, Boso, Bishop of Placentina; another, Tedbald, Archdeacon of Milan, with the archbishopric in expectancy; the monk Ratherius held the See of Verona for awhile, from which Ildoin, a kinsman of Hugo's, and a fugitive from his bishopric in France, had been advanced to Milan. The most notorious ecclesiastic was Manasseh, Bishop of Arles, Verona, Trent, and Mantua, and longing to be Archbishop of Milan too. Vigorous, rapacious, and really warder of Italy, as he held the March of Trent, the key-passes through the Alps, he was too powerful to be slighted. It is often said that,

though depressed at home, yet during all this time the Papacy held its full powers abroad. The Isidorean canons, to which Nicholas I. had first appealed, had acquired a wide acceptance in seventy years; and these may have been the *Decreta Canonum et Sanctorum Instituta Patrum*, to which the Synod at Angleheim listened (948),<sup>1</sup> where Marinus was present, and presided as legate for Agapetus. But when we remember the independent position and remonstrances of the Cisalpine bishops, we cannot help considering that the authority conceded to Marinus, or, earlier, to Damasus, as legate for Stephen VIII.,<sup>2</sup> or to the Bull from Leo VII. (939), confirming the Archbishop of Hamburg in his rights and privileges,<sup>3</sup> was simply patriarchal, and the more readily admitted that, being distant, its real power was deemed shadowy.

Alberic was too firmly seated to be ousted by the wiles or attacks of Hugo; his city formed a safe asylum for the discontented, and the fugitives from Hugo's severity. The King, longing to set foot within the forbidden precincts, offered his daughter in marriage. Alberic took the proffered wife, but he had learned too much of Hugo's craftiness, from the refugees in his service, to trust himself or the city within reach of even Hugo's presence. Italy, under the rule of such a man, had little real peace. He was arbitrary, vengeful, and grasping. His great lords were at strife among themselves. The Hungarians northward, and the Saracens at Fraxinetum and in Southern Italy, were a lowering cloud on either hand, ever ready to burst. The Byzantine power was yet strong enough to be propitiated by embassies and gifts, and to lend at times efficient aid; and it claimed an allegiance, that was more rarely yielded. The Papacy changed hands so often, and its offices and emoluments were so shamelessly sold, that no respect could be paid it. As a consequence, the clergy were ignorant, lax, uncultured. All this was enough to render the Italians fickle and ever-plotting. They had never been under the rule of a single strong power long enough to acquire a genuine nationality. The arbitrary rule of one prince could not be worse than that of another. They had elevated these princes by their own consent, and therefore had the power to change them at will; and in the change, each chief sought to profit at others' expense. The Papal maxim of foreign intervention was fatally learned and exemplified. Now it was Arnulf, now Louis of Provence. Lambert was the only Italian who won the crown. Berengar was indeed half Italian. Hugo was a Provençal, Rudolf a Burgundian. The

<sup>1</sup> Richerus, ii. § 80.    <sup>2</sup> Richerus, ii. 27.    <sup>3</sup> Adam of Hammaburg, ii. 1.

Italians could not dispense with the presence of these princes, for there was no native lord powerful enough to retain the throne; but they all joined in despising and conspiring against the mannerless kings they called to reign over them. The strife of the rival families in Rome, the petty nobles ever wrangling, the confusion and rivalries of the greater marquisates of the kingdom, coinciding with the final disintegration of the vast tributary empire Charlemagne had massed together, really depressed the patriarchate of the West. But out of this turmoil, such facts and actions have been selected by unscrupulous theorists of the Roman See, to found precedents to suit their purposes, overlooking the counter facts, which show its weakness, dependence, and degradation. Rome has an alembic by which to distil strong precedents out of isolated facts; and knows then how to apply the principles of a chemical ambition which can transmute precedents and privileges into exclusive and sovereign rights.

Alberic placed his son, Octavian, in the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> When a strong prince sat on the German throne, then Italy had comparative rest. Such a prince was now founding his dynasty. Henry of Saxony, and his abler son, Otho (called formidable), ruled over the Germanic fragment of the Carlovingian empire. But yet another alternation of princes occurred in Italy. Berengar, the son of Adalbert of Ivria, and his half-brother, Anschar, Marquis of Spoleto and Camerina, schemed to remove Hugo, and to seize the crown themselves. Hugo discovered the plot, and promptly crushed Anschar in a fierce battle. Berengar fled from Pavia to Suabia, where he was protected, and presented to the Germanic emperor. Hugo endeavored to persuade Henry to give him up, but without success. He also strengthened himself by allying his daughter Berta to Romanus, son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. But the disaffection was general. No effort to strengthen himself availed him. Amadeus, a trusty noble in Berengar's train, succeeded in reëntering Italy to foment the discord. When the occasion was ripe, Berengar swept down—Manasseh opened the passes to him—and he began the contest most auspiciously. Hugo, seeing his adherents falling away on every side, made terms with Berengar, reserving the title of king for himself and his son, Lothair. Berengar retained the real power. This was irksome to the King, and he soon aban-

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<sup>1</sup> Octavian is said to have been but nineteen years old when he entered on his supreme office. But this was doing better than Benedict IX., at a later day (1033), who was elected, says Hardwick, when not more than twelve years old!—Hardwick's "*Midd. Ages*," p. 139, third ed.

doned an ungrateful people; and, carrying with him the vast treasure of which he had plundered them, escaped in haste to his hereditary Provence. Berengar, upon the principle that to the victors belong the spoils, deprived such occupants of valuable bishoprics, who could not purchase an exemption, and presented them to his followers. Many of Hugo's bishops could do this. Manasseh at last also added the coveted prize of Milan. Berengar despatched an embassy to Constantinople, and, by a dexterous compliment, entrusted it to Liutprand, who was trapped into paying his own expenses. He endeavored to strengthen himself as far as possible in Italy (947). It would seem that Berengar tried to free himself from the interference of Otho, by the contests he entered into with him, for the next five years. Twice Otho interfered—once by his son, Luitolf, and a second time in person—to relieve Adelaide, widow of King Lothair, whom he afterward married. Berengar was compelled to follow him into Saxony, and then, with his son Adalbert, to swear homage. A third time Luitolf was sent down to Italy to quell the evil reign of the King and his son.<sup>1</sup> At nineteen, Octavian succeeded to the See of Rome as John XII. (955), and to the power of his father, Alberic. It is said that as Octavian he used his civil, and as John his spiritual, functions! Berengar, checked by Otho in his oppressions, began to turn his attention toward Octavian; and sought to wrest the possession of the city from him. In dread of his success, Octavian sent the Cardinal-deacon John, and Azzo, Protoscrinarius, to the German Court at Ratisbon, urgently asking for aid. With them, Waldpert, deprived of the Archbishopric of Milan, Waldo, the dispossessed Bishop of Cumae, the Marquis Othbert, and others, joined in the complaint. Otho prepared at once to interfere, especially as he also desired to receive his coronation at Rome. In February, 962, he was triumphantly received by the "*Summus Pontifex, et Universalis Papa*," and was solemnly anointed emperor. John XII. (Octavian) took an oath over the most precious body of St. Peter, that he would never accept aid from Berengar and Adalbert, and brought up the leading nobles of the city to swear it also. And Otho promised in turn his protection, and the restoration of the estates in Italy which the Church at Rome had lost. After this mutual exchange of pledges, Otho proceeded to besiege Pavia. Berengar had fled to Mount Feretratum (San Leo), Adalbert to the Saracens at Fraxinetum (Frasnet). Hardly was the Emperor out of hearing, when, with singular temerity, John cor-

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<sup>1</sup> Otto VI. 19, Ann. Altah. ad. an. 956.



responded with Adalbert, despite his oath. The oath was naught; he could absolve himself from *that*. But with Adalbert in exile, Berengar a fugitive, and the Germans in Italy still, Otho, when he heard of it—"Satis mirari non potuit," quoth Liutprand. The solution of the mystery was soon easy. The temptation to intrigue was great; for there was presented a combination somewhat as follows. With Adalbert on one side of Italy, and Berengar on the other, to annoy him, Pavia yet uncaptured, if the Emperor could be suddenly recalled to Germany, perhaps more could be secured than Otho would restore under a bare promise. Pavia, a strong point, would remain in Italian hands. He sent two emissaries to the Hungarians, to urge them to invade Germany. The Byzantine influence he courted, through two bishops sent to Constantinople. Adalbert could lead the Saracens. Besides, Berengar was now quite weakened. The opportunity would be obtained for securing the city, and the estates of which the Church had been despoiled, and gaining an enlarged authority over Italy. If this was the purpose, and it seems to be the only feasible explanation of his fourfold intrigues with the Hungarians, Saracens, Adalbert, and the Byzantines, it was well conceived; but far too frail a combination to succeed, with the instruments to be so hastily made use of. At twenty-six, John was too young a diplomatist to overmatch the far older and astuter Otho; who had, moreover, larger resources at his command. As soon as the Emperor heard of the combination, he sent messengers at once to Rome to fathom the mystery. The reply they received did not develop any political motives, but took the shape of a violent charge against John, for almost every conceivable iniquity.

No wonder he was a truce-breaker and perjured, for incest, rape, assassination in churches (*mors in tectis regnat quae nos orare multa volentes impedit, atque domum Domini mox linquere cogit*) were his usual practices. The ladies of Rome did not dare to go to Church. He made the widow of one of his soldiers Prefectress (*Praefectam*) of the city, and gave her the golden cups and the crosses of St. Peter's. The churches were rotting for want of repairs. To pursue such courses unmolested, he had leagued himself with Adalbert.

The kind, forbearing remark of Otho, when he heard this, "He is a youth yet, and we must try to lead him back to virtue, if not by persuasion, yet by force," concealed all that Otho had by this time learned of John's audacious conduct. The son of Alberic might possess insight, but was innocent of foresight. It was a case where the blunder was worse than the transgression. He tried to avert the storm (or to gain time) by sending an ecclesiastic, Leo, and Demetrius, a noble of Rome, to plead his youth and indiscretion, and to

promise reliable amendment. But he had also the rashness to retort that Otho had harbored his disaffected clergy, and had violated his solemn promise to restore the lost estates he had promised to recapture. The Emperor replied sharply to the legates:

He must first take the estates; that so far from harboring Leo and John, whom the Pope had traitorously despatched to Constantinople, they had been overtaken at Capua, as well as the Bulgarian, Saleccus, and Zaccheus, one of his illiterate bishops, whom he had sent to stir up the Hungarians against him. This was no rumor, for he [Otho] had their letters and instructions, signed and sealed by John himself.

In addition, Otho sent Bishops Landohard and Liutprand to obtain some satisfactory reply, and to make oath of his own innocence. He sent, too, a guard, who were, if necessary, to confirm their oaths by offering the wager of battle.<sup>1</sup> They were received discourteously. His Holiness did not care to conceal his dislike of the "formidable" emperor. He perversely and obdurately refused to accept their oath or the wager. Suddenly he dismissed them, with John, Bishop of Narni, and the Cardinal-deacon Benedict, sent by himself to Otho, hoping by their persuasions to delude him. Before they could reach Otho, Adalbert had left Fraxinetum, and was received with all honor at Rome. The heats of summer prevented immediate action; but as soon as cooler weather set in, Otho marched on Rome. At his approach, John and Adalbert fled. The Emperor had had already secret correspondence with some of the citizens, and the gates were forthwith opened to him. The populace flocked around him, proffering their allegiance, and offering to elect no one as Pope without his imperial consent and choice. The deposition of Octavian seemed to have been determined upon by the *Romans themselves*! Otho seems to have, up to this time, had no decided plan before him (November, 963). Three days later, at the request of the Roman bishops, and of the people also, a great Synod of the West was held in the Church of St. Peter. There sat with the Emperor, these archbishops,—From Italy: for Ingelfred, Patriarch of Aquileia, who was taken suddenly ill in the city, Rodolf, his deacon, Waldpert of Milan, Peter of RAVENNA; from Saxony: Adeltac, Archbishop, and Landohard, Bishop of Minden; from France: Otker of Spire, Hupert of Parma; from Italy: Liutprand of Cremona, Hermenald of Reggio; from Tuscany: Conrad of LUCCA, Everarius of AREZZO, the Bishops of PISA, SIENNA, FLORENCE, PISTOIA, Peter of CAMERINA, the Bishop of SPOLETO; from the

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<sup>1</sup> *Duello istum verum sese approbarent.*

Romans: Gregory of ALBANO, Sico of OSTIA, Benedict of PORTO, Lucidus of GAVIO (? Gubbio), Theophylact of PRAENESTE, Guido of SILVA, Candida (?), Leo of VELETRI, Sico of BIEDA, Stephen of CERVETRE, John of NEPE, John of TIVOLI, John of FOROCLUDENSIS (?), Romanus of FERENTINO, John of NORMA, John of VEROLI, Marinus of SUTRI, John of NARNI, John of SABINO, John of GALLESE; the Bishops of CIVITA CASTELLANA, ALATRI, ORTA, John of ANAQUI, the Bishop of TREVÌ, Subatrinus of TERRACINA;<sup>1</sup> the Cardinal Presbyters, Stephen of St. Balbina, Dominicus of St. Anastasia, Peter of (St. Lorenzo in) DAMASO, Theophylact of St. Chrysogonus, John of St. Equitii (?), John of St. Susannah, Peter of St. Pamachius (?), Adrian of St. Calisto, John of St. Cecilia, Adrian of St. (Lorenzo in) LUCINA, Benedict of St. Sisto, — of Quatro Coronati (name dropped), Stephen of St. Sabina, Benedict, Cardinal Archdeacon, John, Cardinal-deacon, Bonofilus, Cardinal-deacon, — Primicerius<sup>2</sup> (name dropped); George Secundicerius, Stephen Aminiculator, Andreas Arcarius, Sergius Primicerius Defensorum, John Sacellarius, Stephen Theophylact, Adrian, Stephen, Benedict, Azo, Adrian, Romanus, Leo, Benedict, Leo, "item" Leo, "et" Leo, Secretaries; Leo Primicerius of the Music School; Benedict, subdeacon and oblationarius; Azo, Benedict, Demetrius, John, Amicus, Sergius, Benedict, Urso, John, Benedict, subdeacon; —, subpulmentarius (distributor of bread to the poor), and Stephen, arch-Acolyte, with all the acolytes and regionarii; of the nobles of the city of Rome, Stephen, son of John, superista,<sup>3</sup> Demetrius Meliosi, Crescentius Caballi, Marmorei, John, surnamed Mizina, Stephen di Imiza, Theodore de Rugina, John de Primicerio, Leo de Cazanuli, Rihkard, Peter de Canaparia, Benedict and his son Bulgamino; of the Plebs, Peter, surnamed Imperiola, was present with all the militia of the Romans.

The elements of this Synod are highly significant. One patriarch; three archbishops; two German, eleven Italian, and twenty-five bishops, within the jurisdiction of the Pontiff; thirteen cardinal-

<sup>1</sup> We have modernized the titles for the sake of reference. Those in small capitals are also found in a list of Sees directly under the jurisdiction of the Pontiff, made about A. D. 1268.

<sup>2</sup> "*Primicerius*," next in rank to the Archidiaconate; *Primicerius defensorum*, chief of the seven "*advocati pauperum et ecclesiarum*;" "*Aminiculator*," seventh of the *advocati*; *Arcarius*, treasurer; *Sacellarius*, keeper of the Sacelli.

<sup>3</sup> *Superstes*—as present but not voting, the *laicis adstantibus* in Cyprian's time.

presbyters, three cardinal-deacons, most of whom were probably bishops also; thirty-one ecclesiastics,—in all, seventy-two bishops, priests, and deacons of the Roman Patriarchate; twelve of its nobles, and the Plebs, who had a right to be present; one hundred and two persons are named. Except the Emperor and three bishops, all were Italians; and these other four had a right to seats in the Synod.

There was little time wasted. The Emperor opened the grand and solemn Council by regretting the absence of his Holiness, and directed formal inquiry to be made why he was absent from their broad and common Synod. The reply came, exclusively, from the Roman bishops and cardinal-presbyters and deacons, and the "Plebs." It was averred that John's conversation and conduct were of world-wide notoriety. He had not shown himself a wolf in sheep's clothing, indeed, but a veritable undisguised wolf. Otho suggested that accusations be made, and then the Council could determine what should be done. The Cardinal Peter then deposed that he had seen him celebrate Mass without himself communicating. John, Bishop of Narni, and the Cardinal-deacon John, testified that they had seen him ordain a deacon in a stable, but could not specify the date. The Cardinal-deacon Benedict, with his fellow-deacons and presbyters, testified that he had sold the consecrations of bishops; and, in a certain year, he had consecrated a boy, ten years old, bishop for the town of Todi (*et quod annorum decem episcopum, in udertina civitate Tordinaret*). It was not needful to specify his sacrilegious acts; they were more seen than heard of. They, of course, had not witnessed his adulteries, but knew positively of four mistresses, whom they named. It was notorious that the holy palace had been converted into a brothel. He had deprived Benedict, his spiritual father, of an eye, which had caused his death. Cardinal-deacon John, he had mutilated. He had been an incendiary; he had worn sword, helmet, and armor. That he had pledged "the love of the fiend" in his cups, all, clergy and laity, unanimously asserted. At dice, he had used profane language. He did not observe the canonical hours; he did not use the sign of the cross. Thereupon, Otho (through Liutprand, who was his interpreter), warned them that hatred and envy often warped accusations; and solemnly swore that he would only use his lofty authority against the Pope upon accusations sustained by actual witnesses. With a single voice, the whole Roman part of the Council solemnly swore to the facts that Cardinal Benedict had set forth; adding that the whole imperial army could testify how he crossed

the Tiber, in full armor, to escape them. The Emperor admitted this fact. The Synod then moved that letters be sent to the Pope, summoning him to come and purge himself from these frightful and blasting accusations.

The tenor of them—in the name of the Emperor Augustus Otho, the archbishops and bishops of Liguria, Tuscany, Saxony, and France, to the "*Summus Pontifex et Universalis Papa, dominus Johannes*" (they did not add "*salutem*")—respected the crimes alleged against him; and, at the same time, went on beseeching him urgently to appear and purge himself of them. They pledged themselves strictly to do nothing contrary to the sanctions of the holy canons.

To this epistle, John condescended to return this "apologetic," as Liutprand styles it: "*Johannes Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, omnibus Episcopis. Nos audivimus dicere quia vos vultis alium papam facere; si hoc facitis, excommunico vos, da Deum omnipotentem, ut non habeatis licentiam nullum ordinare, et missam celebrare.*"

This missive must have puzzled the Synod sorely. Their letter actually twits him with his grammar, as if he could not rise superior to laws of syntax as well as to laws moral and ecclesiastical! Four more bishops made their appearance. Henry, Archbishop of Treves; Guido, of Modena; Gezo, of Tortona; Sigulf, of Piacenza.

The Synod returned a grave and fearless expostulation:

To the Pontifex summus, and Universal Pope, JOHN OTHO, by Divine clemency Emperor Augustus, and the Holy Synod assembled at Rome for the service of God, salutation (*salutem*) in the LORD. At a preceding Synod, held the sixth of November, we sent to you letters, which contained the causes of the accusation and the words of your accusers. In these letters, we requested Your Greatness to come (as was just) to Rome, and purge yourself of these allegations. We received letters from You fitting not the gravity of the time, but rather the vanity of rash men. You ought to have a reasonable excuse for not attending the Council. At least, messengers should be present to satisfy the Synod that You decline from sickness, or from some just difficulty. Besides, there is in Your letter somewhat, which no bishop, but a simpleton, would write. For you excommunicate us all [forbidding us to] sing masses, to ordain to ecclesiastical offices, if we elect another Bishop to the Roman See. You write, *Non habeatis licentiam nullum ordinare*. Now we always supposed that two negatives made one affirmative, unless Your authority overrules the decisions of the old authors. We indeed reply not to your word, but to your meaning. If you come to the Synod, and clear yourself of the accusations, we will undoubtedly obey your authority. But—and God forbid it—if you refuse to come to purge yourself of the capital crimes

alleged against You, we despise Your excommunication, and rather retort it, since we would so be doing justly. Judas, the betrayer and seller of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, received from the MASTER, at first with the rest, the power of binding and loosing in these words: "*Amen, dico vobis, quaecunque alligaveritis super terram, ligata erunt in caelis; et quaecunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in caelis.*" So long as he remained good among his fellow-disciples, he could bind and loose; but, when for cupidity becoming a homicide, he would destroy the life of all—whom bound could he loose, or loosed could he bind, but himself alone, whom he strangled with a miserable cord? Given, 22d of November, and sent by the Cardinal-priest, Adrian, and the Cardinal-deacon, Benedict.

The legates went to Tivoli to find him; but he had gone on a hunting expedition, it was said, and no one could give the slightest information as to where he could be found. So they brought their letters back to the Council. At the third session, the Emperor recited to the Council the motive which brought him to Italy—the solemn pledges, the broken oaths—and he left to them to say what should be done. The whole Roman clergy and people responded: "An extraordinary wound needs the searing of an extraordinary cautery. If the Pope had injured his own morals alone, he might have been endured. We beseech you that this monster, redeemed by no virtue, be driven from the holy Roman Church, and another be appointed in his place, who shall lead and influence us by his good conversation, who may live uprightly, and prove an example of living well." Otho accepted their request, if such a man could be found. The Protoscrinarius, Leo, was, at once, thrice nominated by the acclamation of the Synod. He was installed in the Lateran Palace, and, on the 9th of December (963), was consecrated Pope, taking the title of Leo VIII., and receiving the oaths of all the faithful.

This delicate and troublesome duty now appeared to have been ended; and Otho, to relieve the city, sent off his army, yet retaining a sufficient guard. When Octavian ascertained the position of things, he sent his emissaries, and bribed the populace to murder the Emperor and the Pope. The fickle mob attempted a revolt; but the imperial guards dashed into them as hawks into a flock of pigeons, and routed them completely, pursuing them into any and every corner, till Otho checked the fearful slaughter. The next day, he demanded one hundred hostages.<sup>1</sup> A week after, he moved against Spoletum, leaving Leo behind, and, at his request, releasing all his hostages. Adalbert fled to Corsica. As soon as Otho had left

<sup>1</sup> Otto of Freysing. vi. § 24.



the capital, John again began to plot (this time through the women of noble families whom he had corrupted); and, entering Rome, expelled Leo, who barely escaped his clutches. Those who fell into his ruthless hands were mutilated. The Cardinal-deacon John lost his right hand; the secretary, Azo, was deprived of two of his fingers, his tongue, and his nose. This result was completely unendurable; and Otho began to draw together his army, scattered by his operations in Camerina. Before he could do this, John had perished by the hand of an exasperated husband. He lingered eight days, and died without the sacraments! This was before Easter, which Otho celebrated with Leo in Camerina.<sup>1</sup> While the imperial army was at a distance, the Romans elected Benedict (the cardinal-deacon) Pope, and prepared for their defence. But, as Otho drew near, they sent an embassy to him, to implore his clemency; but his indignation was unappeasable. He surrounded the city, and deliberately starved it into submission, cruelly mutilating (John-wise) every one who tried to escape. As a final condition of surrender, he demanded that Benedict should be given up to him. Leo was restored, and Benedict was formally degraded. The Emperor remained till after the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29th), when he returned to Germany, taking Benedict along with him. Leo died the following year (965), and was succeeded by John of Narni—John XIII.—965.

Adam of Hamburg, in his "Chronicon," relates that the Archbishop Adalgus attended Otho upon his Italian expedition, and brought back the unfortunate Benedict. The account he gives of Benedict was very favorable. His piety and his earnestness made him very influential in the monastery in which he was placed, and preserved for him the warm friendship of the Archbishop. Adam adds that he died just as the Romans were requesting his restoration, fourth of July, but does not give the year.

The whole transaction has sadly puzzled later chroniclers. Lambert and the *Ann. Altahenses* have the barest reference that could be made to an event so counter to the Gregorian theories. Richerus is so occupied with the career of Gerbert and Franco-German Church affairs, that he only makes bare references to events without the range to which he has confined himself. The spirit in which it was viewed, later on, was inspired by the D. LXIII. of Gratian's Decretum (1150); which, though containing counter statements, still so shaped critical canons as to favor extreme Ultramontane

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<sup>1</sup> Otto of Freysing.

views. Gratian admits Leo's pledge to Otho (lxiii. c. 23), and the Roman editors (1584) speak of Leo VIII. quite unsuspiciously, and innocently refer for information to Liutprand. Otto of Freysingen avows his perplexity:

Whether all this were lawfully done, or not, it is not the purpose of the present work to say; for we propose to describe events, not to give reasons for them. I have found in some chronicles (but they were Teutonic) that the aforesaid John lived reprehensibly, and an assembly of Bishops and other subordinates was often gathered about it. It seems hard to believe this; for the Roman Church is wont to ascribe to its Priests this special privilege, that by the merits of Peter, himself founded upon the firm rock, no gate of hell, no whirlwind of tempest, shall involve them in destructive ruin (Otto, vii. § 23).

This principle was thus early at work in the minds of chronicle writers, and suggests many conjectures, and removes some of the wonder why John's case was so slightly noticed. Otto, however, admits Pope Leo into his list, appended to his chronicle (A. D. 1160): Johannes XII., Benedict, Leo VIII. And so, we believe, it stood for some time, certainly in 1584; but, in the catalogue in the Apparatus prefixed to the Prague edition (1728) of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Leo is omitted, and is now accounted as no better than an antipope.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gratian (D. lxiii. c. 23, 32, 33) gives the pledges of Henry I. and Otho I. to the Papacy. The Constitution (in c. 32) directing the freedom of election will not bear the slightest examination. During the period to which only this Constitution can be attributed, the See was controlled by Alberic, and any imperial pledge was then so much waste parchment. Canon 33 has been attacked on the ground that it is too much like the later feudal oaths of vassals,—an improbable relation between King Otho and the Papacy he protected. Mutual pledges were given; but the contents of this canon are, probably, partly spurious. "*Quod si—Romam venero,*" King Otho begins; though there could be no reason for such a proviso, as the pledge could only be given in exchange for his coronation as Emperor. "*Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, et te rectorem ipsius, exaltabo secundum posse meum, et nunquam vitam, aut membra, et ipsum honorem, quem habes, mea voluntate, aut meo consilio, aut meo consensu aut mea exhortatione, perdes; et in Romana Urbe nullum placitum, aut ordinationem faciam de omnibus, quae ad Te, aut ad Romanos pertinent, sine tuo consilio; et quicquid de terra sancti Petri ad nostram potestatem pervenerit tibi reddam.*" This *Jura mentum* is not consonant with the events we have recited above. The Roman editors of Gratian add: "*Sic me Deus adjuvet et haec sancta Dei evangelia,*" out of a MS. of forms of oaths in the library of Centius Camerarius at Rome. We would enjoy a sight of that old MS. hugely.

The oath or pledge of Leo VIII. to Otho (c. 23) fits much better both the

If Leo were an Antipope, against whom was he<sup>2</sup> such? An Antipope implies, *ex vi termini*, another Pope. But Leo was sole and undisputed possessor of the (so-called) Apostolic See. It would seem to be safer, on Ultramontane principles, to call him a usurper. But how can he be a usurper, whom all acknowledge, for his office' sake; whom none dispute or assail, but for his character and conduct? And if the assembly which elected him was a conciliabulum, then every conclave of cardinals which presumes to put a Pope in office, is such, in a superlative degree. But what did the Primitive and Apostolic Church—the original Church Catholic—know of even such an order as cardinals? And if Christendom must have a sole head, then, we say, let Christendom elect that head. Such a head, elected by a petty *close corporation*—virtually self-constituted—is one of the most enormous possible of ecclesiastical, not to say political and civil, usurpations. If anything now is an abomination of desolation, such an utterly lawless and irresponsible body is that very thing. Every Pope, therefore, is a downright usurper. He is chosen, *for a world*, by, perhaps, fifty self-willed men.

The principle of foreign intervention had a lemma attached, that was not anticipated when it was first applied to solve the difficulties of Papal aggrandizement. Yet it was perfectly legitimate. Admit the protective duty and patronage of princes over an Apostolic See, and there is no limit that can well be set to their action. Admit the crimes and desperate insolence of Octavian, and there is no fault to be found with Otho's conduct; it was unavoidable. If this extreme limit of authority was just, then all right action, within its bounds, ought to be justified also. The Papacy introduced the principle; it ought not to have been restive under its development. That it did not become the precedent it deserved to be, was clear enough from what has just been said. Till the era of French and imperial lawyers, the counter-statement of the extent of precedents was not ventured upon, and Ultra-Churchmen had the immense advantage of persistently, unitedly, and continuously asserting their favorite theory, and of advancing unblushingly their little stock of facts. On the other side were a few men only, who were intimately

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real relation of the parties to it and the succeeding attitude of the Empire to the Papacy. Its contents are fully implied in Liutprand's narrative. Gratian admits it only in extracts, and, if he had not thought it to be genuine, would not have admitted it at all, as it is in direct opposition to the Gregorian theory he advocated. He did not hesitate to falsify authorities, but he would not have falsified them in this direction.

versed in history; and these were disconnected in time, nationality, and purpose,—three great disorganizers. The inequality of the contest is strikingly exemplified in the collection of facts made in that remarkable book, “*Janus*.”

The Council that elected Leo VIII. was undoubtedly free. We have enlarged already upon its composition; but there are one or two facts besides, to which it may be well to call the reader's attention. The list referred to as the “*Provinciale Tancredi*” contains seventy-five names of sees. Of these, in 963, two hundred years earlier, only a comparative proportion could have existed, but there were twenty-three of them represented at the Council. Six of the seven suburbicarian dioceses were represented. Campagna sent an archbishop and three suffragans. Tuscany sent three archbishops and five suffragans; Spoleto, her archbishop and a suffragan; Camerina, an archbishop and a suffragan. Milan and Ravenna, the two weightiest sees of Italy, next to Rome, were represented. The Patriarch of Aquileia was in the chief seat. What more could a provincial synod require? A patriarch (albeit not admitted into the elder grade of patriarchates), seven archbishops and their suffragans; the presbyters and deacons and ecclesiastics generally, *all* represented. There was nothing defective or lame in the organization of the Synod. It had the last requirement,—the assent of the sponsorial sovereign. Its acts, then, were valid and abiding. The deposition of the deplorably sinful Pope was a regular, a most righteous, a canonical, and a legal deposition. It was done deliberately and freely. Every step taken evinces this. The course to be followed was hinted to Otho upon his entrance into the city; indeed, Liutprand's narrative implies that it was while he was yet passing through the streets. None but Italians took any active or prominent part in the proceedings. Adeltac of Saxony, Henry of Treves, Otker of Spire, Landohard of Minden, were passive consenting members of the grand assembly. The Archbishop of Treves and the German bishops were needed to complete the assent of the Western Church. The more closely the Synod is examined, the more punctiliously regular, canonical, and legal, according to the rules and usages of provincial or national councils, do its proceedings appear to be. It is worthy of remark, that there is not the slightest trace of the theory which the forged Council of Sinuessa was intended to sustain,—the application of the maxim of the civil law, “The judge can be judged by none.” The Synod cheerfully promised the undoubted obedience it would owe, if the Pope could but purge himself of the very grave and dark accusations brought

against him. There was not a dissenting voice; John did not have a single apologist throughout the entire assemblage of civilians and ecclesiastics. Though the actual sessions were apparently quite short—of a day's duration each—yet the Synod kept itself together from the sixth of November until the election of Leo VIII., after three days' solemn preparation, December the ninth. Liutprand would, in some way, have let out the fact of any opposition, had it existed even to peep. The succeeding troubles grew out of John's skilful intriguing, with the free use of heavy bribes. There is too slight notice of a record of Benedict's election, beyond the fact that he was chosen in the hour of revolt, to form any conjecture whether he accepted or sought the intrusive office. For, whatever may be asserted to the contrary, the election of Benedict was a plain invasion. If either one of the two was elected legitimately, it was Leo. He was the choice of the clergy and the people, and was confirmed by an authorized, not to say invited, emperor. Benedict could not well have received the votes of a proportion, that is, a significant one, of the Roman clergy, as they had been expelled, disgracefully mutilated,<sup>1</sup> when Octavian suddenly recovered possession of the city; and certainly he never had the Imperial confirmation. In fact, if the account of Liutprand is to be followed, Otho saved him from something worse than the disgrace of degradation, and was wise—when we remember the indignities offered to the *corpse* of Formosus—in taking him with him into Germany. There is another test, too, of the earlier admission that Leo VIII. *was* the proper occupant of the Patriarchal Chair,—his ordinations were not reversed. To those who remember the confusion worse confounded, which ensued from denying the validity of the ordinations of one Pope by another, and the false principle deduced from the efforts, at a later date, to eradicate Simony, by stigmatizing the ordinations of simoniacal bishops as null,—this will be no insignificant testimony.

We have said that it was strange such a precedent was never used, and have cited apologetic explanations of later chroniclers to show how history was bent to a fanciful and false theory. It was never directly imitated; in much later times it was ineffectually

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<sup>1</sup> John mutilated his opponents to destroy their priesthood. A mutilated priest must (among Romanists) cease to exercise his office. It was the old Jewish rule continued. It was once the law of Sweden, that Jesuits caught there should lose their manhood. No country was *then* freer from such intruders than Sweden. A tract in the Harleian Miscellany recommended the policy of Sweden to England; and proved (by statistics) that it would be more effectual than hanging, drawing, and quartering.

attempted. As might be supposed, it had an influence in the relations of the Empire to the Papacy, at least till the Second Lateran Council gave a new form to the mode of election. But a very rapid sketch of the Popes from Leo VIII. to Nicholas II. will show that the imperial influence, though at times very marked, was not shaped by all the precedents that might have been drawn from the deposition of John XII.

Leo was followed by John XIII. upon Otho's nomination. His successor, Benedict VI. (A. D. 973), was murdered the next year by Bonifazio Francone, who, after attempting to set himself up as Pope, fled to Constantinople. Benedict VII. was followed by John XIV. (983), who was, in a year, slain by Bonifazio, who suddenly returned, and succeeded in ruling in the Apostolic Chair for eleven months. John XV. next sat in the Holy Seat. Two of these Popes owed their place, more or less directly, to the German Emperor. The six were Italians; four of them Romans. They were practically overruled by the prefects of the city. Gregory V., the kinsman of the Emperor, was the first German Pope (A. D. 996-999). His successor, Silvester II. (Gerbert) was a Frank. A Crescentius imitated the rôle of Alberic, and controlled the reigns of John XVII., John XVIII., and Sergius IV. (A. D. 1003-1012). The next three Popes were of the family of the Counts of Tusculum,—Benedict VIII., John XIX., and the boy-Pope, Benedict IX. (A. D. 1012-1046). Their scandalous purchase of the See, and the enormities of Benedict IX., roused the Romans to elect John of Sabina (Silvester III.), and Benedict added to the confusion by selling the tiara to another John (Gregory VI.), and then reclaiming his office. This state of affairs was unendurable. The Italian Church appealed to Henry III., who, crossing the Alps, summoned a Synod at Sutri (A. D. 1046). The Synod set aside the two intruding Bishops; Benedict voluntarily abdicated in hope of being reinstated, but was disappointed; and the Emperor appointed Suideger of Bamberg (Clement II.). Upon his death, Poppo of Brixen was consecrated (Damasus II.), whose demise, a few months after, called again into exercise the imperial right to nominate (which now was all potent), and Bruno of Toul became Leo IX. (A. D. 1048). His meek, saintly character and lofty Churchmanship did much to restore the prestige of the Holy See. But his death, in A. D. 1054, again threw the nomination into Henry's hands, who, at the suggestion of Hildebrand, appointed his counsellor, Gebhardt of Eichstadt (Victor II.). Upon the Emperor's death, as his son (afterward Henry IV.) was an infant, Victor was virtually ruler of the political



as well as spiritual world; but his short career was followed (1057) by the short reign of Stephen IX. Nicolas II. first began as Anti-pope, but, by successful intrigues at the imperial court, was legitimated by the Empress-Mother Agnes, and her counsellors (A. D. 1059). The Second Council of the Lateran, by changing the mode of electing the Pope, and placing the nomination in the hands of the cardinals, materially lowered the imperial influence.

A rearrangement of this too meagre outline will give, at a glance, the alternations in the nominators:

Six Italian Popes, A. D. 972-996.	{ John XIII. Benedict VI. John XIV. Benedict VII. Boniface VII. John XV.	{      Imposed by the Prefects of the City.
Two Germans, A. D. 996-1002.	{ Gregory V. Silvester II.	{  Imposed by the Emperor.
Three Roman Popes, A. D. 1003-1012.	{ John XVII. John XVIII. Sergius IV.	{   Under Crescentius.
Three Roman Popes, A. D. 1012-1045.	{ Benedict VIII. John XIX. Benedict IX.	{   Under the Counts of Tusculum.

#### SYNOD OF SUTRI.

Four German Popes, A. D. 1046-1057.	{ Clement II. Damasus II. Leo IX.	{   Appointed by Henry III.
	Victor II.	{ Really Hildebrand's nomination.
Two anti-German Popes, A. D. 1058-	{ Stephen IX. Nicolas II.	{ Henry a minor, and the empire under a regency, the nominations were practically Hildebrand's.

Thirteen of the twenty, and these, too, who ruled longest, were elevated either wholly without, or with the slightest concurrence of, the empire. Five were imposed by the secular arm, two were confirmed in ordinary course. The act of Otho I. stands as a precedent never acted upon; with little influence upon succeeding politico-religious history. We have already given the true reasons. The Synod of SUTRI is not parallel to the ROMAN Synod, as the legitimate occupant of the chair voluntarily abdicated. The usurper (Silvester III.) was forcibly degraded, and the *soi disant* Gregory V. was convicted of Simony. The Apostolic See was therefore vacant.

Henry IV. simply, indeed, attempted to depose Gregory VII., but it was too wildly and passionately attempted to deserve the notice or importance his power should have commanded. Later, it was menaced rather than actually imitated. When the election of the cardinals was established, altering, as it did, again materially the true constitution, the Imperial assent did not add to the validity, but was the legal completion of a regular election, and was of practical importance in retaining jurisdiction.

The deposition of John XII. was inevitably too fatal to Ultramontane theories, to be permitted to become conspicuous. It was, therefore, adroitly put in abeyance, as we have seen, and resolutely lost sight of. Nor is this a sole instance of much-perverted history; as Döllinger's essays upon the fables respecting the Popes of the middle ages abundantly show. Nor has history been simply perverted; it has been deliberately falsified, as in the notable instance of the Spanish king, Witiza or Witizia.<sup>1</sup> Is it, then, strange that the precedent of Otho's treatment of John XII. should be first pushed aside, then systematically forgotten, and ultimately, when recalled, be coolly doubted of, and his successor conveniently branded as that pitiful thing, an Antipope? The self-stultification is nothing.

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<sup>1</sup>Giesler, vol. i. p. 551, note.



## THE FIRST RESURRECTION.

### PRELIMINARY EXPOSITION.

**T**HIS *earth is not to be the residence of Christ's risen and glorified people.*

"When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven,<sup>1</sup> when the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, when the dead in Christ shall rise first, when we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord,"<sup>2</sup> where will be the residence of Christ and His risen and glorified saints?

This question is connected with the subject of the First Resurrection. If Christ's risen and glorified people are to reside forever on this earth, the fact would render possible their resurrection previous to the general judgment. On the other hand, if this earth is not to be the abode of Christ's risen and glorified saints, their temporary residence here would seem to be quite unnecessary, and highly improbable. Their non-residence will be a presumption against the supposition that the First Resurrection is a literal, material, and bodily resurrection.

Merely to ask this question, in the words of St. Paul we have just repeated, is a sufficient answer to the question.

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<sup>1</sup> II. Thess. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> I. Thess. iv. 16, 17.

That we may be sure that this is the case, let us closely mark his graphic and comforting words.

1. First of all, St. Paul here describes our Lord as actually residing in "heaven."

*What heaven?* The very heaven to which He ascended from Mount Olivet; the very heaven which now "receives" him;<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, the very heaven he now occupies,—a real abode, and not an imaginary and spiritual residence.

2. From this real heaven, from which He is revealed, He descends; He leaves His heavenly home, and comes down.

But to what does He descend? Not at all does He descend to the surface of this earth, but He descends no farther than to "the air,"—the region above the earth.<sup>2</sup> This is His sole position at His second coming. He comes in a cloud.<sup>3</sup> He sits on a cloud.<sup>4</sup>

3. On the contrary, to this space above the earth all Christ's people are "caught up." They all ascend from the surface of the earth. They leave the earth. They do not return to it. They never occupy it again. The earth is no longer, nor at any future time, their residence.

This earth, then, according to St. Paul's teaching, is not to be the abode of Christ's risen and glorified people.

4. But their residence is ever the same as Christ's residence. "We shall ever be with the Lord." Where is the Lord? The Lord "is in heaven."<sup>5</sup>

What follows from these facts? The permanent residence of the risen and glorified saints will be, not this earth, but will be exclusively heaven. This, beyond all question, is St. Paul's teaching in his Epistles to the Thessalonians.

Other Scriptures assert that heaven will be the only residence of all Christ's glorified people.

1. The Scriptures expressly exclude the earth from the possibility of being their residence.

The earth is to be utterly consumed by fire. This total destruction is thus predicted by St. Peter: "The elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be

<sup>1</sup> Acts, iii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> These words of the prophet Zechariah, "His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives" (xiv. 4), do not contradict St. Paul's description of our Lord's descent merely to "the air." The prophet is portraying the spiritual presence of Christ at the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (Abp. Newcome, W. Lowth, Dr. Wells, Dr. Henderson).

<sup>3</sup> Luke, xxi. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. xiv. 14.

<sup>5</sup> John, iii. 13.

burned up."<sup>1</sup> Thus totally consumed, the earth cannot be the future residence of the risen and glorified saints.

2. The Scriptures also furnish positive assertions that heaven alone will be the permanent abode of Christ's followers.

Our Lord's declarations are conclusive testimony to this effect: "In My Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you. I will come again, and receive you unto Myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."<sup>2</sup> These words of our Lord express these truths:

(a) The "house" of our Lord's Father is no other place than heaven.<sup>3</sup>

(b) In heaven, our Lord is now preparing many mansions for the reception of His people.

(c) At His second advent, He will receive His people into these mansions in heaven.

St. Paul also affirms that heaven is the only future residence of the saints in glory: "We have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."<sup>4</sup> "The hope [the object of hope] laid up for you in heaven."<sup>5</sup> "Ye have in heaven a better substance."<sup>6</sup>

St. Peter teaches the same truth respecting the home of the saints in heaven: "An inheritance reserved in heaven for you."<sup>7</sup>

3. That heaven, and not this earth, is to be the future and eternal residence of Christ's people, has ever been the faith of His Church.

This was the patriarch Abraham's faith; "for he looked for the city having the foundations, sojourning in the land of promise, as in a strange country."<sup>8</sup>

This was the faith of "the innumerable multitude which sprang from Him;"<sup>9</sup> for "these all died in faith, not having received [in this world] the blessings promised, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that

<sup>1</sup> II. Pet. 3, 10. That *κατακαίειν*, the verb here used by St. Peter, denotes utter destruction, and not a mere purification, is proved, beyond all denial, by these passages: Matt. iii. 12; xiii. 30, 40; Luke, iii. 17; Acts, xix. 19; I. Cor. iii. 15; Heb. xiii. 11; Rev. viii. 7; xvii. 16; xviii. 8,—all the places in the New Testament, besides II. Pet. iii. 10, where this verb occurs.

<sup>2</sup> John, xiv. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xxxiii. 13, 14; Isa. lxiii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> II. Cor. v. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Col. i. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Heb. x. 34.

<sup>7</sup> II. Pet. i. ii. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Heb. xi. 9, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Heb. xi. 12.

say such things declare plainly that they seek a country. And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned. But now they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly; for God hath prepared for them a [heavenly] city."<sup>1</sup>

These words of St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, prove, beyond all doubt, that the faith of Abraham and his innumerable descendants, in embracing their eternal home, rested not upon the earthly Canaan,—not upon the earth, in its largest sense; but rested exclusively upon the heavenly country and the heavenly city God had prepared for them. The land of Canaan, which God had promised to Abraham as an "everlasting possession,"<sup>2</sup> could last only as long as the earth itself lasts. But the earth, as we have already heard from the mouth of St. Peter, is to be utterly consumed. The word "everlasting" denotes the perpetuity of which the subject is capable. The word cannot give its subject a perpetuity which the subject does not possess. The possession of the land of Canaan is not made absolutely "everlasting" by merely receiving this appellation.<sup>3</sup>

This also was the faith of the Psalmist David, and of the Church in his day, when he uses this remarkable and instructive expression: "the land of life."<sup>4</sup>

That King David's Hebrew words mean "the land of life," and not, as in our English Bible, "the land of the living," is undeniable. Our English Bible is correct when it says "breath of life."<sup>5</sup> It will not be correct, nor consistent with itself, till it also reads, in the three Psalms to which we refer, "the land of life."

In one of these Psalms,<sup>6</sup> "the sweet singer of Israel" thus addresses God: "Thou art my portion in the land of life." What land the Psalmist here means, he himself informs us, when, in another Psalm,<sup>7</sup> he exclaims: "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? God is my portion forever." The land of life is, then, no other place than heaven.

To "the land of life," even unto heaven itself, our Lord refers when He says, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xi. 13-16.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> "The word 'everlasting' is to be translated according to the capacity of the subject; sometimes for a perpetual duration, sometimes for as long as the world shall last,—according to God's appointment or purpose."—*Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man.*

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xxvii. 13; lii. 5; cxlii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxlii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. ii. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. lxxiii. 25, 26.



land." "The land" is one of the blessings He promises at the beginning of His Sermon on the Mount. The other blessings He here presents are of two classes,—subjective and spiritual, and objective and heavenly. Does "the land," as a blessing, differ from all the rest? This must not be assumed; this cannot be proved. Since it cannot, "the land," in this place, is deprived of all its literalness. "The land" cannot mean the literal earth, in any form or condition. "The land" cannot mean the renovated earth. Its meaning must be derived from the general meaning of the other blessings with which, in the text, it is closely associated. "The land," then, as one of the blessings Christ promises, is either subjective and spiritual, or objective and heavenly. It cannot be subjective and spiritual; accordingly, "the land" is only objective and heavenly. "The land," in this verse,<sup>1</sup> is identical with "the kingdom of heaven,"<sup>2</sup> with "the sight of God,"<sup>3</sup> and with "heaven" itself.<sup>4</sup> According, therefore, to our Lord's own definitions and explanations in His Beatitudes, "the land" of which He here speaks is no other place than "the land of life."

When, in the Book of Revelation, the four-and-twenty elders, the representatives of Christ's redeemed people, exclaim, "We shall reign on the earth," they predict no literal reign. They are "kings and priests" spiritually. Because they are spiritual kings, their reign is also spiritual, and nothing more.<sup>5</sup>

The four-and-twenty elders, then, do not foretell their local residence and dominion on the earth, but only their spiritual influence.

According to St. Paul, the source and power of this influence are the connection and exaltation all Christians have with Christ. "God quickened us with Christ. He raised us with Him. He enthroned us with Him."<sup>6</sup> Quickened with Him, raised with Him, by a spiritual resurrection enthroned with Him, they reign with Him; and all this, on the earth, by extending and sustaining His kingdom of grace in this world.

Even St. Peter's "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness,"<sup>7</sup> have no connection with our present heavens and earth; for "the [present] heavens shall be dissolved and pass away, and the [present] earth shall be burned up."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 3, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. v. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. v. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. v. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Eph. ii. 5, 6.

<sup>7</sup> II. Pet. iii. 13.

<sup>8</sup> II. Pet. iii. 10, 12.

St. Peter gives his own definition and explanation of the "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." They are, according to him, the "inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven."<sup>1</sup>

The phrase, "heavens and earth," is the expression for a complete creation.<sup>2</sup> This complete creation is "new," because it had no previous existence.<sup>3</sup> The righteousness of this new creation is the same as the freedom from "defilement" in the "inheritance incorruptible;" while this complete and new inheritance, with its righteousness and freedom from sin, is "reserved," not for a renovated earth, but is "reserved in heaven."

This, then, is the faith of God's Church in all preceding ages. The saints, both of the Old and New Testaments, believed that heaven alone would, when they were glorified, be their endless home.

This, likewise, is the faith and teaching of the Church, which promises "to minister the doctrine of Christ as this Church hath received the same."<sup>4</sup>

In her Seventh Article of Religion, she thus declares: "They are not to be heard which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises."

The Book of Homilies, which her Thirty-fifth Article pronounces "an explication of Christian doctrine," confirms, most distinctly and fully, the assertion with which we began this preliminary exposition,—This earth is not to be the residence of Christ's risen and glorified people.

This is the unequivocal confirmation the Homilies furnish:

"Our Saviour is gloriously ascended into heaven, to prepare our dwelling-places with Him." "The life and joys of heaven are kept for all them that patiently do suffer here with Christ."<sup>5</sup>

The location of heaven, God does not reveal to us. With the exception of the negative assertion, that heaven is not the renovated earth, the inspired writers are profoundly silent respecting the locality of the abode of the saints after the general resurrection.

This silence is significant and instructive. It should restrain all speculations and suppositions on the mysterious subject. God hides from us "the nature of the glory which shall be revealed in us."<sup>6</sup> "It doth not yet appear what we shall be."<sup>7</sup> In the same way, God

<sup>1</sup> I. Pet. i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cremer. *Lexicon*, p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> Ordination of Priests.

<sup>5</sup> Against Fear of Death, Part iii.

<sup>6</sup> Rom. viii. 18.

<sup>7</sup> I. John, iii. 2.

conceals from us the exact place, in His universe, where He locates heaven, and grants to His glorified people the beatific vision of His presence. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him."<sup>1</sup>

Where there is no Divine oracle, man's intruding wisdom is mere exegetical conjecture. His subjective interpretation is simply presumption, darkness, and error.

#### EXPOSITION OF REV. XX. 1-6.

1. And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.

2. And he laid hold on the dragon, that [the] old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,

3. And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

4. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a [the] thousand years.

5. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such [these] the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

This is a vision, and is to be explained as a vision. The figures that move in this vision are not realities, but are the emblems, representations, and prophecies of realities. In the succession of the centuries, the realizations become historical; but prophetic pictures, and not history, are the constituents of the vision itself.

In summary, these are the meanings of the several emblems and expressions in this vision:

The angel is Christ. The chain and the abyss are His power over Satan. Satan is his own personal influence in this world. The souls of the beheaded are Christ's disembodied people in all ages. The thrones and judgment are their present exaltation and dignity. The rest of the dead are departed souls in misery. The thousand years is not a definite, but an indefinite period of time.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Cor. ii. 9.

The first resurrection is the bliss and holiness of Paradise. The second death is the misery and punishment of lost souls.

Of this portion of the Book of Revelation, the principal subject is *The First Resurrection*. To ascertain the nature of this resurrection, is the purpose of the following exposition.

As the great subject of the passage includes all associated and subordinate subjects, their character, when discovered, will largely assist us in determining the character of the great subject. Would we, then, avail ourselves of the help the subordinates can contribute to the understanding of the principal, we must examine them in the order which St. John has selected.

Dean Alford, in his "Commentary on the Book of Revelation," claims, for the *literal interpretation*, its universal reception by the early Church. This is his unqualified assertion: "The whole Primitive Church, for three hundred years, understood the words of the prophecy (Rev. xx. 1-6) in the literal sense." But, we are obliged to say the contrary is the fact. The literal sense was, indeed, maintained by several classes of early heretics, and by certain primitive fathers; but not without stern resistance from many early writers. The literal sense was strongly opposed by Caius in the second century, by Origen in the third, and by Eusebius of Cæsarea in the beginning of the fourth century.

In view of these facts, the assertion in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History<sup>1</sup> is more correct than that of Alford: "The millennial doctrine did not prevail everywhere and uncontradicted."

Eusebius, who was born in the third century, A. D. 270, when he thus describes Papias, of the second century, the first millenarian bishop, expressly rejects the literal interpretation, and adopts the mystical or spiritual: "Papias says there would be a certain millennium after the resurrection, and that there would be a corporeal reign of Christ on this very earth; which things Papias appears to have imagined, as, if they were authorized by the apostolic narrations, not understanding correctly those matters which they propounded mystically (*μυστικῶς*) in their representations."<sup>2</sup>

These historical facts show the incorrectness of Dean Alford's statement: "The whole Primitive Church, for three hundred years, understood the words of the prophecy (Rev. xx. 1-6) in the plain, literal sense."

The advocates of the literal sense make these assumptions:

1. They assume that the thousand years is a *definite* period of time.

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 185, n.    <sup>2</sup> Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. iii. 39, p. 126, Cruse's translation.

2. They also assume that the first resurrection is a *bodily* resurrection.

That these are assumptions, we expect to be able to prove in the course of our exposition.

#### REV. XX. 1.

These are the reasons for believing that the "angel" here described is our Lord Jesus Christ:

1. "The Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil" (I. John, iii. 8).

2. When tempted by Satan, Christ overcame him (Matt. iv. 1-11).

3. He asserts His power over Satan, and affirms Satan's overthrow. "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. I give you power over all the power of the enemy" (Luke, x. 18, 19).

4. The act of "shutting up Satan in the bottomless pit" (Rev. xx. 3) shows that the angel who performed this act is Christ himself, because He says, of His own omnipotence, "He openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth" (Rev. iii. 7). "I have the keys of hell and of death" (Rev. i. 18).

In our Book of Common Prayer, we often recognize the *present* power of Christ over Satan. In the Collect for the Sixth Sunday after the Epiphany, we expressly declare that "the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil." In the Litany, these are our earnest petitions to Christ himself:

Good Lord, spare us from the crafts and assaults of the devil.

Good Lord, deliver us from all the deceits of the devil.

Good Lord, beat down Satan under our feet.

#### REV. XX. 2.

This designation of time, "a thousand years," does not denote a definite period. Neither the word "years," nor the word "thousand," is here definite in its signification.

The Greek language has two words for year, *ἐνιαυτός* and *ἔτος*. In this Book of the Apocalypse, St. John uses both words, and carefully distinguishes the one from the other. Only once does he use *ἐνιαυτός* (Rev. ix. 15), where the word evidently means a completed full year, as the word stands with other designations of definite time. An exact translation of the Greek shows this temporal defi-

niteness of *ἐνιαυτός* in this place: "The four angels were prepared for the hour, and the day, and the month, and *the year*."

That *ἐνιαυτός* denotes, everywhere in the New Testament, a completed full year, is certain from an inspection, by means of a Greek Concordance, of every place where it occurs. A single example will demonstrate that this is its meaning: *Ἐνιαυτὸν δλον*, "a whole year" (Acts, xi. 26).

On the other hand, *ἔτος*, the word St. John uses in Rev. xx. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, means, in the New Testament, a year indefinitely, a year more or less, about a year. That this is the meaning of *ἔτος*, is demonstrated by the places where it is found, and especially by the fact that *ἔτος* (but never *ἐνιαυτός*) is sometimes connected with the indefinite word *about*. This fact appears in Luke, ii. 37: "About fourscore years." Luke, iii. 23: "About thirty years." Luke, viii. 42: "About twelve years."

These instances prove most conclusively that *ἔτος* means a year indefinitely, a year more or less, about a year.

The use of *ἔτος*, an indefinite year, in the New Testament, will not, then, permit us to say: St. John, by the phrase a thousand years, indicates a definite period of this exact number of years. On the contrary, by the word years, St. John describes (so New Testament usage requires us to maintain) an indefinite period of time. His description is indefinite in all the places in the Book of Revelation where *ἔτος* occurs. The places are, as we have just seen, Rev. xx. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Had St. John intended to denote, by the phrase a thousand years, a definite period of this exact number of years, he would, we must believe, have used, in the phrase, the word *ἐνιαυτός*, a definite year. This word he did use (Rev. ix. 15) when he wished to designate a definite period. His neglect to use this definite word, *ἐνιαυτός*, and his actual use of the indefinite word, *ἔτος*, in Rev. xx. 2-7, conduct us to this inevitable conclusion. By a thousand years, St. John contemplates not a definite, but an indefinite period of time.

With regard to the word thousand. It was no innovation on the part of St. John to employ this numeral in an unlimited sense. The Psalmist had, centuries previous, used the word in precisely the same unrestricted sense, when he thus exclaimed: "A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday" (Ps. xc. 4). King Solomon gives the word thousand the same unlimited sense when he thus writes: "Though a man live a thousand years twice told, yet hath he seen no good" (Eccl. vi. 6). St. Peter, the contemporary of St.



John, when he describes an indefinite period, employs the identical word and phrase used by his fellow Apostle, St. John, in his Book of Revelation: "One day is with the Lord, as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day" (II. Pet. iii. 8). Thus, the use by St. John of indefinite years instead of definite, and also of the indefinite numeral thousand, obliges us to regard his expression, "a thousand years," in Rev. xx. 2-7, as marking, not a fixed number of years, but an indefinite period of time, time without limit.<sup>1</sup>

Difference between  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ , until, v. 3, and  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ , until, v. 5.

$\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ , until, denotes a definite end.

So, Rev. xvi. 8: "Till the seven plagues were fulfilled." Also, in ii. 10, 25, 26; vii. 3; xvii. 17,  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$  has the same use.

On the other hand,  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ , until, denotes an indefinite end. Such an end  $\xi\omega\varsigma$  certainly denotes in Rev. vi. 10, 11, the only other place in the book where  $\xi\omega\varsigma$  occurs besides xx. 5.

"How long ( $\xi\omega\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ , until when), O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

"And it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season" (the length of the season is, certainly, indefinite, and so, therefore, is the end denoted by  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ , until, in this passage), "until ( $\xi\omega\varsigma$ ) their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled [in number]" (Rev. vi. 10, 11).

We thus see the difference between  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ , verse 3, and  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ , verse 5— $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$  is definite,  $\xi\omega\varsigma$  is indefinite.

By means of  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ , verse 3, and  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ , verse 5, the thousand years are presented to us in two aspects and significations. In verse 3, the thousand years, though an indefinite period, have a definite limit. The imprisonment of Satan, though extending through an indefinite period, at length comes to an end (vs. 3 and 7).

But the condition of "the rest of the dead," verse 5, has no termination; the  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ , until, being itself indefinite, introduces the expression, the thousand years, which we have already proved to be indefinite.

Nor is this all the truth the indefinite word  $\xi\omega\varsigma$ , until, and the indefinite expression, the thousand years, place before us. As the condition of "the rest of the dead" never terminates, so the condition of "the souls of the beheaded," since here placed in contrast

<sup>1</sup> "In Scriptura sacra, millenarius numerus pro universate solet intelligi."—*Alufus Tornacensis Monachus, in Gregory I.'s Works.*

with "the rest of the dead," has also no end. "The rest of the dead" never become holy. "The souls of the beheaded" never lose their holiness.<sup>1</sup>

"I saw the souls of them that were beheaded."

In the New Testament, there are two phrases, The souls, and Souls. What is the difference?

The phrase, the souls, occurs only twice in the Book of Revelation, namely, vi. 9, and xx. 4, the place we are now examining. The phrase is found elsewhere only in Matt. xi. 29; Luke, xxi. 19; Acts, xiv. 2, 22; xv. 24, 26; xxvii. 10; II. Cor. xii. 15; I. Thes. ii. 8; Heb. xii. 3; xiii. 17; Jas. i. 21; I. Pet. i. 22; ii. 25; iv. 19. From an inspection of these nineteen places, this fact is established respecting the phrase, the souls:

The souls, *αἱ ψυχαί*, with the article, always means souls as distinguished from bodies. When translated "spirits," and even "lives," as it is in these three instances—Luke, ix. 56; Acts, xv. 26; xxvii. 10—it in no case necessarily denotes souls in bodies.

When *ψυχαί* is without the article, as it is only in these six places—Acts, ii. 41; xxvii. 37; I. Peter, i. 9; iii. 20; II. Peter, ii. 14; Revelation, xviii. 13—it means persons. This, then, is the usage of *ψυχαί*, souls, in the New Testament. *Without* the article, it means persons; *with* the article, it means souls. But in Revelation, xx. 4, *ψυχαί*, souls, has the article, *τὰς ψυχὰς*, the souls. The phrase then can only mean disembodied souls, souls without bodies. The phrase does not mean persons. There is a consequent truth of the greatest importance. The phrase, the souls, cannot denote souls united to resurrection bodies. The phrase cannot denote, as it is sometimes supposed to denote, the departed saints raised from the dead, clothed with bodies, and reigning with Christ on the earth. The phrase excludes from itself this explanation, and every other which contemplates the presence of bodies, even though they are spiritual. When, then, St. John says, in Revelation, vi. 9, and xx. 4, "I saw the souls," *τὰς ψυχὰς*, he can say nothing but this: I saw the disembodied souls. The objects of his vision were in the world of souls exclusively, and not at all upon this earth.

They were "beheaded" by the axe. So the Greek word, *πέλεκυς*, here used, declares. But beheading by the axe was a Roman punishment. The mention of the axe thus places the beginning of the thousand years in the period when pagan Rome persecuted the

<sup>1</sup> "You are soon to pass into an endless and unchangeable state."—*Prayer Book: Visitation of Prisoners.*

Christians. The martyrdom of Antipas (Revelation, ii. 13) occurred before St. John had his visions in the Isle of Patmos. Thus pagan Rome, in the very beginning of the Gospel itself, put Christians to death. In this way, the beginning of the thousand years is identical with the beginning of the Gospel dispensation. On this indefinite period, St. John pictures, by means of most graphic and instructive emblems, the bloody history of the Church from its commencement to its termination. This prophetic picture is the design of the vision described in Revelation, xx. 1-10.<sup>1</sup>

"And they lived and reigned with Christ the thousand years." They who thus live and reign with Christ the thousand years, are the souls of the beheaded, the representatives of Christ's persecuted and suffering people, in all ages of the world. Neither their life nor their reign is, then, in this world, but is in the world of souls.

"They lived." These souls live, not because they have revived from death, but because they have spiritual life. There are these two constraining reasons for giving this spiritual sense to the word *live* in this place.

(a.) The context demands this sense. "The first resurrection," v. 5, which is identical with the life and reign of these souls, is, as we shall soon see, a spiritual resurrection, and, therefore, the life ("they lived") is itself spiritual.

(b.) In addition to this demand and definition of the context. The word "to live" has a spiritual sense in several places, and, accordingly, may have this sense here. In this Book of Revelation, iii. 1, St. John himself uses live in this very sense. "Hast a name that thou livest, and art dead," art spiritually dead, though thou hast the name of possessing spiritual life. In his Epistle to the Hebrews, xii. 9, St. Paul gives the same meaning to the word live. "Shall we not be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and live?" Thus St. John himself, and St. Paul, fully justify our defining life in Revelation, xx. 4, as spiritual life.

"They reigned." To reign is to be a king, and a king occupies a throne. The reign of the souls of the beheaded, and their occupation (in v. 4) of thrones, are, therefore, identical; while their thrones identify these souls with "the four-and-twenty elders" of Revela-

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<sup>1</sup> "Per annos mille omne tempus ab adventu Christi usque ad finem mundi debemus accipere."—*Berengandus* (*Berengand*), *vir ecclesiasticus*, ninth century, in *Ambrose's Works*.

"This twentieth chapter containeth a brief view of all the times, from the rising of the Gospel to the end of the world."—Dr. John Lightfoot, *in loco*.

tion, iv. 10, who themselves occupy thrones (not "seats," as our English version) "round about the throne" of God Himself (Revelation, iv. 4).

"With Christ." These souls reign with Christ because they partake of His exaltation. This is Christ's promise to every follower of His, who, in this life, endureth unto the end: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me in My throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with My Father in His throne" (Revelation, iii. 21). In the visions of the thrones and their occupants, in chapters iv. 4, v. 9, xxiv. 4, we see the fulfilment of this promise. The occupants of the thrones are "the souls of the beheaded saints," who "reign with Christ," because the throne, which their thrones surround, is the joint throne of His Father and Himself.

"And judgment was given them." The exercise of judgment is a prerogative of kingly dignity. Partaking of Christ's enthronement, the souls of the beheaded also partake, in a way not described in the New Testament, of Christ's judgments. To the fact of this participation, these words of St. John, in his Book of Revelation, positively testify: "God hath avenged your judgment on her" (xviii. 20).

St. Paul teaches the same truth. "The world shall be judged by you" (I. Cor. vi. 2). "We shall judge angels" (vi. 3). We must not deny this judicial office of disembodied souls, because we cannot understand the wonderful announcement. There are other judgments besides the "eternal judgment" (Hebrews, vi. 3). Our Lord, while in this life, exercised judgment. "For judgment I am come into this world" (John, ix. 39). The judgment, then, of Revelation, xx. 4, is not necessarily the judgment of the last day. Since it is not, we are not to assign this gift of judgment to Christ's final tribunal, but leave it where He has placed it,—in the abode of happy souls.

We have already seen two conclusive reasons why the time mentioned in verse 4 is indefinite.

These are the two reasons: The phrase, "a thousand years," is indefinite, and *ἕως*, until, denotes an indefinite period. But there is still a third reason why the time in verse 4 is indefinite. The time is here destitute of express limitation. We have already seen, in verse 2, that the thousand years are, in themselves, an indefinite period. We also saw, in verse 3, that this indefinite period may have a definite end. But here mark,—this definite end must be designated by St. John before we are allowed to admit its existence. Its existence we are not at liberty to assume, and then pronounce it

a fact. We will now apply these justifiable distinctions to the expression, the thousand years.

In verse 3, a definite end is by St. John given to the thousand years; since, at their expiration, the bound Satan is loosed for a brief season, verse 7. But when St. John, in verse 4, says the souls of the beheaded reigned with Christ the thousand years, the revelator assigns no limitation whatever to the indefinite period. But because St. John expresses no limitation, there is no limitation. The indefinite period remains in its indefiniteness. In other words, St. John, in verse 4, represents the thousand years as without end.

When we examine St. John's description of "the rest of the dead," verse 5, we shall find still another reason for believing that the reign of the disembodied saints will continue so long as they remained disembodied.

*(To be continued.)*



## THE CATHEDRAL IN AMERICA.

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THE history of the Anglican Church and of her American daughter, for the last twenty years, presents some curious contrasts. On one side of the Atlantic we have seen the gradual dawning and development of the cathedral idea; while on the other we have seen a gradual impatience of the cathedral reality. It has been, in England, a period of almost destructive criticism; while, in America, it has been an era of enthusiastic inauguration. On one side of the water, the cry has been, "Cathedrals and the



cathedral system are alike failures. The venerable building of the nineteenth century is an anachronism, and its staff of more or less studious, but inert, clergy an offensive incongruity." In the late Church Congress at Leeds, the Dean of Durham relates that he has been the recipient of a pamphlet entitled "What is the Use of Deans?" and, in an admirable paper on "Suggested Improvements in Cathedrals," he concludes with an appeal for active coöperation in such improvements, on the ground that nothing less than prompt action will save the cathedral system from "parliamentary attacks." In a word, the tone of English criticism is either hostile or apologetic; while, at the same time, in our own land, we are assured that the cathedral is an ecclesiastical,—nay, a religious necessity.

Antagonistic as such opinions seem to be, they spring, in reality, from the same root. During the past thirty years, the Church of England has witnessed a marvellous revival of spiritual life. The stir of awakened vigor has been felt through every remotest member of the whole body; and thus the criticism of the cathedral system, as it exists in England to-day, is at once natural and intelligible. On the one hand, it is urged, "here are stately edifices, not always opened; and, when opened, rarely filled. Attached to them are numerous clergy, very few of whom are resident in the cathedral city, and almost all of whom are pluralists. This body of clergy consumes large revenues, and does very little strictly ministerial work. True, they cultivate learning and polite letters, and write books, and translate Greek plays; but over against them are clamoring the tens of thousands of spiritually destitute and untaught people,—men, women, and, saddest of all, children, with whom Christian England to-day is teeming. What," it is somewhat impatiently demanded, "is the cathedral system doing for the rescue of the degraded classes, the diminution of pauperism, the evangelization of the masses?" And the answer must needs be, not much, anywhere; and, in more than one cathedral city, almost nothing at all. Is it any wonder, then, that some people are impatient of moss-grown ruins, which, however venerable and interesting historically, seem only to block up the onward march of the Church, and to waste its substance in a sort of devotional dilettanteism? What are wanted, are agencies which shall not only centralize power, but distribute it; which shall not merely gather learning and numbers, but shall send them forth again to do some effective and appreciable work.

And so, in America, what has deepened dissatisfaction with cathedrals in England, has called them into being. The same sense of

urgent work to be done, the same need of organized and aggressive activities to accomplish it, the same want of a diocesan centre of life,—a centre which shall not be so much conservative as aggressive and distributive, has led, in the United States, to the rapid multiplication of cathedrals.

That this is so, we need only look at the cathedrals already in existence, to see. Accustomed, as many of us are, to regard the cathedral as an elegant and luxurious appendage of a wealthy and venerable ecclesiasticism, the first thing that strikes us, on looking at the cathedrals which have already been reared, is that they are in no single instance to be found in centres of wealth and culture, where the Church is strong, either in means or in numbers. On the contrary, the vast majority of them are to be found in communities where the foundations of the Church have barely been laid,—where her ideas are, to the vast majority, religious novelties, and where neither wealth nor numbers are in any sense available. A glance at the following list, which we take from a recent sermon of the Bishop of Wisconsin, preached on the occasion of opening an edifice purchased from a Congregational society in Milwaukee, and designed by the Bishop to be ultimately incorporated as a Diocesan Cathedral, will demonstrate this: The dioceses in which a cathedral, or something answering, in its design and purpose, to a cathedral, are to be found, are Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Florida, Indiana, Tennessee, Missouri, Maine, Albany, Western New York, Central Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Now, with a single exception, none of these are among the older or wealthier dioceses of our Church. On the contrary, but yesterday some of them were not dioceses at all, but unorganized missionary jurisdictions, hardly explored, and equally bare, so far as Church work was concerned, of men and means. Nay, even to-day, at least ten out of the thirteen dioceses which the Bishop of Wisconsin enumerates, are missionary dioceses, in such a sense, at any rate, that our Church in them is not strong enough to dispense with constant and considerable contributions of both men and money from without. How came the cathedral to be organized in such dioceses, unless the men who have been called to the administration of their affairs, found such an agency indispensable to the prosecution of their diocesan work?

To this it may be answered, as, indeed, in some quarters it has been answered, that the existence of the cathedral in many of our newer dioceses, proves only that slavish devotion to Anglican patterns from which neither American bishops nor presbyters have been

wholly free; or, that it illustrates merely that American passion for a pretentious nomenclature, which would fain dignify every clap-board chapel with a stately and sonorous title; that passion, in other words, for covering up meagreness of resources and poverty of efforts with ecclesiastical parade. But such an answer carries with it a very grave imputation, when it is considered who they are whose motives and action it impugns. Are Churchmen, of any name, or of whatsoever school, prepared to explain the existence of a cathedral in Nebraska, or in Minnesota, or in Iowa, upon such an hypothesis as this? It must at once be obvious that, among the dioceses which have been named above, are those of the most various ecclesiastic sympathies and affiliations, administered by bishops of the most dissimilar Churchmanship and proclivities. If, among any of them, we might expect the slavish devotion to Anglican models already referred to, surely, among these, such prelates as Clarkson and Whipple and Lee and Howe and Armitage can hardly be included. These men, and others who might be named, are men saturated with the American spirit, grateful, indeed—as who is not?—for the fostering care of that “dear mother, the Church of England, from whence we rise” (as Governor John Winthrop, some two hundred and fifty years ago, so filially wrote), but manfully conscious of our independence as a national Church, and of the supreme need of adopting our Church’s agencies and activities to the wants of a living present, instead of wasting its strength in disinterring and vainly endeavoring to galvanize the worn-out methods of the past. No one who has watched their work can have the hardihood to affirm that they have not grappled with the problems of our American irreligion in a thoroughly direct, practical, and intensely earnest spirit. And yet, almost the first thing that some of them have done, has been to set about building a cathedral.

It may still be urged that such a fact simply argues a spirit of ecclesiastical sentimentalism, which may, indeed, coexist with much earnest and practical endeavor, but which is pretty sure to characterize a certain type of churchmanship. Just as the most matter-of-fact woman has somewhere in her a vein of romance, so, it will be argued, have even moderate and conservative bishops, and presbyters of a certain very prevalent type, a yearning for the poetry and the sentiment of a cathedral. There would be something, perhaps, in such an argument, if it were not a task so hopelessly impossible to make it in any way apply to the facts before us. Among our frontier bishops, whose cathedrals mark the line of the Church’s advance across our western prairies, are some, perhaps, in whom the

emotional, sentimental, or poetical element is by no means deficient; but the vast majority of them are men supremely of action, intent upon real, aggressive, persistent work, and to attempt to explain their cathedrals on any theory of religious sentimentalism, is to suggest so utter an incongruity as must needs provoke a smile.

No; the cathedral, where it exists already in our American Church, exists because it stands for a felt want, and witnesses to the recognition, on the part of its builders, of its definite function. It is no longer a theory among us, but a fact; and the comparatively rapid multiplication of cathedrals, especially in our newer dioceses, would seem to imply that the want which they were intended to supply, and the functions which they were intended to perform, were at once real and definite. What that want has been, we may as well let those who have most keenly felt it, tell for themselves. Says the Bishop of Minnesota, in his sermon preached at the consecration of Grace Cathedral, in the Diocese of Iowa:

The Primitive Church gave to the bishop his cathedral church, to be the centre of all the work which ought to cluster around a bishop's home. Our American branch of the Church was fettered in her infancy by the ideas of surrounding sects. Its parishes were isolated Churches. They lacked a central band of fellowship. The separated clergy stood alone. Each one grew more intensely individual by his isolation. *The bishop was, in theory, the centre of unity*; but he only met his clergy once each year, and he could not know their wants, so as to be, in very truth, their father in God. There was no diocesan unity in great plans of work; and, hence, many a noble apostle has gone down in sorrow to the grave with a broken heart. In the diocese there were as many "uses" as individual tastes might weave into the service; opinions became matters of faith, and brought party shibboleths and party strife.

*The cathedral church gives the diocese what every parish cannot give,—the daily prayer and weekly Eucharist.* No day should ever dawn, or sun go down, without its incense of daily prayer. The lonely missionary and the parish priest, and the Christians hindered from such devotions by worldly cares, will be strengthened by the increasing worship which here goes up to God. The cathedral thus elevates the tone of worship throughout the diocese. There was a day when men revolted against superstition, and, in their zeal for simplicity, they stripped the Church to very baldness. The King's daughter should be clothed in garments of beauty. The graceful lines of architecture, the vaulted roof, the stained glass, the carving of the sanctuary, and the precious emblems of our faith, may all elevate our souls, and give us a deeper realization of God's presence in His Church. The law of ritual cannot be left to the fancies of the individual priest. The bishop's watchful care will see that we do not symbolize doctrines which the Church does not teach. Year by year the service will become more beautiful; and it ought to be the expression of hearts united unto Christ. Without this, our beautiful ritual will be, in God's eye, as kingly raiment upon a corpse. The Bride of Christ ought to

be clad in garments of beauty; but the fine linen of her adorning is the righteousness of the Saints.

*The cathedral is the centre of the diocese's work.* Our Lord sent out His disciples two and two. The greatest of Apostles took a brother on his missionary journeys. How much greater the need in these days of doubting faith! In our western fields, a bishop's life is one of deferred hopes. He must often work without men or means. If he build a school, a divinity-hall, a hospital, or home of mercy, he must lay the corner-stone with prayer, and water it with tears, and believe almost against hope that where we are blind to see no way, God will make a way. The bishop is a pitifully helpless man, unless he have the loving sympathy and the kindly aid of all his children in the Lord.

*The cathedral is the bishop's home.* He is the father in God to all his brethren. The best bishop is the truest father. This fatherhood will deepen by daily contact with fellow-laborers. He will have clergy with widely-different theological views. They will have different plans and modes of work; and he will give to all the liberty the Church gives. "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of administration, but the same Lord; and there are differences of operation, but it is the same God which worketh all in all."

To much the same purport is the following extract from the sermon preached on the opening of the edifice, ultimately designed as a cathedral for the Diocese of Wisconsin, by the bishop of that diocese. Anticipating both popular misapprehension and the fear of local rivalries and jealousies, the bishop goes on to say:

I know that there are prejudices against the name "cathedral," and grave misunderstandings as to its meaning. Some think it is a dangerous novelty among us, in some way associated with extreme doctrines and practices. The truth is, that the first bishop of our Church in Pennsylvania—Bishop White—one of the most moderate men, in his memoirs very solemnly gave the close of what would probably be his last work, to declare his conviction that every bishop must have his own church, apart from the parishes under his charge. Bishop Hobart, in New York, soon after tried to enlist his diocese in the purchase of a central site in the growing city, to be occupied for a cathedral, which, in due time, would be sorely needed. Had they listened to him then, or had his life been spared a little longer, the diocese would not now be busy, as it is, in raising a million of dollars for the mere site of a cathedral. The idea and feeling of necessity are old in the Church in this country. In England, bishops have always had their cathedrals, although Church and State have distorted them into warnings for us, rather than models to imitate. The practical realization, from many causes, has been of slow beginning and growth. But, to-day, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Tennessee, Missouri, Maine, Pennsylvania, Florida, Indiana, Albany, Western New York, —all have, in some form or other, a bishop's church. And this, because experience everywhere shows the same need. Almost all are slow to attempt to give permanent shape to the organization, and are wisely working on, leaving

the work to shape it, just as we are doing. The work is the main thing, and that can be as real in an humble chapel, like the one we have lately occupied, as in a minster like York; without title and dignity as well with a full staff of dean and canons and prebendaries, and whatever else.

Now, the one leading thought on the whole subject, which I beg to have indissolubly tied to this building and to the whole work undertaken on this site, is, that the bishop's church is for all souls,—free and open in every way to all who desire the ministrations of the Church. A parish is an association of men who desire these ministrations, and provide them for themselves. If they are wise and Christian, they will make their parish a centre of influence and work for Christ, on the community outside of their own number. If they are selfish and foolish, they will be content to let others provide for themselves as they have done. But the bishop's church must have no restriction. The bishop is also a pastor, and, according to the doctrine of the Church, is sent to care for all souls within his field. And while he will wisely multiply parishes, and rejoice in every new congregation which is formed, he will always see the need of having helpers and agencies and institutions, and a free and open church, to reach those who will not include themselves, nor even be included, in those bodies. Men sometimes speak as if the bishop's church and work would interfere with parishes,—would absorb all their energies, and bring about a dangerous centralization. Let any one read our canons, and see how carefully the bishop's power is restricted on every side, and he will hardly fear that. And his cathedral work will only supplement that of the parishes. The parishes being united in the diocese, and so in the cathedral, will find there as results of their combined gifts, perhaps, means and agencies which no one parish can provide itself. The diocese will be the gainer for the training of its workers, both clerical and lay, which will naturally be given in the cathedral, and the bishop can thus properly command a constant supply of helpers in the diocesan church, which he could not set in one parish in preference to others. Let it, then, be understood that what is here is not the concern of a single parish or congregation, but a general work for the good of all. There will be, of course, a regular body of worshippers here; but all worshippers are welcomed whenever they will come. For the support of the work, we depend entirely on the willing offerings of the people. We ask all who will be regular worshippers, and as many more as will join them in this, at least, in order that we may have some basis of income from which to gauge our expenditure, to pledge a minimum sum which they will give steadily to our work. We shall need the united and self-denying gifts of us all to carry it forward, with our increased expenses. I hope we shall not need to say much about these contributions; for I trust that the spirit is growing among us which will make every one glad to give money and time and work to the Lord. And more direct gifts can hardly be made to Him than in this work, which pays no human being a dollar beyond his bare maintenance, his food and raiment; which makes no outlays in the modern luxuries of worship, so called, and which is sending out from house to house, and from soul to soul, in this community and in its neighborhood, Christian men and women intent on helping and winning for Christ; which maintains worship in three places besides this; and here will offer frequent and various services, to meet the occasions and opportunities of all.



It will be seen, from the above extracts, that there is a substantial concurrence of opinion as to the function of the cathedral, and that four separate considerations are mainly urged as demonstrating its utility. It is wanted :

- (a) As a rallying-point for the clergy.
- (b) As an elevated type and example of the Church's worship.
- (c) As a distributing centre of diocesan work ; and
- (d) As the ecclesiastical home of the bishop.

1. Of course, opinions will vary as to the importance of such functions as are here suggested ; but concerning some of them there can hardly be much doubt. Inverting, for the moment, the order in which the uses of a cathedral are mentioned above, let us consider what is meant by the phrase which describes the cathedral as "the ecclesiastical home of the bishop." It may be said that every parish in his diocese ought to be the ecclesiastical home of the bishop, and that to identify him with any particular edifice or organization is to aggrandize him at the expense of the several parishes in his diocese, from which he is thereby, in a certain measure, withdrawn. It may be urged that, if a bishop had no cathedral, he would be apt to see more of his own clergy in their own parishes, and encourage them by his informal as well as official presence. It is a beautiful theory, but it is as visionary as a *château en Espagne*. The genial, nomadic bishop, who drops in upon his presbyters of a Sunday morning, when he happens to be at leisure, is a myth, to priestly and parochial experience all but unknown. And this for two reasons : First, because ordinarily no bishop has the disengaged moments necessary to such informal visitation ; and, again, because, if he had, such a course would ordinarily excite surprise and embarrassment on the part of his clergy. There is no body in the world with a more positive apprehension of its own rights, and a more definite determination to maintain them, than the presbyterate of our American Church. And if a bishop were discovered to have a disposition to come in upon his clergy at irregular times and seasons, to criticise, however kindly, their utterances, to traverse their modes of work,—in a word, to obtrude himself as an active personality into the parish life, he would be apt to be very promptly, though courteously, bidden back to his own appropriate sphere. Indeed, so decided and so general is this sentiment, that oftentimes it is not easy for the bishop to find a welcome, even when he only desires to occupy a parish church for some occasional service, such as an ordination or a missionary meeting. And the spectacle is not unknown, of a bishop suing for admission to some church edifice,

which rector and vestry have opened to him with only too scant courtesy and too obvious reluctance. If anybody thinks such a spectacle a seemly one, they must, verily, have strange conceptions of what is fitting and decent.

But what shall prevent its frequent repetition? It is hard to see—unless there can be provided an edifice in which a bishop shall be at home—a church in whose services he shall have a definite measure of authority. Somewhere in his diocese, every bishop is entitled to have a building whose doors he may open, and in and out of whose portals he can go as he will,—a building where he may gather his clergy, convene his diocesan counsellors, ordain his candidates for Holy Orders, as well as preach the Gospel of his Master, and minister His Holy Sacraments.

2. And, next to this, the cathedral has a definite function as a distributing centre of diocesan activities. To us in America it cannot be insignificant, as suggesting an example for our imitation, that the cathedral was called into existence for precisely that end. "It must be granted," says the Dean of Norwich, in his recent volume on the cathedral system,<sup>1</sup> "for it is matter of fact, that a cathedral was, in its origin, nothing more than a missionary-station, where the bishop of a partly-unevangelized country placed his seat, and that the cathedral chapter was originally nothing else than his council of clergy grouped around him, whose duty was to go forth into the surrounding district with the message of the Gospel, to plant smaller churches which should be subordinate or parochial centres, and to return again periodically to the diocesan Church at headquarters, for the counsel and directions of their chief." Could there be a more exact description than this of the relation which there is (or ought to be) between a missionary bishop (and many diocesan bishops) and their missionary deacons and presbyters? It is the experience of every bishop, that, if he could command the services of a few clergymen not settled in organized parishes, or anchored by other ties, whom he could send at opportune moments to improve new openings, to maintain, temporarily, the Church's services, to attempt in a tentative way, at new points, a certain amount of Church work, some of the most promising fields might speedily be made centres of ecclesiastical life and activity. But, in order to do this, something like the Methodist order of itinerants is wanted, and for this, apparently, our Church can find no place. In one or two of our dioceses, the introduction of an order of

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<sup>1</sup> "Principles of the Cathedral System," Int. p. xviii.

evangelists has been attempted; and, as the last annual address of the Bishop of Central New York informs us, with an encouraging measure of success. But the idea has not yet taken root, and, admirable as every one owns it to be in theory, there seems to be a singular apathy as to reducing it to practice. Is it because we are so rigid, and frigid as well, that we have no real interest in the matter of utilizing within our own borders this powerful arm of Methodism; or is it not, rather, that we have been deterred by the very practical question, "When you have created your order of itinerants or evangelists, what are you going to do with them? Where shall they find the centre of their operations? From what shall they radiate? Who shall superintend their work and direct their energies?" And if it be answered that other bodies, who have employed the itinerant system, have not been hindered by such questions, then it is to be remembered that those other bodies are not bodies episcopally constituted, or if nominally so, then bodies in which the (so-called) episcopal office is a mere superintendency, and nothing more. In the Methodist communion, for instance, an order of itinerants does not presuppose a bishop who first surveys the ground and then distributes his forces; while the fact that such an arrangement is in fact the most effective, is evidenced alike by the history of our own missionary work and by the recent admission of a foremost Methodist journal, that "diocesan episcopacy," or, in other words, episcopacy with a definite territorial jurisdiction, is the secret of the marked success of the missionary work of our Church, especially in the West. But in order that a bishop may be able to distribute his forces, he must first be able to concentrate them; and here appears the function of the cathedral as a centre where the clergy may be assembled, where they may find temporary employment—say in schools, or in theological study, or otherwise—and yet be so free from anything like a parochial tie, that, at a moment's notice, they may be sent to some point where their services are demanded.

It may be said that such a theory is excellent enough, but in fact impracticable; that the demand for clergymen for parochial cures, the difficulty of finding means to support them at such a centre as the diocesan cathedral, and similar obstacles, are too great to be overcome. To all which the answer is, that in one diocese at least,<sup>1</sup> the theory has been turned into the most practical and successful reality, and that in the face of the most serious discouragements.

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<sup>1</sup> Wisconsin.

It is difficult to see why a few unmarried priests and deacons could not live together in the cathedral house less expensively than as heads of families, nor why they would not be far more available than if anchored in rectories and fettered by domestic ties. A bishop, like a general, needs to have somewhere among his forces, troops that can readily be mobilized, and the bishop's church or cathedral is obviously the fitting centre from which such a force may most readily and effectively be distributed. If the diocese or jurisdiction be mainly of a missionary character, then the uses of such a staff of clergy as above suggested are too obvious to require argument; while, if the diocese be an old and thickly-settled one, with the Church well and strongly established in its principal centres, then the function of such a clerical staff appears the moment we consider the urgent need that there is for a body of men who shall be distinctively employed as preachers. It is not too much to say, that the recent utilization of English cathedrals has had much to do with developing in England a class of preachers of an order superior to any that has distinguished the Church of England for a long time. But the preaching of such men in cathedrals is only a part of their function. The Church of England has used them most wisely and most efficiently in connection with special services in organized parishes, in courses of sermons in halls and lecture-rooms, where congregations are gathered such as cannot be induced to enter a church edifice; in a word, for the purpose of awakening the torpor and breaking in upon the dead level of sameness, to which even the best organized congregation, under the most laborious ministry, is liable to settle. It is an immense boon, sometimes, amid the dry routine of parish life and work, to have something come in which shall lift both people and priest out of the rut, and give them both the mental and spiritual reinvigoration that comes with a fresh voice, presenting the same truth, it is true, but in a fresh setting. But such a work can never be accomplished until there shall be called into existence the order of men whose business it shall be to do it; and such an order can never exist until the cathedral or diocesan church shall give them at once a definite *status* and function, in connection with a common centre of organized activities.

As the Church grows older and stronger, the need of such an order gathered at such a centre will be more and more felt. The demands upon the parochial clergy are so numerous and complex,—the same man, in even the best-appointed parishes, has to be so many things, that, between the pressure of Sunday and week-day schools,

of parochial visiting, of superintending and maintaining charitable enterprises, "the pastor in his study" is in danger of becoming a vanishing memory. "It is not meet," declared the Apostles, "that we should leave the Word of God and serve tables;" and many an over-worked parish priest echoes that cry; but the Church cannot give him even a single deacon, and so he struggles on, to the detriment of his own powers, and equally to the detriment of his ill-fed flock,—his energies frittered away amid a thousand distractions, that leave him only the merest fragments of time in which to store his own mind, or to prepare himself to stand up as a guide and teacher to his people. What an inestimable blessing to such a man, could he feel that, from time to time, he might be reënforced by some brother clergyman from the mother church of the diocese, whose pointed, fervent, vigorous utterances might quicken and stimulate both him and his people! It is doubtless true, as Canon Wescott has said,<sup>1</sup> that while, "at the era of the Reformation, the most natural expression of intellectual activity (in theology) was preaching," and "while preaching is still a most important function of a cathedral body, it does not now represent relatively the same function that it discharged in the fifteenth century;" and this for the reason that "the corresponding work is rather to be sought in popular written expositions." But though the press is undoubtedly doing much that was once done by the pulpit alone, the time will never come, until the pulpit loses all power and unction, when the most potent agency in influencing the conduct of men, and bringing home to them essential spiritual truth, will not be the living voice of a living man. And yet, if excellence in anything else implies more or less exclusive devotion to it, why should it not be so in the matter of preaching? and if there is to be exclusive devotion to the business of preaching, how can we secure it, save by means of an order of preachers who shall go forth from their appointed centre?—itself the noble sphere of their noblest efforts.

And so, too, in the matter of the charitable and philanthropic enterprises of a diocese. If any one will take the trouble to look over the eleemosynary operations of the Church in one of our great cities, the first thing that must needs strike him is the immense waste of means and energy that invariably characterizes them. The Church, as a fact, in large cities, is often simply pure congregationalism. There is not even the faintest pretence, often, of any common in-

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<sup>1</sup> Art. on *Cathedral Work*. "Macmillan's Magazine," February, 1870, p. 311, note 2.

terest or effort. The city rector looks over the wall at his brother rector, with a feeling in which indifference and disapprobation are apt to be mixed in about equal parts. He knows next to nothing of his brother's methods, nor that brother of his. Each one of them, perhaps, or, at least, each half-dozen clergymen, have their pet "asylum," or "home," or orphanage; and, in a community where one strong institution would be at once a power and a blessing, there are as likely as not to be a half-dozen, each struggling to exist, and each wasting resources which, if consolidated and administered with unity and harmony of purpose, would do a work fourfold greater than that which is like to be the sum of their isolated efforts. There is no more crying need in our cities than for something which shall unify the well-meant labors, and wisely aggregate and administer the generous benefactions which are often so profusely laid in the lap of the Church. And where can we look with so much hope for such a unifying agency as to the diocesan cathedral, with its board of trustees representing every shade of sentiment, and its staff of clergy including every phase of theological opinion?

One cannot but anticipate the relief that such an agency would bring to over-taxed pastors, no longer called upon to carry the interests of sundry struggling charitable enterprises upon their hearts, in addition to the inevitable burdens pertaining to their own immediate cure, and relieved most of all by the conviction that money was not being needlessly expended in the maintenance of useless machinery, only half doing work which might be far more economically and efficiently performed. The spirit of the present age was said, in a recent convention of the disciples of "free religion," to be one of "profuse beneficence." If this be so, we may well anticipate that it will be followed by an era of reaction, when the popular demand will be, What are all these "shelters" and "folds" and orphanages doing to vindicate their right to such large benefactions, such costly edifices, and such ample retinues of attendants? And we shall be fortunate if we do not discover, as the result of the utter want of organization, and, above all, of consolidation in the charities of our great cities, that, as was recently actually shown in the case of one of them, the cost of maintaining those whom they shelter is equal to the cost of maintaining such beneficiaries at the most expensive hotel in the country.

And yet it is idle to hope for any improvement in this state of things, until we can have some central organization, ecclesiastical in its character, and yet so separate from and unlike the parish Church as to make it wholly impossible that there should be any rivalry be



tween them and it,—an organization which, representing all shades of ecclesiastical sympathies, will administer its charities in a broad, impartial, and truly catholic spirit, aiming to build up no single parish, nor serve nor further the ends of any particular school or party. If we are to find any such central organization, it must be in connection with the diocesan church, or, in other words, the cathedral.

3. But the cathedral has a still further function among us as an elevated type or example of the Church's worship. Our American Church allows, with great wisdom, a very wide diversity in the manner of celebrating her services. There are congregations where the baldest simplicity may be found, on the one hand, and the most ornate ritual, on the other; and these differences in the "use" obtaining in different parish churches contribute to adapt the Church's services to a very various class of worshippers. But the unreserved indulgence of these differences is not without its dangers. On the one hand, a passion for splendor, an æsthetic delight in ceremonial, may carry our services to the verge of an almost servile imitation of rites and customs which have no place in our reformed Catholic Church; and, on the other, a recoil from these extravagant usages, or a desire to protest against them, by act as well as by word, will provoke many to an almost ostentatious neglect of all regard for what is only decent and orderly. If a clergyman's riding-whip and gloves have found a resting-place upon the Holy Table, in the sight of an assembled congregation, it may have been in somewhat coarse and impulsive protest against the obtrusive genuflections and abject prostrations which had earlier been made by some other before that same altar. And thus, as we see in fact, differences are intensified, and a reverent uniformity is rendered more unattainable than ever.

But what shall prevent increasing differences and a wider divergency of opposing customs? It has been wisely held that a microscopic and rigid legislation will not do it; and it is doubtful whether anything will wholly displace our present almost endless variety of custom. But if anything could help to that end, it will be a central and stately structure, where the Church's services are rendered in their fulness and grandeur, but with as close an adherence as possible to the cathedral worship of our mother Church. That worship has been shared in for generations by men of every shade of opinion and every variety of ecclesiastical association. But all hearts yield to its spell, and all minds own its dignity, beauty, and impressiveness. The most familiar tribute to an English cathedral service,

which has been written in our day, emanated from a divine of the Puritan school of theology, and of most rigid Puritan descent. It certainly ought to have set us thinking long ago, that no worship in modern days has been so uniformly approved and prized by Christians of every name, and men of every rank, as has the cathedral service. If such a service has in it elements that touch the most different natures, why should we not employ it among ourselves? and, above all, why should we not have it so employed, under conditions which would lift it to be the type and pattern for the whole Church? In England, the average parochial worship is in every way better than ours,—having more heartiness, and, especially in the musical portion, more of unison, than among us is anywhere to be found. And the reason is, that the cathedral, with its spirited services, and broad and massive effects, presents a model toward which the parish Churches instinctively turn. From it, these get their best musical compositions, their finest hymn-singing, and, above all, that noble combination of dignity and simplicity, that chaste impressiveness and beauty, which, above all else, are distinctive of worship in the English cathedrals. An American traveller may find in All Saints', Margaret street, in St. Andrew's, Wells street, or in St. Alban's, Holborn Hill, the most "advanced" ritual which the Anglican Church can produce. But he will look in vain for any exhibitions of it in any single English cathedral. There nothing is tawdry, or bedizened, or glaring; but, as in the noble choir at Gloucester, the noblest architecture combined with the most absolute simplicity; and when the worshipper has joined in the services, he will, if he has been a visitor in England so lately as within the past six years, have found no difference between those services as celebrated in Salisbury, under the administration of a bishop so "advanced" as the late Dr. Hamilton, and those celebrated at Ripon, under the administration of so pronounced a low-Churchman as Dr. Bickersteth.

Surely, there is something very significant in such a fact, for it shows that there is that in a cathedral church which tends to the avoidance of extremes, and to the maintenance of a dignified and impressive service. And if this is true of the cathedral in England, how much more is it likely to be true of a cathedral church which would be the living expression of the best religious sentiment among ourselves? The manifold novelties that are caught up, here and there, and sought to be engrafted on the services of our parish churches, would find no place in a cathedral, administered by a body of clergy representing their common consent, and their united judg-

ment and approval. And more than this, what a mission such an agency would find awaiting it in the musical services of the church! We have, in our American churches, a great deal of music that is costly, a great deal more that is florid and pretty, and most of all that is utterly vicious and intolerable. As compared with our Anglican sister, we are nearly half a century behind in the right estimation of hymn-singing, and other much-neglected (or perverted) departments of musical worship. And what has made the difference but that, in England, the choral festivals at the greater cathedrals, and the devotion of a highly-skilled and cultivated order of men to musical studies and composition, in connection with those cathedrals, has lifted the whole standard of taste and the whole scale of performance to a far higher level than we have at all approached? The present Dean of Norwich, in his essay on "The Cathedral; a School of Music,"<sup>1</sup> observes that "it must be remembered that music has by no means as yet taken that position in our services which it has a right to take. The minds of people in general are not at all disabused of the notion that music is a mere ornamental accessory of worship; they have not yet at all come round to the view that it is the highest, truest, deepest expression of devotional feeling." True as these words are in England, it is impossible that they could more accurately describe ourselves. In the last twenty-five years, the musical worship of our Church has scarcely advanced a single step. It has grown more costly, more pretentious, and more obtrusive. It consumes more time, provokes more comment, aggravates and perplexes more parish priests, groping blindly and hopelessly, like Samson among the Philistines, for deliverance from its tortures; but it is, on the whole, as vicious in conception, and as exaggerated and irreverent in execution (at any rate, in the most conspicuous places), as it has ever been. And it will continue to be so, until we have some such normal school of Church music as the cathedrals have shown themselves to be in England; having about it a prestige which cannot be despised, and illustrating an excellence which cannot fail to provoke a healthy emulation.

And all this the cathedral can do, without the likelihood of being beguiled into undue display or betrayed into foolish extravagance. In a parish church, the vagaries of the individual parish priest may run away with him, but in a cathedral there is an impersonality of administration which tends to restrain eccentricity, and to make mere

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<sup>1</sup> "Principles of the Cathedral System," p. 115.

individualism almost impossible. True, the cathedral is the bishop's church or seat, but the bishop who administers it must be able to command the coöperation of a body of clergy, whose various tastes and opinions must, at least, greatly modify his own. Under such a system novel customs will not be apt to find easy admission; and while there will be, as there ought to be, progress and improvement in the Church's worship, it will be progress in the direction of those things only which have been widely and thoroughly tested and approved.

4. It only remains to say a word of the cathedral as a rallying-point for the clergy. In this respect it can easily be seen that it will naturally perform a most useful, if not conspicuous, function. If there is not, as there ought to be, a clergy-house in connection with the cathedral, there will, at least, be clergy-rooms, where the clergy may assemble for diocesan or other meetings; where clergymen disengaged may register their names; where charitable associations may hold their anniversaries; and where the bishop may be found by his clergy, and may, in turn, convene them. In the worship of such a diocesan church the clergy of every rank and class would naturally find a home, and, instead of waiting in book-stores or reading-rooms until, as in the parable, "some man shall hire" them, they would turn instinctively, and without the sacrifice of personal self-respect, to a centre where they would have a recognized standing, and where their desire for work would find a respectful and paternal consideration. There is no layman in the world who does not know the feeling that there is in being in his own parish church. He may have found statelier services, more eloquent preaching, more distinguished assemblages of worshippers elsewhere, but in those various edifices he has had no defined place,—he is a stranger. Such an one can understand the desire of a clergyman to have one church in the diocese where he, too, may feel that he is no intruder, and where, whether he has a pastoral care or not, he may be at once recognized and welcomed, as one who is not a stranger, but at home. The larger the diocese, the more necessary such a church; but, large or small, it is plain enough that the cathedral may usefully fulfil such a function in any diocese.

In what has thus far been said, it will be observed that nothing has been suggested as to the function of the cathedral as fostering learning, as affording a dignified retreat for theological scholarship, or as rewarding literary and theological distinction; and yet, to

many minds, some such function will seem to stand for the most conspicuous service which English cathedrals have rendered. But it is, after all, doubtful, in spite of everything that the history of English cathedrals demonstrates in this connection, whether such fruits of learning, and of learned and laborious research as cathedral stalls have produced, have not been bought at too great a price.

The Dean of Norwich, in the volume already quoted, notices<sup>1</sup> the assertion that "the men who benefit the Church as authors and scholars, for the most part write their works before they attain their cathedral preferment," and undertakes to meet it by arguing that the hope of such preferment has been the stimulus which has induced clergymen to undertake severe literary labors. But even if his positions are sound, it is still questionable whether literary rewards should, under any circumstances, take such a form. A clergyman's relation to a cathedral ought to imply supreme devotion to distinctively ministerial work; and it is idle to deny that, to the American mind, the picture of English cathedral dignitaries, devoting themselves to merely literary labors, has not been an edifying one. The place for such students and scholars, it has instinctively and rightly been felt, has been in connection with colleges and theological seminaries, either as professors or as fellows; and it ought to be remembered, with reference to what may be done in the future in this matter, that it is as easy to endow a college or seminary professorship or fellowship as a canonry in a cathedral. The clergy of a cathedral ought to present, in their employments, a model to the diocese of distinctively ministerial activity. They should be most of all engaged in ministering the Word and Sacraments, in conducting and elevating the public worship of the Church, in laboring in every most direct and efficient way as priests, pastors, and preachers.

But such activity is quite inconsistent with exclusive or supreme devotion to study and literary composition. The latter implies retirement, abundant leisure, and a freedom from pastoral and parochial cares; while the former demands an attention to such cares, which is primary and engrossing. It might not be inexpedient to reward learning and literary attainments by some honorary connection with a cathedral; but the resident clergy, the proper cathedral staff, should be composed of persons exclusively or mainly devoted to its distinctive work.

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<sup>1</sup> "Principles of the Cathedral System," p. xxvi.

These general suggestions will have sufficiently indicated the ordinary functions of the cathedral, without reference to its situation. But when they have been enumerated, there remain some more particular functions, in those larger and wealthier dioceses, where, during the next twenty-five years, our most conspicuous cathedrals are likely to be founded and erected. And it is especially important, if such proposed foundations or organizations are to secure a very general and cordial sympathy, that they should commend themselves to that somewhat practical spirit of the age, amid which they are to do their work. A cathedral, as a venerable relic in the Old World, has a very definite historic and (possibly also) religious interest to an American traveller. But when the same American traveller comes home, and hears of schemes for erecting, on our own soil, cathedrals no less stately than the most famous minsters in England, he straightway demands that the friends of such schemes shall make it plain that the cathedral has a place and a function in our own day. And it will not do to answer that demand with vague and lofty generalities. It must be shown that, somewhere, at some needed and easily-discernible point in our ecclesiastical economy, the cathedral may be definitely brought to bear. It has been argued that the passion of the American mind for profuse expenditure may be successfully utilized by the erection, in our chief cities, of stately and imposing edifices. It has been urged, again, that the pushing obtrusiveness of the Roman Church, which so often seeks the most conspicuous sites, and rears upon our leading thoroughfares its most pretentious edifices, should at once be emulated and rebuked. But, surely, these are very unworthy reasons for spending two or three millions of dollars in any such way. If it is true that there is, in the American mind, a passion for profuse and ostentatious expenditure, it would seem that it were better worth our Church's while to aim at educating people to some worthier conception of the uses of wealth, than the indulgence of a passion for mere display, even though it be ecclesiastical display. And as to emulating the ostentation of Romanists, and at the same time humbling them, by erecting a building a little higher and a little longer, and a little more capacious and more costly than anything which they have reared, it is doubtful whether such an achievement would greatly discourage them, or greatly impress the rest of the world. Clear-headed and intelligent people understand precisely how much real significance there is in even the stateliest structure, in a country like ours, where money is easily gotten and quickly spent. And the amount of impression which is made upon thinking people by such structures



is very plainly intimated in the following extract from the discourse of a leading Unitarian preacher,<sup>1</sup> recently delivered in the city of New York :

You observe, I dare say, the steady growth of the costly and beautiful Roman Catholic cathedral, on the very choicest site of the city, probably to be the most expensive, ambitious, and splendid building, ecclesiastical or otherwise, on this continent; and perhaps you say, What a proof of the courage, wealth, and religious power and influence of Catholicism! But I look at it from a very different point of view. I remember that there is hardly a city of a hundred thousand people on the whole European continent that has not a cathedral, built from three to eight centuries ago, compared with which this, when finished, will be second or third-rate. I recollect, too, how it is built,—largely from the contributions exacted often from very unwilling, but still submissive, servant-girls; that it is built in a city that is occupied largely by emigrants, at least one third part Roman Catholic; built by foreign blood, in a foreign spirit, and by aliens to our customs and ideas, who are gradually becoming leavened with them. Instead of wondering at this cathedral, I wonder not more than at the temple at Nauvoo or in Salt Lake City, where foreign ignorance and native craft have raised a monument (scarcely less huge and imposing) to the grossest and least vital and most ephemeral of faiths. I say, this cathedral is an anachronism, and all its parallels in our American cities; they show only what hold Romanism still has on those who brought it from foreign lands, and not at all what strength it has to stand our climate, and survive a century of American schooling and free life.

In a word, it is not the grandeur of the structure, nor the splendor of its appointments, which will give it significance to the ordinary American mind; but the dignity, usefulness, and living reality of the work that is going on inside of it. Of course, it is never to be forgotten, that an impressive and solemn worship is, of itself alone, a noble and most real function for a cathedral; but, unless along with the worship, there is advancing also some intelligible toil and service for the bettering of the bodies and souls of men who may be gathered to unite in that worship,—such a work, in other words, as it is the office of worship at once to quicken and keep alive, then it is doubtful whether the cathedral will ever have a very strong hold upon either the respect or the affections of the American people.

(a) And therefore it is that the cathedral should be the organic centre of city missions. Every large city in the United States has come to see the necessity of some sort of organization outside of its several parishes, for mission-work in its own streets. The principles of such organization and administration are widely different in dif-

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<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Dr. H. W. Bellows.

ferent cities, and in none of them conspicuously successful. The work itself is one, plainly enough, distinct from that of the parish, and yet its administration, maintenance, and effectiveness have hitherto largely depended upon the parochial clergy. If there are others who execute its details, theirs it has been to devise plans and organize a system, and set it at work. But it cannot be expected that city missions will occupy other than a secondary place in the interests of any parish priest. His own flock will have, and rightfully, the first place; and work confessedly of vast importance and urgency must, therefore, be content with the odds and ends of his time and thoughts. It is no wonder, therefore, that the results of city mission-work (in some of its departments the most delicate and difficult work which a Church can have to do) have so often been meagre and superficial. Such a work must have the undivided attention of a class of men as high in the scale of gifts and aptitudes as the Church can command, and it must have these men *associated for the doing of it, about some common centre*, which shall give a unity and coherence to all their aims and efforts. In a word, a cathedral ought to be the parish church of the unappropriated masses,—a parish church whose field is the whole unclaimed area and population of the great city in which it may stand.

How speedily would such a system of mission-work silence that criticism which faults us (and rightly, too!) with perpetuating the spirit of caste in the house of God,—rearing our second best or our third best for the poor, whom we relegate to mission chapels, and reserving our stately and splendid edifices for the wealthy and prosperous! If there is anything really impressive in Roman Catholic cathedrals among us, it is to be found in the throngs of all ranks and classes who crowd them; and though these throngs are taxed and oppressed by a pew-system even more vicious than our own, yet they suggest the much nobler work which might be done by ourselves in and through a cathedral, whose grand and beautiful precincts were free to all comers, and whose doors opened most eagerly to the timid footsteps of the poor. If men are losing faith in the sincerity of *our* faith; if, seeing us so eager for the patronage of the rich, they stand debating the question, Which is false,—the teaching of Christ, or our construction of it?—we may as well recognize the fact that we cannot hope to rekindle their waning faith, until we can somehow build our living conviction of the brotherhood of humanity into deeds and structures which shall be alike intelligible and expressive. A noble building, with nothing sordid or reserved in its welcome, having, as of it and about it, a group of

men and women organized for work in the highways and hedges, and gathering thence the congregations that shall assemble within its walls,—surely this is the ideal church of the future, as it ought to be the aim of the Church of the present! But to realize that ideal, is not the cathedral essential?

(b) And just here, a little reflection will show how other and subordinate, though by no means insignificant, functions of the cathedral may be made to fit into, and become a part of, that noblest function named above. It has already been urged that the cathedral should be, in the language of the Dean of Norwich, "a school for music." But this involves the maintenance of a numerous and more or less costly body of singers, who shall devote not only Sundays and holy days, but a part of every day, to musical practice and to the services of the cathedral. It has been one of the most perplexing problems of the English cathedrals, to determine how such services could be secured and supported; and the present Bishop of Carlisle, some time Dean of Ely, in a paper entitled "Recollections of a Dean,"<sup>1</sup> while suggesting the employment of the choristers as lay-readers, owns the difficulty of carrying this theory into practice; "a difficulty," he adds, "which was enhanced, in my own case, by the smallness of the cathedral city, and the consequent smallness of demand for lay-readers."<sup>2</sup> But this suggestion, while thus almost valueless, in an ordinary English cathedral town, is a most opportune one in connection with a great city. It is eminently desirable, on the one hand, that the persons (other than children) employed in the musical services of a cathedral should be, somehow, separated from secular employments. It does not aid devotion to see the grocer's young man—who, a few moments ago, was "chaffing" a customer across the counter—arrayed in a surplice, and occupying a stall in the choir. And if, as, alas! has sometimes been the case, the possessor of musical gifts has been also the victim of some confirmed evil habit, the effect is still more disastrous. The Bishop of Carlisle thinks that the portrait drawn in the "Mystery of Edwin Drood," of "a very intense scamp, by name Jasper, who is a confirmed opium-eater, and gifted with a very fine voice and much musical power," which he exhibits statedly in Cloisterham Cathedral, is "a caricature." Perhaps it is; but we should not care to examine the deans of the English cathedrals with too much minuteness, as to their experience of persons in their choirs, who were as little perfumed with the odor of sanctity as the very

<sup>1</sup> "Essays on Cathedrals," p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 17.

reprehensible Jasper. At any rate, it is certainly desirable, if it can be done, to separate the persons who, as lay-clerks or choir-singers, daily officiate in a cathedral, as far as possible from "all unhallowed worldly and common uses."

And if this is desirable on the one hand, it is scarcely less desirable on the other, that city mission-work should include, as a part of it, a band of lay visitors and helpers, who should have some definite *status* in the Church, and some useful function in its worship. Make the lay members of the choir district visitors, in connection with city missions, and both ends are accomplished. You have a body of persons who can be fully employed, and whose employments, whether within or without the cathedral, are entirely accordant and harmonious. It would be at once a refreshment and an inspiration to one engaged in the trying work of city missions, to turn, at stated times, from the scenes of sorrow and want, amid which he would naturally be called to go, to the elevating services of cathedral worship; and such an one would find, even in his duties in the choir, that truest rest, which, as Hooker declares, consists in a change of labor.

So much for some of the functions of the cathedral. As has already been implied, there are other questions involved in any discussion of "The Cathedral in America;" and a very prominent one among them relates to the structure itself. On what principles shall we build it? How vast a structure may wisely be attempted, even under the most favorable conditions; and how splendid and ornate should be the building and its appointments? These are questions, it need hardly be said, which form a theme of themselves. Men will judge of them in accordance with prepossessions and prejudices. On the one hand, there will be those who say, with Wordsworth:

"Tax not the royal saint with vain expense,  
With ill-matched aims the architect who planned,  
Albeit laboring for a scanty band  
Of white-robed scholars only, this immense  
And glorious work of fine intelligence.  
Give all thou canst; high Heaven rejects the lore  
Of nicely-calculated less or more;  
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense  
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof,  
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,  
Where light and shade repose, whose music swells  
Lingering and wandering on, as loath to die;  
Like thoughts, whose very sweetness yieldeth proof  
That they were born for immortality."

Those, in other words, who consider any question of outlay, in connection with Christian worship, as a sordid impertinence. And, on the other hand, there are those—and it may be wise to remember that, in our own newer society, they are the vast majority—whose somewhat dry utilitarianism resents vast expenditure in architecture, except for purposes of mere accommodation. Between these two classes there is a third, who do not undervalue the æsthetic in religion, nor overvalue utility. They look to see in American cathedrals the dawn of the architecture of the future,—an architecture which shall be equally independent of slavish devotion to mediæval models and of supreme regard to a dry utility. Is it not possible to have a church architecture which shall recognize the fact that ours is (or ought to be) a teaching Church, and its edifices so constructed that people can see and hear in them; and, at the same time, an architecture which shall not be so eager to provide mere accommodation for seeing and hearing, as to reproduce the aspect of the play-house in the sanctuary? This is the architectural problem of the hour, to devise a structure in which a common-sense reference to practical utility shall be combined with grandeur, reverence, beauty, and solemnity of aspect. The cathedral can perform no more important function than to contribute to the solution of that problem.

In conclusion, we may not forget that a cathedral, like any other human institution, is liable to abuse; that, in connection with cathedrals in the past, there have been some very grave abuses. But none of those abuses are graver than those which history records in connection with the episcopal office, or with the working or neglect of parishes. And our advantage is this, that, at every step of our progress in organization, we have the example of the Church of England to warn and to instruct us. That example teaches us alike what to imitate and what to avoid. That there are errors to be avoided, it is idle to deny. Untrammelled though we are by any inherited complications, we may easily create others which shall be as grave and embarrassing. To build and set in operation a cathedral in our great centres of population, will require rare wisdom and tact and patience. For good or for evil, the parochial organizations in such great centres are too powerful to be defied or ignored. If the cathedral attempts rivalry with them, it will inevitably encounter disaster and defeat. Whatever the clergy may acquiesce in, the lay element in our churches will never consent to, nor coöperate in, the erection among them of a huge towering centre of ecclesiastical power, to be administered in any narrow, extreme, or extravagant spirit. If it shall be reared for the good of the people, and in a

generous and manly sympathy with the wants of our time, then the prayers and benedictions of all good men will go along with it ; but if it shall be built only to advance the interest of some narrow school, to realize the dreams of ambitious visionaries ; if, in a word, it is reared only to be the mausoleum of dead men's bones and of dead ideas, in forgetfulness that this is neither the thirteenth century nor the eighteenth, but the nineteenth, then it will prove to be but a dreary and impotent anachronism,—a folly in its conception, and in its realization a crime.





### GLADSTONE'S ADDRESS.

ADDRESS delivered at the Distribution of Prizes in the Liverpool College by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, First Lord of the Treasury. London: John Murray, Albemarle street. 1873.

MR. GLADSTONE seems, in this address, to have provoked the ire of his sceptical critics, by his allusions to their intellectual habits as much as by anything which fell from him. Unbelievers do not seem to be aware that the mind may have loose habits, as well as the stomach or the tongue. But why it may not be as true of the mind, that it can have bad habits, as it is true of anything purely physical, is (a sceptic must pardon the confession) as much of a mystery as half the impossibilities he prates about, as if he were himself a Delphic oracle or a recognized pope.

And one of these habits we hold to be a sorry estimation of faith, —a dyspeptic inability to digest sound doctrine about faith, as if it were a weakness or a discredit or a declension to say that we believe rather than know; that we take things upon trust, and are not quite as positive about them as if familiar with their inward essence and final cause.

This disgust for faith is not, however—and we maintain the point with confidence—the mark of a strong mind, but of a weak one; not of a towering intellect, but of a grovelling one. Lord Bacon, for example, had none of it; not one particle. On the con-

trary, he affirmed, very calmly and very firmly, that it was worthier to believe than to know; for in belief we looked up, and had the bending humility of angels; in knowledge we looked down, and stiffened into the pride of Satan.<sup>1</sup> "Knowledge puffeth up," said St. Paul, in the presence of self-conceited Grecians, who looked upon themselves as actual lordlings of wisdom among "articulate-speaking men." They characterized themselves as such, till the Apostle responded and wrote, "The Greeks seek after wisdom;" as if wisdom were the grand aim of their lives, and its fancied attainment their exclusive conquest.

And, doubtless, they were not seekers only, but successful seekers, as the world then went. For philosophy, which at first meant the love of wisdom, and afterward the possession of it, was supposed to have found a home in Greece, which it had not found and could not find elsewhere in "the round world."

Yet, what was the result of this state of things, when a new system like the Christian came athwart the customary lines of Grecian expatiation, and asked a hearing? Aye, what? Though Christianity proclaimed itself as a public miracle, as a thing "not done in a corner," but confronting and challenging examination, as a demonstrable fact. Why, it was condemned summarily and entirely, after the most hasty and superficial examination. Still, on what ground? On the insufficiency or impertinency of its evidences? Oh, no. But as if it had no reputable claims at all; as not even good sense or tolerable self-consistency; as mere and downright foolishness. One might suppose that Christianity, with its confident appeals to fact and notoriety, might at least have undergone *some* scrutiny, might have passed through *some* ordeal, might certainly have enjoyed a hearing, while endeavoring to put in what was in olden time styled a fair "apology." No such toleration was accorded it. The Greek was exemplarily a Gnostic, *i. e.*, a knowing one,—a supremely knowing one in his own estimation; and anything which chimed not with his prejudgments—dovetailed not into his imaginations—was turned out of doors, at an instant's warning, as an impudent and unendurable intrusion. The Christian was to him a miserable fool, and nothing else; and, without a moment's consideration, he could slam a door in his face, as if he were no better than a common vagabond.

The Jew of those times differed from the Greek, not as a victim of self-conceit, but of iron prejudices and hoodwinking bigotry.

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<sup>1</sup> Montagu's Bacon, ii. 258, 259.

Christianity was to him not another system of philosophy or morals, but another religion. A religion, too, competing with and transplanting his own, and as therefore an obstacle to the progress and expansion of Judaism, which must be thrust aside, as if something lying across and filling up a road, and rendering it impassable by travellers. Hence Christianity was to him, as an Apostle said, "a stumbling-block," over which, unless removed, he might be precipitated from a regular causeway, and hurled down a dangerous offset. Accordingly, he did not turn his heel on Christianity, and neglect it. He did battle with it; and rested not until he had nailed its Founder to a cross, and extinguished Him and His system too, as he supposed, by that one vindictively destructive act.

So Christianity was assailed by the cultivated Greek, as having nothing in it worth believing; and by the Scribe-taught Jew, as displacing all that was worth believing; as if, should it be encouraged and indulged in, superseding Judaism and its best excellences, and rendering them "old, and ready to vanish away."

But, really, Christianity ought not to have been disparaged because of its expressed claims to faith, and to faith of high devotion and absorbing sway. For faith, and faith in abundance, not to say in plenitude, was required by both ancient philosophy, as a scholastic system, and Judaism, as a religious establishment. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and even Epicurus, were popes in their own way of thinking, and in their demands upon the deference of their auditors. *Ipsæ dixit* is represented to have been one of the indigenous productions of their days, and to have been quite as much of an ultimatum with an Athenian lecturer, as with Pio Nono, after he had been erected into the grandest of Muftis by the ecclesiastical divan of 1870. And as to the Scribes and Pharisees of Judaism, perhaps our Lord never put forth higher or more unwelcome proof of the supremacy of His pretensions, than when He preached His Sermon on the Mount, and coolly ran counter to so many of the favorite decisions of Jewish doctors. They would have allowed Him to be a prophet, and a great prophet, if He had taught in accordance with their habitual rulings. But when He subverted their system to its foundations, by quietly putting moral commandments over ceremonial ones, they rose against Him as a revolutionist, and did their utmost to have Him executed under an indictment for blasphemy.

And so—incredible and ill-mannered as the allegation may seem to some—it is not true that the scientist and the Ultramontane do not both ask for faith, and very much in the same style of asking,

too. They *do* ask for faith, and with equal assumption and pertinacity. They both have their postulates, to which you must give adherence and deference on the ground of faith, and on no other. Aye, even geometry, which deals with palpable magnitudes, must have its postulates; as Mr. Grote painfully discovered, when he fretted himself into a fever to find for them solid proofs and rational solutions. Mr. Herbert Spencer has to work upward from "causal relations," as he is pleased to style them; quarrel as he may with old-fashioned ideas about that perceptible influence which we call a cause, and believe to have causal power. Mr. Huxley has to begin with protoplasm, and Dr. Darwin with his ape. But why cannot geometry begin without its postulates; the psychologist without his causal relations; the life-interpreter without his protoplasm; and the man-maker without his monkey? Who made postulates indispensable? Who established causal relations that are inevitable? Who manufactured protoplasm? Who engendered an animal burlesque of human nature, in baboons of greater and lesser eminence? Why can we not (Mr. Grote's special anxiety) go behind the postulate, the causal relation, the protoplasm, the monkey of endless grimaces and antics? No; we may not advance one step in this direction. The scientist here confronts us, with as bold a bearing as Waldo preaching a crusade, and cries out, "Believe!" as if he had the lungs of a stentorian ranter. Here even Strauss steps in, and pronounces the innovator who persists in having a personal God, and disowning his "universum"—his pantheistic idol—an absolute blasphemer!<sup>1</sup> (Address, pp. 34, 35.)

Wherefore the comparison, after all, is not between faith and knowledge; between *πίστις* and *γνῶσις*; according to the pretension of the ancient Gnostic—as if he had appropriated all genuine *knowledge* and consigned *faith* to the rude and ignorant—as if (so Mr. Spencer would fain have it) science dealt with things knowable, and religion with things unknowable.<sup>2</sup> Faith is the predestined starting-point with all systems excogitated by finite and subordinate understandings. For there is but a single real and reputable Gnostic throughout the universe; and HE is that exclusive and solitary One who, in His own incomparable rhetoric, inhabiteth

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<sup>1</sup> This teaches us that *Jurare in verba magistri* is genuine piety when bestowed on a presumptuous unbeliever; it only becomes a superstition and a weakness when a homage to Jesus Christ.

<sup>2</sup> This, according to Mr. Gladstone, is a specimen of his grim and ghastly joking (Address, p. 23).

eternity, who fills all space, all duration, all things seen and unseen, and to whom, and to whom alone, therefore, there is no such thing as a problem, but all is absolute and mapped-out certainty.

He, and He only, has the right to say, "Believe." He is the starting-point of everything. He is the grand postulate for mind and matter. Causal relations are all, so to speak, wrapped up in the hollow of His hand; and there, too, lies protoplasm, with the unfathomed and remotest sources of life and of animal existence. Such things are inapproachable by our limited faculties. They are all stored away—if one may say so—amid what the Prophet Habakkuk so beautifully and graphically styles the hidings of God's power (Hab. iii. 4).

And accordingly, faith, to be really respectable and truly believing, ought to be ordered and exacted by God alone.<sup>1</sup> When it is asked for by a lesser authority, it is mere guess-work, as the scientists are continually proving; since they are incessantly trying guesses, and endeavoring to establish them as credible and abiding verities. And now, if we compare such objects as we suppose Him to present to human faith, in expectation of its homage, with those presented to it by earthly assumers and declaimers, let us see if those objects are not of a much higher order than any which a scientist and his sycophants call on us to believe in. The most which they ask us to believe in, as we look ahead, is civilization,—the rendering this short waning life a more comfortable or a more dignified affair. They have not a single restive desire to go beyond a mundane and very transient existence. The "Westminster Review" dwells with all the eloquence it is master of—admirable in the estimation of others, and matchless in its own—upon the comfort of sinking away into the dreamless sleep of utter annihilation. Strauss consoles himself with an anti-dreamland of the same description; moans over human existence as "in the long run, after all, but exhausting day-labor," and absolutely speaks of "a devout sense of liberation" in being altogether and immortally rid of it.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Winwood Reade has the same hearty contempt of it, and believes in a future life, "not for us single corpuscles, not for us

<sup>1</sup> Belief comes from *be* and *lief*, willingness or readiness, as in the phrase, "I had as lief as not." *Be* intensifies, as *be* in beloved. And one cannot have a willing faith but toward a worthy object. The willingness of a whole heart can be given to none but the worthiest of all objects, God.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to be dying from a disease such as Napoleon I. died of,—cancer in the stomach. If this is so, his sufferings must be dreadful, and may account (measurably) for his disesteem of this present existence.

dots of animated jelly, but for the One, of whom we are the elements, and who, though we perish, never dies" (Address, pp. 36, 39). We are not aware that we were ever distinctly tempted to become atheists; but if our theology called on us to believe in a deity made up of "dots of animated jelly," we are inclined to believe we might follow the fashion of the day, and be godless enough to please Darwin, and Strauss, and Reade, and Huxley, and Spencer, all put together.

But religion, as a dictation of the foremost of all minds, asks us to believe, not in a somewhat better citizenship on this poor "dim spot, which men call earth." It bids us rather have faith in a *πολιτευμα*, a citizenship (as St. Paul styles it) in the city of the living, the ever-living God; a residence fit for beings like a God to dwell in. It asks us to believe in a life which sprang from the breath of God's own bosom, and will render its possessor meet for a presence where is fulness of joy, and at a right hand where are pleasures forevermore; in causal relations, carrying us directly up to, and putting us in direct covenant with, the fountain-head of all that is good and true and blessed,—promising the consecration of such a covenant's priceless mercies, beyond the reach or approach of accident or death; in a mind never to sleep or flag, which will enjoy the loving tuition of a self-existent and tireless deity; in a regenerated body, which will burst from the cerements of the grave, and shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of its Father in the heavens.

And then we come back to Bacon's axiom, and ask if to believe in such things is not a worthier occupation than to pretend to know a few things, "of the earth, earthy," which really we do not know to-day as we may know them the next year, the next month, or even to-morrow! If it is not worthier to believe in such things, with a full and willing heart, than to know a few things which, if the scientist thinks he knows them, are, after all, so mixed up with doubts, so abated by fears, so shaken by hesitation, that they give him no comfort, and send him to a nightly pillow haunted by such anxieties and dreams as might provoke him to cry out (as Hume once did) that his philosophy made him "a monster unto many."

For there is no rest in speculation—and all science is really nothing better; what is called scientific certainty is nothing but temporary certainty—there is no stable rest in it, and the mind which it sets afloat has not, cannot have, any covenanted tranquillity. Even the poet Young understood the case better than the disdainful men who talk as if they were a sort of delegated divini-



ties. "Faith," said he, "is not reason's labor, but repose." It is repose, and a blessed repose, to have something whereon to lean. But a scientist has nothing sure to lean upon. He is like a man going upon a research along the sides of a volcano, with *cineres dolosos* beneath his feet. The old Romans, who had travelled up and down the declivities of Mount Vesuvius, knew what *cineres dolosos* were; and the disappointed and chagrined scientist, who finds his trusted theories let him fall through *terra firma* to he knows not where, will understand, in time, that something to lean on, and have stable support by, will be worth a myriad of conjectures, how beautiful, how imposing, how commanding soever they may be. Faith and substance are used by an Apostolic pen as correlative things; as if faith were not the conjuration of an enthusiastic dreamer, but could give solid comfort, upbearing and upgirding reliance, to a mind tottering along this world's rough pathways to the longest of its homes.

And experience confirms the Apostolic testimony, looked at from even a metaphysical standpoint only. No firmer confidence has ever been exhibited by intelligent and cultivated human nature, than by that which has clung around embodied religion,—embodied, that is, in Christ's person, Church, and Sacraments. We say intelligent and cultivated human nature, because the scientist will, of course, be full ready to insinuate that such a mental attitude is the attitude of ignorance, and of enthusiastic ignorance too. Was Bacon an ignoramus? Was his judicial head bewildered by the fumes of impulse? And yet Bacon could say (as we have shown) that faith was a worthier thing than knowledge. He was persuaded—though he was aiming especially at the pride of knowledge when he uttered his postulate—by his own actual experience, that there must be something external to one's self, for faith to fasten on, which one's self could not supply. Bacon would have grasped such a promise as this: "For I the Lord thy God will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not; I will help thee" (Isa. xli. 13), as one deserving of any philosopher's appreciation. For the human soul, after long struggles with outward hindrances, with inward doubts and trembling aspirations, wants an extended hand to clasp, to be lifted out of the quicksands of perplexity, and enabled to look *up* cheerfully and *onward* with a brightened eye. It does not want, it will not accept, such cold, such freezing comfort as Gibbon once tried to administer to a sinking heart. He was weary to the uttermost with what he called "the failure of hope," as the Arctic shadows of the grave fell back upon him, and he tried to nerve his

courage by calling death "an inevitable accident." But a mind whose anxieties would fain grasp something steady to hold on by, amid the thickening glooms of an untried future, wants not that something in the ghostly shape of "an inevitable accident." There is no *substance* in that, any more than in a mere figure of rhetoric. But there is *substance*—the choicest sort of substantiality—in a faith which enables one to look beyond death to a destiny which death cannot debar, cannot impair, forevermore.

Be it that this faith is what a scientist would call a dream. He is no better than a dreamer too. The question between religion and irreligion is not between dream and no dream, but between a rich dream and a poor one; between a high dream and a low one; between one which is noble and exalting and one that is self-debasing.

We are truly rejoiced to find that people are waking up to the consciousness that the question between religion and irreligion is not between faith and certitude, but between faith and faith; between one kind of faith and another kind of faith; between kinds or degrees of the same mental habitude; and finally between faith of a high and wide reach and faith of a very circumscribed one.<sup>1</sup> And a strong proof of this awaking is afforded us by the palpable doctrine of a little book, intended even for young people, by a mind of much cultivation, viz., that faith runs through everything, and that human society, nay, human life, could hardly get on without its aid,—without its aid at every step. The book we wish to quote is Hawkins's "Limits of Religious Belief," at p. 67, etc.:

The whole of human life is itself one perpetual and ever-recurring exercise of faith. What is the whole existence of the child, obeying the orders of its parents, observing the instructions of its teachers, receiving all the knowledge which it possesses from the lips of others—not those facts and truths only which constitute its education, but even those which relate to the most ordinary interests of every-day life—but one continual and never-ceasing act of faith? What, again, is the condition of the grown-up man in society, but a perpetual course of trust, either in himself and his own power, or else in that of others?

The physician who prescribes for his patient, and the patient who follows

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<sup>1</sup> Since writing what we have said about Mr. Grote and geometry, we have encountered the testimony of a professed geometer, who said he might have put many more axioms into a text-book. He went as far as he thought "human experience" would bear him out. So it appears, at last, that geometry may have quacks, like the most changeful of the sciences, medicine; and has nothing to build up from but human experience.

the prescription,—what certainty have either of them in its nature or efficacy? The physician may reply: “The medicine in question has always produced particular results hitherto; and therefore I expect that it will do the same in the case now before me.” But how does he know this? It must be, either from his own former experience, or else he must have derived his knowledge from others. But because it may have produced certain results before, he has, strictly speaking, no right to assume that the same effects will always follow. [Certainly not; unless causal relations are as good as causes; a conclusion which Mr. Spencer, if he sweats blood under it, never will consent to.] Or, again, what right has he to believe that the statements with regard to its efficacy, which he has heard from others, are correct? In either case, an act of the highest faith, of the greatest trust, has taken place. And what, then, must it be with the patient who possesses neither the experience nor the knowledge of his adviser? As a matter of course, the act of faith must here be proportionably greater.

We consult a lawyer in some question of great importance. He advises us to pursue a particular course of action; and, relying upon his experience and arguments, we hesitate not to adopt his suggestions, without being able to judge of their value, or to be sure of their truth. Now, what is this but the most blind and implicit trust in the good sense and integrity of another man? And yet, perhaps, these very same persons will talk of a blind trust and a bigoted faith; of a weak and foolish credulity, as applied to the truths of Scripture; as if, forsooth, to go to the root of the matter, any faith could be so blind, or any credulity so vast, as that which man is accustomed to exercise toward his fellow-man,—a being of limited powers like himself, prone to error, deceitfulness, and insincerity! He is willing to believe in a man, a creature but of a day, almost of an hour; he disbelieves in God, the Maker of the world!

He then goes on to show how the trade of the merchant, the agriculture of the farmer, and the whole routine of our daily life, all involve, and perpetually involve, the exercise of faith at every step, and from hour to hour; so that it is of the very essence of human life, the machinery of which would stop and go to pieces, if faith were eliminated from it. If nothing worse occurred, a panic would ensue; and a financial panic, as we have just seen, is more or less terrible, in proportion as it puts an end to that *faith* which must permeate community, or by its absence bring community to its haunches as if stricken by paralysis.

And, finally, Mr. Hawkins closes his illustrations with the following not unnatural declamation:

What ignorance can be so great, what folly so absurd, what inconsistency so extreme, what partiality so blind, as this? Everything which is done by man, or which depends upon or belongs to him, is to be made the subject of unquestioning belief,—everything which is written in the Word of God is to be received with hesitation and doubt! Monstrous presumption, wilful blindness, awful impiety!

We have fallen into this strain (with Mr. Hawkins to help us) about the depreciation of faith as a mental exercise, not only because Mr. Gladstone has endeavored to teach his own countrymen that it is a bad habit to doubt rather than to believe; but because there is a manifest necessity that *our* countrymen should be brought in contact, so far as our ability goes, with the same timely lesson. For we find a newspaper which assumes the attitude of a public literary law-giver, like "The Nation"—as if it were talking to the nation—undertaking to tell us that religious faith is fast dying out, and that science is the thaumaturgist—the grand wonder-worker—the vender of patent mental anodynes—which is giving it a calm quietus:

Religious beliefs are not destroyed by argument; nobody openly assails them; they are not formally abandoned; and yet, when you come to question religious men, or they come to question themselves, you find that they have ceased to hold a great many doctrines they once held, and have ceased to know where their belief stops, and their unbelief begins, and yet cannot tell why or wherefore. The process of decay is, of course everybody knows, due mainly to the spread of the scientific habit of mind, or, in other words, the doubting habit of mind" ("The Nation" for Oct. 9, 1873, p. 233).

Now we have no manner of doubt that the brazen-facedness of science has indirectly led to this unfortunate issue, in minds which science should carefully have left undisturbed. Our Saviour said, like a psychologist, that new wine should not be put into old bottles. Science knows that multitudes can no more endure her ultraisms than old leathern bottles could endure our modern champagne. She ought to have comported herself to circumstances, if she has the good sense she arrogates. She should not have thrust upon unfortified intellects her impudent assertion, that certitude rests only with herself, and is her imperial prerogative alone. We have seen that science has to begin, just as religion does, by asking for faith in her first and fundamental premises—in axioms which *she thinks* are accordant with "human experience"—and that in consequence her tallest structures, when we burrow down to their foundations, rest where the Indian said the world did,—on the back of a huge tortoise, while the tortoise itself rested on nothing! Science cannot reason out, most emphatically cannot *prove*, her own postulates—unless she acts as the advocates of private judgment did in following Lord Brook in the days of the Great Rebellion. Lord Brook said that the proper standard to judge *recta ratio* by, was *recta ratio*.<sup>1</sup> That was as near as he could come to a demonstration of

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Brook lived in times when men began to swing loose from ancient moorings, and to ask for a Church and a State after their individual fancies.

what constituted the rule of reason for individual judgments. Right reason was right reason, *quod erat demonstrandum!* Mr. Grote found that the geometrician could do not a whit the better. An axiom was an axiom; had, as Matthew Arnold might say, an "axiomatic basis;" and there the profoundest mathematician paused, and pondered, and subsided. Mr. Grote lost all patience, denounced even the great Comte, and pettishly declared that positivism wanted positivity.<sup>1</sup>

And if science will ever be modest enough to admit as much, we shall not have that melancholy prevalence of doubt, and that dismal decay of faith, which "The Nation" so industriously parades before its gaping readers. If "The Nation" had the welfare of the

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They had them. The old Church and the old Government of England were put down; and the disposition which was spreading was that of Hugh Peters, whose infernal counsel it was, "Let's rub out and begin anew." Hugh's awfully cunning advice was to burn up the archives of England; when he was well aware that *to begin anew* would be a matter of simple necessity. England narrowly escaped political perdition! When things had reached this all but last extremity, the soberer part of the revolutionists became alarmed, and looked around for a justification of their proceedings. They were startled at the legitimate result of *their postulates*, which ended in making every man, in the irresponsible exercise of private judgment, his own ultimatum for Church and State, for creed and morals; and they asked for something wherewith to make their postulates rational. They came to a cultivated and formerly aristocratic personage, like Lord Brook, and asked when they might know that reason herself was right. And then it was that he gave the famous definition that *recta ratio* must be judged and measured by *recta ratio*. Still, Lord Brook did all he could, and as much as any scientist can now do.

It might be added, that this *recta ratio* of the Puritans was nothing more or less than the *inward light* of the ancient Quakers. And this *inward light*, like *recta ratio*, was at first quite disposed to annoy, if not to persecute; be Quakers never so quiet and unobtrusive now. The Rogerene Quakers of Connecticut, for example, were so persistively annoying, that their whipping is hardly to be wondered at. And if the behavior of the early Massachusetts Quakers were carefully analyzed, maybe the old Bay State would have something to say in *her* behalf, and Mary Dyer be shorn of some of her iridescent honors as a heroine and a martyr.

<sup>1</sup> So old a metaphysician as Petvin found the same fault with Spinoza. Spinoza imagined he had demonstrated his seventy-three propositions to absolute perfection! Oh, no, exclaims Petvin, "he has demonstrated that which is impossible to be demonstrated, which is prior to all demonstration, and without which no demonstration is." Spinoza had only been, like Mr. Grote, hammering away at postulates!—[*Petvin's Letters Concerning Mind*, p. 143, note. London, 1750.] If Petvin had lived, the world would have known more of him. He died young.

nation at heart, it would treat such a dreadful and ill-starred fact as Christ did the hastening destiny of Jerusalem, when He beheld it loom up from afar, and let tears of the tenderest pity fall from His aching eyes. But "The Nation" has no pity for the religious declension of the age and of our land; not one miserly particle. You could not wring from it a single tear-drop; though like the iron ones of Pluto's cheek. It looks at the revolting spectacle it conjures up with the sardonic smile of a cynic, or an indifferentist; as if it were but the "inevitable accident" which Gibbon styled the extinction of mortal life. The end—the doubly bitter end—may teach such *contemptores Divum* as even heathen sobriety accounted monsters; that, to use Voltaire's own postulate, "A bad religion is better than none at all;" and that when religion says her *nunc dimittis*, mere civilization, or optimism, or expediency will be no more than gossamer threads to the rush of the lawless and the reckless. If life is valuable, if property is valuable, if society is a protection and a blessing, then let religion be upheld as their best muniment and safeguard. What can vain laws do without morality to back them? exclaimed Horace, when the great Empire of Rome began to totter under the weight of vice and luxury.<sup>1</sup> And what shall back morality if religion is abandoned or expelled, is persecuted or sneered away? "After me, the deluge," said a far-sighted and conservative statesman. After such an ark of safety is gone, there will remain but the billows of destruction and perdition. The world will have lost its pilotage, and become but "a wandering star."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hor. Odes, bk. iii. 24. And to this may be added the very striking fact mentioned by Tacitus, that Rome was never more given to law-making than when her political decay was most manifest and most menacing (Annals, bk. iii. 27). She acted like sailors flying to pitch and oakum to save a sinking ship. Alas! public sentiment had made the ship of state rotten. It was too late!

<sup>2</sup> When Mr. Jay, one of our earliest plenipotentiaries, was at the Court of Versailles, he dined one day with a party of *savans*. He was rallied about the backwardness of his country, which had not reached the grand freedom of France, and emancipated itself from the thralldom of the old belief in a God. But, gentlemen, he asked, how are you going to keep society together if you let such a fundamental tenet go? Oh, Voltaire had settled all that matter for them. But how? asked our pragmatistical countryman. Why, by the doctrine of an enlightened expediency. But what, he continued, is this enlightened expediency you boast of? How does it work? Well, in this way. You and I, said their prolocutor, are neighbors, and I allow you the enjoyment of your property, while you allow me the enjoyment of mine, and we get along together most harmoniously. Ah, yes, said the acute Minister, now I com-



We had intended to notice some other bad intellectual habits of the age, and especially some which, toward the close of his address, Mr. Gladstone made subjects of kindly warning for the young minds budding and blossoming into collegiate life at Liverpool. Such, for example, as he characterizes in words like these: "Eschewing a servile adherence to the past, regard it with reverence and gratitude."

Doubtless, it is too much the fashion now to treat the past, as we treat the Pyramids, as if fit only for the illustration of antiquarian lore. But we cannot dwell upon the profane and dangerous depreciation. The posture of the times, and the crusade or dragoonade waged against faith in any thing religious, as a lame thing, a weak thing, and a mean thing, in comparison with the assumed and glorified certainties of scientific research, seemed to require of us rather to protest against the demoniac warfare, and to evince at once its absurdity and folly. Consequently, the time and space we could devote to Mr. Gladstone's manly and scholarly—we might say fatherly—address, have been exhausted upon one topic instead of the half dozen we were thinking of when this paper was begun. We cannot but hope that some future occasion may be furnished Mr. Gladstone to enlarge upon topics full of moment, but passed by with a gliding reference. Few men could better tell the studious mind how it should survey the past, now with reverence, now with gratitude, and now with admiration. As a philosophic contemplator of by-gone ages, he might shine, not illustriously alone, but as a benefactor. He certainly did literature an immense service, when he labored so effectively and lovingly to commend old Homer to an unpoetic generation.

P. S.—Had the following extract from the London "Times," which in its issues for November 4th and 10th reviewed the autobiography of John Stuart Mill, been received in season, it would have been introduced into the article on Mr. Gladstone's Address. If a theologian had written it, then at once it would have been quoted as a most decided specimen of *odium theologicum*. Our

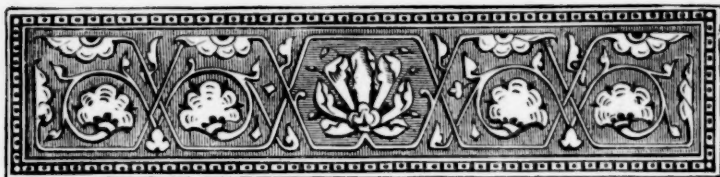
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prehend. But suppose I want your property more than my own—like it much better—and some night, when you are sound asleep, I walk into your bed-chamber (as enlightened expediency would not condescend to put on locks), take out my penknife, divide your carotid artery, throw your carcase on a dung-heap, and install myself as your successor? What then? *Bah*, he was answered with the national shrug, *c'est une autre chose!* And that was all the answer which "enlightened expediency" could make him.

readers will please accept it as the testimony of laymen and politicians—withal, no mean scholars.

In all that he wrote or said, there is little evidence that he knew what an ordinary Englishman, let alone an Englishwoman, is made of. His philosophy deals with words, images, the mere counters of a game, all stamped with J. S. Mills's own image and superscription. If we will only be so good as to suppose everything exactly as he supposes it—persons, things, facts, natures, tendencies, axioms, and corollaries—then he will show us a good deal more standing in the same hypothesis. Of course, there must be theories, if only for pegs to hang facts upon. Of course, there must be an abundance of words, for people to find out what they mean. Of course, there must be the possessors of immense memories,—men who can talk of all philosophies, and point out with the finger to every distinct divergence of opinion. Of course, there must be such men as John Stuart Mill, even if only a few of them in an age. But when we ask their value as leaders of thought, or at all entitled to tell us how to govern ourselves, or to form our belief on the most important points of human practice and inquiry, then the proof is here! Few readers of this autobiography will fail to see that John Stuart Mill was at fifty, what he was at twenty; at twenty, what he was at ten; and at ten, just what his father, however fearfully and wonderfully, had made him.

We do not remember to have seen such a chastisement as this to an infidel, from a literary source, since Porson's terrible one of Edward Gibbon.



## THE PHILOLOGY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE.

THE PHILOLOGY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE. By John Earle, M.A., Rector of Swanswick, some time Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. I.; 12mo; pp. 680. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1873.

ONE of our contemporaries thinks that Book Notices are a special test of an editor's ability. We hope not; for we observe that five lines may cover all that he thinks worthy of so grand a department in a literary publication, and that those may relate to a little hand-book. We should be sorry to measure our contemporary's ability by the test which he has inflicted on the ability of others.

Yet, as in multitudes of instances in this world of plenary inconsistency, his theory is right, while his practice under it is in the wrong. A book notice *is* a test, and perhaps a severe one; because so many such notices embrace but a few, vague generalities, and tell us of little or nothing which is distinguishing or characteristic. They are such as Sidney Smith might have commended *officially*; for it was one of his apparently jocular, but actually sarcastic rules for editing, that a book should be looked at, but by no means read through. To read *titles* was quite enough! Sidney had been behind the scenes—knew the secrets of the green-room—and spake accordingly.

We have intimated that a proper book notice is a hard thing. It is one of the hardest of hard things, if honest and searching;

honest, because founded on actual examination; searching, because founded on appreciative examination. And so a notice of Mr. Earle's book, on which five lines could be thrown away with an air of self-importance, might not be what it should be if extended to five hundred lines. For its subject—Philology—is a mixture of fact and of philosophy, which may be subjected to three very different sorts of examination. It may be entered on for curiosity's sake, that is, for personal gratification. It may be studied for acquisition's sake, to minister to the pride of learning: no pride being greater, as Dr. Watts testified, than the pride of a grammarian. It may be investigated, to show to others the genuine power of language—one's own language in particular.<sup>1</sup>

The third class is the one to which Mr. Earle belongs. We think we never saw a book on Philology which better brought out the *power* of the language, to a discussion of whose merits it was formally devoted. And after all in a very simple way too—such as even a general and unscientific reader might appreciate.

Mr. Earle begins with the *genesis* of our mother-tongue, showing where it came from, and how its parts grew together, and grew into a round whole. Now, for no language is a history more necessary than for our own. And the reason is, that it is a conglomerate gathered in from all quarters. A philological wit said it made him always think of a word-cormorant, who had been at a feast of languages, and brought away all the scraps! A common reader will understand us, perhaps, when we say that all our *ologies*—like

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Richard Cecil in his "Remains," and Dr. Paley in his "Moral Philosophy," are, considered as *teachers*, among the wisest we know of. It was one of their maxims, *first* to excite attention, and *then* to reward it. And Mr. Earle is a man, in this particular, of their stamp. He wants to set one a-thinking, that he may not *passively* accept his conclusions; but *actively* work them out for himself. Such a teacher is worth a hundred common ones. For example, he says: "That which we call the English infinitive, such as *to live*, *to die*, is quite a modern thing, and is characteristic of English as opposed to Saxon. The question, in presence of such a phenomenon, is naturally raised,—Whence this form of the infinitive verb? We did not borrow it, for it is not French nor Latin; we did not inherit it, for it is not Saxon. How did it rise, and what gave occasion to it? This question is one that enters into the very interior growth of language, and one that will supply the student of English with an aim for his observations in perusing our earlier literature. I have indeed my own answer ready; but I wish it distinctly to be understood, that it is to the *question* rather than to the *answer* that I direct attention, and that in propounding this and other problems for his solution, I consider myself to be rendering him the best philological service in my power" (pp. 418, 419).

the-ology and other scientific terms—come from one language; and all our *ations*—like *salv-ation* and other abstract terms—from quite another. While the ground-forms of English are of old British or Saxon origin, with here and there a word adopted from very remote sources. Who, for example, unless initiated, would suppose that our household word *cover*—as in *dish-cover*—was one familiar to Moses; and yet Moses calls the roof of Noah's ark its *kaufar* or *cover*.

Having furnished his readers with an historical account of the language, which forms his subject, Mr. Earle, in the most unpretentious manner, dips into the roots of it—its construction into sentences—and its modes of expression, as used to accomplish purposes. To speak more technically, he enters upon its orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody, without, however, confounding his reader, even if unscientific, with an array of hard and ponderous terms and allegations which might scare him away, as if he were confounding him with unintelligible problems.

And now, upon the border of Mr. Earle's great subject, we must consign it to a reader's personal examination. Verily, we have not time enough to do much more than to introduce him to our author, and ask him to carry on the acquaintance for himself. Moreover, we feel satisfied that if the reader will but go over Mr. Earle's history of our mother tongue, he will never stop there. He will become insensibly interested—will ask questions for himself, and will resort to a copious index, made ready to his hand, which will afford him frequently ample, and sometimes almost romantic, satisfaction.

If one wants to learn something of the genuine flexibility and power of English, aside from its history and roots, let him study, as if for recitation, Mr. Earle's analysis and synthesis of the king-word of all tongues for wielding its resources—the verb. We are sure he will rise from his labor with a high persuasion that that word's wonderful capabilities in English have been displayed by a master's hand.

And yet (as a matter of taste or fancy merely) we have been even more impressed by what may be considered Mr. Earle's views of language *in action*; or, in a more familiar grammatic phrase, its prosody. In this department we were exceedingly struck, and entertained too, by his chapter upon "Sound as an instinctive object of attraction."

And from this we beg to quote a passage as bearing, not upon our own times merely, but upon others very long gone. Many have

almost laughed at the paronomasias, as some call them, of the Hebrew tongue, as if they were puerilities—signs of linguistic childhood—rather than tokens of manly vigor. But Mr. Earle will not admit this, nor will he by any means allow that the rhythmical similarities of Hebrew words are ever to receive the low title of paronomasia; which belongs, as he maintains, to what we call puns, and not to dignified expressions.

“The Hebrew word for righteousness, *zēdakāh*, has a melody which chimes admirably with the idea. Whatever beauty of thought is embodied in the Themis, and Dikē, and Astræa, of the Greek personifications, may all be heard in the sound of the Hebrew *zēdakāh*. Nor is this mere fancy. That the word spoke not to the mind alone through the ear as a mere channel, but that the sound of the word had a musical eloquence for the musical ear of the Hebrew, we have such evidence as the case admits of. We find it set against the cry of the oppressed *zēghakāh*, where the dental has been exchanged for the most rigid of gutturals, represented here by *gh*. In fact, there is a stage in language when the musical appropriateness of the word is the chief care. This is the age of the Hebrew antitheses and parallelisms. In the passage alluded to, not only is there the contrast already described, but also that of *mishpat*, ‘judgment,’ with *mispach*, ‘oppressive,’ and here also the gentle sound of the dental is changed to the grating sound of a guttural, though milder than in the other instance.

“He looked for judgment (*mishpat*); but behold oppression! (*mishpach*).

“For righteousness (*zēdakāh*); but behold a cry! (*zēghakāh*).—Isaiah, v. 7.

“This class of cases has been sometimes inconsiderately treated, as if they approached in some sort to the nature of a paronomasia, or pun. But no two things could be more distinct. The pun rests on a duplicity of sense under unity of sound; and it is essentially of a laughter-provoking nature, because it is a wanton rebellion against the first motive of speech, whereby diversity of sense induces diversity of sound, that the sound may be an echo to the sense” (p. 610).

But we have neither time nor space for such a notice of this not scholarly alone, but very practical volume, which it amply deserves. It ought to be purchased, like a dictionary, for the study-table,—as a volume devoted to daily use and reference. Truly, it is a book for one’s life-time, and should be estimated as one of the most self-rewarding of manuals. Nowhere, that we know of, can a student



find as much about his mother-tongue, for the same amount of money.

P. S.—The book abounds in anecdotal references; which add greatly to a reader's entertainment. We cannot resist a temptation to introduce an example illustrative of what we have often suspected, but could not prove—the splenetic temper of John Henry Newman. He fell into a fury over the hapless compound, *is being*. “I know nothing of the history of the language, and cannot tell whether this will stand; but this I do know, that, rationally or irrationally, I have an undying, never-dying hatred to ‘*is being*,’ whatever arguments are brought in its favor. At the same time, I fully grant that it is so convenient in the present state of the language, that I will not pledge myself I have never been guilty of using it” (p. 540). For a scholar and a philosopher, this is prodigious! How could he forget or forego the old hermeneutical maxim, *Qui haeret in litera, haeret in cortice?*



## BOOK NOTICES.

**THE ATHANASIAN CREED:** By whom written, and by whom published; with other inquiries on creeds in general, reconsidered in an Appendix. By the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, B.D., late Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford; author of "Christendom's Divisions." London: J. T. Hayes, Lyall place, Eaton square; and 4 Henrietta street, Covent Garden. 1872.

Mr. Ffoulkes (pronounced, we are told, Fowks) has issued a second edition of his work on the (so-called) Creed of St. Athanasius; and has added to the original volume an appendix of one hundred and thirty-one pages, in reply to his numerous and sometimes sharp-toothed critics. He has met those critics fairly and fearlessly—acknowledging with manly frankness any errors into which *more humano* he may have fallen; but contending, strenuously, that none of his main positions have been demolished. Indeed, he closes the chief part of his defence, on the ninety-eighth page of his Appendix, in the following courageous and dignified words: "In conclusion, if these are the worst inaccuracies that can be charged upon a book of three hundred and seventy-five pages, on so confessedly difficult and jealously-fenced a subject, it has nothing to regret in the handling it has received from its censors, beyond their tone."

We are unable to perceive how any one can shake effectually the first point on which Mr. Ffoulkes lays stress, viz., that the Creed, Confession, Symbol, or Hymn of Athanasius (as it is variously

c.—10

called) is *not* the work of the Father whose name has been attached to it. And to leave entirely aside here Mr. Ffoulkes's own testimony, we deem it quite sufficient for any student of Church history to accept the decision of Montfaucon and his Benedictines in relation to such a matter. The decision alluded to is given by these far-famed authorities in such firm and deliberate terms as these, "On these grounds we consider, unhesitatingly, that the Creed, '*Quicumque*,' must be denied to be the work of Athanasius." If there were anything wanting to give such a decision a backbone of steel, we should say it would be the testimony and practice of the Greek Church; including, of course, for such a *general* purpose, that of all the Oriental communions. And Montfaucon is quite too scholarly, not to say lawyer-like, to forget such an inestimable adjunct; and we find him presenting and arraying it in this wise: "It may as well be added that no Greek monument of any kind, authentic and indubitable, has come to hand as yet, showing that this Creed has been known to the Greek Church above five hundred years"—*i. e.*, before A. D. 1200 (Ffoulkes's App. pp. 20, 24).

Now, when one remembers that Montfaucon spent sixty-six years of his life among the Benedictines; that he had a host of learned men around him, devotedly engaged in the same patristic studies with himself—all full earnest and sensitively anxious to sustain his reputation, their own, and that of their Order, to the very uttermost—we think a controversialist, who proposes to do battle with such a phalanx, ought to mount one of those shields of toughened bulls' hide, which we used to read of and long to look at during the classical studies of our boyhood. For ourselves, not having any such defensive armor wherewith to encounter the Benedictines and the Greeks—the best of Occidentals for such a matter, and *all* the Orientals—we surrender at discretion, and admit Montfaucon's conclusion in its fulness. The Athanasian Creed is, to us, no longer the work of Athanasius, and should not be ascribed to him, except as custom has honored it with his venerable name. Titles, however, do not always render descriptions accurately. The Creed, usually styled the Nicene, would be more critically styled the Constantinopolitan. The phrase "commonly called" in the Eighth and Twenty-fifth Articles of The Thirty-Nine, shows that the Church of England, and our own, took titles, whether of Creeds or of Sacraments, in a popular sense, and not with dogmatic strictness.

The *Quicumque vult*—to use its Latin appellation—is *not*, then, the work of Athanasius; and the next most interesting question

about it is, Whether it was the work of one man, or one period, or what might be called a gradual compilation?

And in relation to such a question, we feel constrained to say that Mr. Ffoulkes shows himself to be not merely an industrious, but a most appreciative student of Church History—one, in some respects, superior even to Waterland. Waterland, for example, hunted antiquity for the Creed as if the production of a single author, who lived at a definite and ascertainable time. Mr. Ffoulkes's idea, on the other hand, is that primarily it showed itself in shreds, or seminal expressions, which were afterward moulded and digested into their present shape. And this seems to us, who have had to take our turn in trying to thread antiquity's labyrinths, as decidedly the more probable theory.<sup>1</sup> It serves Mr. Ffoulkes too with the best assistance possible. It enables him, at once, to dispose of a crowd of quotations arrayed to show that vestiges—the trail, as a hunter would say—of the Creed are to be found in times not only anterior, but long anterior, to the age when the Creed was discovered full-blown—the age of Charlemagne, or in round numbers, A. D. 800.

Why, this is essentially Mr. Ffoulkes's *own idea* of the matter in debate. He by no means blinks or disowns such vestiges; but still maintains that the real question is, Whether they betoken a creed already in existence, or are the premonitories or forerunners of one by and by to come? And in settling such a question, we hold that he has hit upon a most significant peculiarity, as marking the age when the Creed was known in its present shape and condition, viz., that it was born (enucleated) in an age characterized by very few

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<sup>1</sup> The more probable, even from the history of Creeds themselves. Neither the Apostles' Creed, nor the Nicene, nor The Thirty-Nine Articles, are *now* what they were originally. Change has passed over all. Over the Roman Creeds too. The faith of A. D. 325 would be far behind the times in the Vatican, at the present day; to say nothing of the decision of the Church Catholic in the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431; which, for aught we can see, prohibits such an addition to the old Creeds as the Athanasian. Quite as much so—and Mr. Ffoulkes properly takes this ground in one of his tracts—since it prohibits the Creed additions of Pius IV. and Pius IX.; and if such things, why of course it prohibits additions which went before them, or may follow them in Development's future openings. Development—would that its disciples could understand its essential character!—can never stop. It has no anchor. It is forever out at sea. And we suspect the ancients had an inkling of it, when they talked of the Island Delos which was always swimming. This was their *one* symbol of minds and systems which had no fixture, and could find no rest. Delos was unrest; but *every* philosopher—every pretended one certainly—has his Delos now.

truly original works, but notorious for its compilations out of the resources of the past. Waterland, he says, "collected a number of parallel passages, or, more strictly, morsels from St. Augustine, out of which he might, if he had tried, have manufactured another Athanasian Creed with ease; but the idea never seems to have struck him that it had really been compiled in this way" (p. 339). And then, as an estimator of the genius of an age from an ecclesiastical stand-point, we hold that Mr. Ffoulkes shows great judgment and great discernment—in fact, as a Church historian, true philosophical discretion—in such a portraiture of the Middle Ages as this. "From the seventh to the twelfth century, there was no style more popular, or carried to a greater nicety, than the *patch-work style*; original only so far as concerned the arbitrary shapes into which the pieces were cut, and the seams by which they were joined together" (p. 319).<sup>1</sup> And, in his Appendix, he makes a most effective retort upon his opponents, by telling them that if they defend the originality of the Athanasian Creed, under such circumstances, they must put the Forged Decretals into their basket, and adopt them too! Their course, in relation to the Creed, commits them to a sponsorship of manufactured Canon Law! This is the hardest hit he gives these opponents, and we see not but they deserve it. In employing it, Mr. Ffoulkes proves himself an acute controversialist, as well as a sagacious historian.

And, now, to show how easy it might have been to compile such a Creed as the Athanasian, with expressions culled here and there out of the Fathers, and ingeniously tacked together, we will quote a few sentences from St. Augustine, which will probably be sufficient for most of our readers. In Book V. chap. x. of his treatise on the Trinity, we find him using language of this description: "As we do not say three essences, so neither do we say three greatnesses; for it is the same thing to God to be, and to be great. For the same

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<sup>1</sup> "One writer after another made them say what they never meant. And this was done by piecing passages from the earlier and later Fathers together, a bit here and a bit there, without naming them, always detached from their context, sometimes interpolated, often separated from each other by original remarks or comments, till a position was attained agreeable to the age or fancies of the compiler, which none of them singly, or none but the latest would have owned." It was because the Fathers were manipulated in this way, that the English Reformers were sometimes afraid of them. Not that they declined the appeal to them. Not by any means. Bp. Jewel's challenge and defence showed what could be done, *when they were ready*. They were ready when they had texts which could be trusted!

reason, neither do we say three greats, but One who is great; since God is not great by partaking of greatness, but He is great by Himself being great, because He Himself is His own greatness. Let the same be said also of the goodness, and of the eternity, and of the omnipotence of God; and, in short, of all the predicaments which can be predicated of God." Carry out such language, as St. Augustine himself hinted might be carried out, in reference to "*all* the predicaments which can be predicated of God," and one could have drawn up a Creed, not a *fac-simile* alone of the Athanasian, but even fuller and stronger! Still, the Saint used such language not as if symbolic, *i. e.*, quoted from a Creed, but as if his own; and sometimes expressed himself in a way still more Athanasius-like, if such a compound word be here admissible. Thus, in the Preface of his Eighth Book, where we meet with phraseology which may be called *key-language* for the whole book which it precedes. There we discover such a style of expression as the following: "The Father God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God; the Father good, the Son good, and the Holy Spirit good; and the Father omnipotent, the Son omnipotent, and the Holy Spirit omnipotent; yet neither three Gods, nor three goods, nor three omnipotents, but one God, good, omnipotent, The Trinity itself." St. Augustine, Mr. Ffoulkes maintains, "supplied nine tenths of the materials of which this Creed is composed" (p. 91, App.); while if this be so, how singular that his name has never been appropriated for its authorship! Names must have been applied, in ancient times, about as arbitrarily as names in orders and monasteries now.

It seems pretty clear, then, that Mr. Ffoulkes may be altogether right in his theory—we wish to be as diffident as some desire, and therefore say *may* be, and not *must* be—in his theory about the non-Athanasian origin of the Athanasian Confession; and also in his further opinion, that it is founded on scraps, scattered up and down among the early doctrinal writers of the Church Catholic. And with such a basis to start from, it is easy to follow him, and adopt what may be called the development of his opinion, that the actual, the *de facto* compilation of the document, took place in the age of Charlemagne.<sup>1</sup> It is particularly easy to do this, in view of

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<sup>1</sup> We are glad to see that, in his Appendix, Mr. Ffoulkes is not so strenuous as he was about the *sole* action of Paulinus, in the compilation of the Creed. He now says: "The alternative lies between him and his contemporaries, till it can be shown to have been written earlier" (p. 94). He has lost nothing by this modest concession.



the fact that no Greek writer was ever found "so much as noticing it, till it had been described to the Greeks, by the envoys of Gregory IX., A. D. 1233, as having been composed by St. Athanasius in Latin" (p. 317). If anything were wanting to render such an act not easy only, but almost an absolute duty, it would be the very serious fact that the Greek Church still adheres to this ignorance of the Creed *as* a Creed, and has never introduced it into its formularies. A so-called Catholic Creed, still unrecognized by a Church, which calls itself "orthodox" by way of eminence, and counts its members by tens of millions! Is the Creed which has but barely a putative author, and not an ecumenical council for its sponsor, in the wrong, or is the Church so? Who among the doubters of private judgment cannot answer such a question reputably; that is, with papal infallibility?

We said it was comparatively easy to follow Mr. Ffoulkes, as assigning the formal and final compilation of the Creed to *the age* of Charlemagne.

And now, then, comes a very determinative question,—Can he assign a plausible and instructive reason for its appearance in such an age? He thinks he can. He thinks—and he was upon the right track when he thought so—that Charlemagne wanted to be a sort of world-wide dictator; and that, in particular, under the influence of jealousy, fear, ambition, and all combined, he desired to counter-balance, if not outweigh, the Greek Empire of the East. It was the old rivalry between East and West, and the old determination not to share power, but to wield it, and with resolute supremacy.

Now, Charlemagne discovered that it would not be very difficult to accomplish his plan *politically*; but he also discovered that it would be far less easy to accomplish it *religiously* and *ecclesiastically*. "Charlemagne's aspirations were patent enough. He wanted to found a second Roman Empire upon a durable basis. To effect this, it was necessary that every remaining tie binding the West to dependence upon the East should be weakened or dissolved. As he examined them carefully, he found them all rotten, and ready to burst at a touch, but one, namely, *the religious tie*; and even in the religious tie there was a flaw, which, by judicious straining, might be compelled to give, till a rupture was effected; and this was the interpolated Creed" (p. 251). But to substitute other Creeds, and put them on an equality with the Oriental Creed, or on a still higher level, would remove all obstacles, far better than a doubtful and contested interpolation. And this, as a politician and a statesman, that is, with the appliances of a politician and a

statesman, Charlemagne contrived to do. "The two golden calves never stood Jeroboam in better stead for weaning the Ten Tribes from Jerusalem, than the fabricated origin of this [the Athanasian Creed] and the Apostles' Creed [ascribing it to the Apostles in person] stood Charlemagne for weaning the West from 'the Nicene faith'" (p. 258). It was necessary that the Emperor should have an Oriental Creed wherewith to bejuggle Orientals; for, had the Athanasian Symbol "appeared as the faith or creed of St. Augustine [a *Western* saint], no Greek would have given it a second thought, or been at the pains of accommodating it, in Greek, to his own views" (p. 255). With a new Creed, authorizing the double procession, and sanctioning an anathema against all who ventured to impugn it,—with a baptismal Creed<sup>1</sup> outranking the Nicene, because the Apostles themselves had drawn it up, Charlemagne was ecclesiastically omnipotent. And then he ventured to give his will the force of law in the following canon, which, it will be perceived, *ignores the Nicene Creed entirely*: "That any presbyter, deacon, or subdeacon, or clerk, not reciting the Creed which the Apostles, by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, delivered, and the faith of the holy prelate Athanasius, satisfactorily, be condemned by the bishop" (p. 40, App.). Upon which, Mr. Ffoulkes (p. 41) makes this just and caustic comment: "There was positively no legislation about the Apostles' Creed, under *that* name, nor about the Athanasian Creed, under *any* name, till his [Charlemagne's] time, this canon excepted."

There was heretofore an item in Charlemagne's history, which, to us, was a complete historical puzzle. We allude to his embassy to the *then* head of Mohammedanism, in the far-away city of Bagdad. What had a Christian ruler in the far West to do with a Moslem ruler in the far East? We could not formerly see; but the combination of England and France, with a Sultan at Constantinople, to put down Greek Christianity, in 1854—or (as the Romanists had it) to cripple the "Photian Schism"—enables us to believe that Charlemagne sought an alliance with the Caliph, to carry on his favorite schemes against the same object of ecclesiastical aver-

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<sup>1</sup> The Baptismal Creed of the Orientals is the Nicene. Charlemagne wanted to disparage *this*, and he adopted a new Baptismal Creed, or applied an old one to a new purpose. He represented the Apostles' Creed as proceeding from the Apostles themselves, thus giving it a rank above the Nicene Creed, which dated no higher than A. D. 325. The West accordingly had, in his view, a creed which transcended and displaced the other. It will be seen that he issued a regulation ignoring the Nicene Creed.

sion. "There was no truth," says Mr. Ffoulkes, "I found better substantiated in contemporaneous history than this, that the schism between the two Churches [Greek and Latin] was inaugurated by Charlemagne, and consummated by the Crusaders. In the latter part of this statement, I am merely repeating what I learned from others. It was not I, but the late Sir F. Palgrave, the late Dean Milman, and Mr. Finlay, by whom the halo of romance, encircling the memories of the soldiers of the Cross, has been dispelled, once for all" (App. p. 100).

The downfall of Constantinople, under the Crusaders, in 1204, and the attempt to thrust the Athanasian Symbol upon the Greeks, in 1233, as a Creed of *Greek* original, show the animus of the West in a light too clear to be misconceived of. Mr. Ffoulkes is right in his impression that the fault of the Great Schism lies with the West rather than with the East, and is the legitimate result of the claim of supremacy asserted by the West, and carried out, when opportunities presented, with the ruthless enginery of war!

So we certainly assent to the theory that the Crusades were military missions, less against the crescent than the Grecian cross. Photian Christianity was to be suppressed by them; and it was so, most effectually, for more than half a century. Archdeacon Hardwick says that the plan was developed at the Council of Bari, in Southern Italy [Magna Grecia], in 1099 (Midd. Ages. p. 276); and it is certain that, after the Crusaders reached Southern Italy, *Grecian* Christianity disappeared, and was known no more there. They followed an old Roman precedent, *delenda est Carthago*, and absolutely extinguished it!

With and for all these enterprises, the Athanasian Symbol was always a prominent means, or a prominent motive; so that we are thoroughly disposed to call it a "polemical creed,"—a name by which it has been recognized among Western theologians. It has, indeed, been a polemical creed, against brethren in the great "Communion of Saints;" and there are stains of blood upon it, which sometimes, when the sad lights of history have rendered them conspicuous, have sickened us to shuddering. It comes to us reeking with the odor of battle, not against heretics, but against truly Christian men. We are glad that our Prayer Book does not demand of us its repetition. The Church of England has lowered it from what may be called the battle-point,—turned it from a dogmatic definition into a simple hymn; put a Gloria Patri after it, as after a portion of the Psalter; and signifies, perhaps, thereby, that its anathemas amount to nothing more than a Psalmist's imprecations. We

are willing to receive it in that way; and if its advocates will set it to lively music, and make of it a Trinity Sunday Exercise, we will lift up a voice in its behalf, though it may be anything but a "voice of melody."

ANNALS OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, NEW LONDON, for One Hundred and Fifty Years. By Robert A. Hallam, D.D., Rector. *Quorum magna pars fui.* The Church Press: M. H. Mallory & Co., Hartford, Conn. 1873.

We are rejoiced that Dr. Hallam has put his hands to this work, for there is no one but himself competent to do it *as* he has done it. He is well known as one of the *sui generis* family. And there are touches of raciness in his book which no one else could achieve with his felicity. Moreover, the annals of St. James's, New London, deserved the hand of a master, for it is one of the oldest of any of our churches; and, as the parish church of the first Bishop of Connecticut, and the senior Bishop of our American line, Dr. Seabury, must be one of the landmarks of our Church history to Time's latest rounds.

Dr. Hallam attributes its origin more to the laity than the clergy; and we believe he is quite right in doing so. The value of New London as a point for commerce was discovered by members of the Church of England; and to them, rather than to Dr. McSparran, as a Rhode Island missionary, is its origination chiefly due. We have not the faintest desire to disparage Dr. McSparran's credit as a missionary. He did all he could for New London; but when the laity are foremost in Church-work, we are more than willing to award them the honors they deserve. It shows that the education of the Church-merchants of New London had been such, that, though they were thousands of miles away from their mother-country, they did not forget their mother-Church. They were not such sorry worldlings as the Puritans would fain have represented them, nor strangers to "vital piety."

The father of Bishop Seabury was educated partly in Yale College, and intended for the ministry of what was then called, not *The Established Church*, but by a title which meant as much, or more, — *The Standing Order*. This *Standing Order*, it may be well enough to say, survived the American Revolution, in Connecticut, over forty years, and in Massachusetts over fifty years. Of course it would boast, and has boasted, of this prolongation of power, and it is quite welcome to do so, if it will only condescend to remember

that the Church of the English Reformation, with episcopacy as one of its elements, has lived a great deal longer, and even if annoyed by the "vain janglings" of schism, seems to be gaining, while they who once claimed a legalized ecclesiastical preëminence in New England are no longer arbitrators for New England's ecclesiastical destiny.

But we are on the verge of an episode, and must refrain. The father of Bishop Seabury was familiar with the almost revolution, created by the return of the Rector of Yale College and others to the Church of their fathers, and the adoption of its ministry. He finally followed their example; and if Dean Berkley, in Newport, Rhode Island, who came over from Ireland to found an Episcopal college, had been sustained by the British Government, according to its promises, there might have been five Episcopal churches in New England where there now is one. Dean Berkley wrote home that he found a fairer opening for his plans than he had anticipated. His church, he said, was *second best* with all the sectaries by whom he was surrounded; and so we often find it now. But the London Cabinet listened to the apparently political, but really ecclesiastical, remonstrances of the Puritans, and neither seconded the Dean nor even sent over a travelling bishop, who might have ordained hundreds and confirmed thousands. So the Episcopal communion languished, and the Revolution found its Church in a state of childhood.

Still, even under such circumstances, and in the purlieus of St. James's, the Episcopal Church produced a convulsion not unlike that known at New Haven during the collegiate rectorate of Dr. Cutler. A son of Dr. Mather Byles, of Boston, and one of the most popular and influential of all the Congregational ministers of New London, suddenly resigned his position and went to England to obtain Holy Orders in the Church of his forefathers. Probably his gifted parent remembered this fact, and deferred to it; for, in his last hours, he sent for an Episcopal clergyman to be his chaplain. Dr. Parker, the second Bishop of Massachusetts, was his choice; and even almost *in articulo mortis* he could not spare him from listening to one of a myriad of puns which had characterized his private life, and are still unforgotten in the Tri-mountain City. "I am going," exclaimed he to his kind attendant, "where there are no bishops." "Oh, no, sir," was the happy and most apposite response; "we hope and trust you are going to the Bishop of souls."

The choicest associations of St. James's are, of course, with that one of its rectors who was the first Bishop of Connecticut, and

whom we may remember now with double affection, as having nothing to do with that abortion which has been patronized by the schismatical Dr. Cummins, viz., the proposed Prayer Book of 1783. Bishop Seabury was emphatically a Catholic and Apostolic Churchman; and the simple but fatal omission in that book of the Nicene Creed was enough with him to render the adoption of it utterly and hopelessly impracticable. Dr. Cummins shows the desperate parsimony of his Churchmanship by his abstinence from a formulary that neither the Dutch Reformed nor the Presbyterians are ashamed of. To pretend to be a Churchman of any sort, and disown the grand communion-creed of Christendom, was an enormity which a Seabury could only think of as "an abomination of desolation."

So it was to his firmness, in no small measure, that we escaped being Cumminsites in advance. To him, too, is it mainly due that we have the admirable Communion Service which we at present enjoy. The maimed Prayer of Consecration found in the English Prayer Book—more of a relic of old Romanism in England than those who consider our present Prayer of Consecration half Romish ever so much as dreamed of—Bishop Seabury could not tolerate; and he labored with the zeal of a votary, until he succeeded in giving our Church the impressive and elaborate Communion Service which still distinguishes its Liturgy. Dr. Hallam found the substance of our Communion Service in a pamphlet form, in the pews of St. James's, when he became its rector in 1835. The pamphlet had been printed under the supervision of Bishop Seabury.

These facts are, doubtless, familiar to many Churchmen of Connecticut; but they are not as well known as they should be outside of Connecticut, and, therefore, we put them down here. The Oblation and Invocation of our Prayer of Consecration—essential features, even in Judaism, for the renewal of covenants between God and man—are the happy fruits of Bishop Seabury's most conscientious persistiveness.<sup>1</sup> The old prayer which provided for a conse-

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<sup>1</sup> If the Eucharist is the grand means of renewing our covenant with God, then it seems hard to admit that it is complete without something more than a bare consecration of its elements. A covenant implies two parties, and must naturally contain and express *mutual* action. The Eucharistic elements must be acknowledged as God's gifts to us,—then offered back to Him as an oblation in memorial of His mercy,—then received again from Him, and by us partaken, as an accepted offering, assuring us of His favor and goodness toward us, and that we belong to the blessed company of His faithful people. Such reciprocated action rounds out (so to speak) the covenantal circle; and we are again *at one* with the Father and the Son, through the fellowship of the Holy Ghost. Comp. προσάγωγήν (*oblationem*), Eph. ii. 18.



cration, and a consecration solely, was for him quite too Romish. His additions were truly Catholic, but anti-Roman, contra-Vaticanic, earnestly as the uninformed suppose and maintain the contrary. A consecration is, perhaps, an exclusively sacerdotal act, and, therefore, one in which the officiator—the celebrant, as some delight to say—has peculiarly and exclusively the priestly character. In the Oblation and Invocation, the person speaking uses the plural pronouns in so marked a way (*e. g.*, “we, Thy humble servants”) that we are not inclined, merely, but constrained, to regard him as associating the congregation with his acts, while he appears simply as the leader in a priestly assembly,—a part of God’s “royal priesthood,” or “kingdom of priests,” as God’s Church was called ere Christianity began to be (Exod. xix. 6. Comp. I. Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6).

The hasty suppose the fact to be quite otherwise. The word “oblation” scares them, as if redolent of an altar with its sacrificial victim, or as if “the sacrifices of Masses” “for the quick and the dead” (Art. XXXI.) were naturally involved in it. But the most solemn part of the Oblation (its *memorial*, preceded by the words, “which *we* now offer unto Thee”) clearly implies that the act is diffusive and congregational; that the people, or, at least, “all those

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Now, in the Oblation and Invocation, the offering up to God of gifts consecrated in His name, and the receiving of them back again, according to Christ’s holy institution, are brought out prominently; all which is in perfect keeping with the covenantal character of the rite,—that character of it which our Saviour put forward as the last and crowning act of it, when He completed its institution. With His hand upon the emblematic cup, as a coronation of the scene, He said: This is My blood,—the blood of the New Covenant,—the blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins. We have translated Matt. xxvi. 28, literally, supplying the noun for two articles, to bring out the *threefold* emphasis laid upon the word *blood*; making it indicative of the *chief thing* which He intended for distinction in all future commemorations. He did not say, This is the New Covenant in My body; nor did His Apostle say, The body of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin. Indeed, another Apostle compares Christ’s body to a veil, simply, through which His blood passed on (the Holy Ghost coöperating) to the altar “of the true Tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man;” that is, the Tabernacle in the heavens (comp. Heb. ix. 14, x. 20, and viii. 2). And how, then, Romanists, who do not receive the chief element of the Eucharist—that which, like blood on the great day of Jewish atonement, constitutes the prevailing feature of the transaction—how they can renew their covenant with Heaven, is to us a most embarrassing perplexity. Their talk about concomitancy is a mere scholastic subterfuge. A Unitarian might just as well say that baptism, in the sole name of Jesus, was, by concomitancy, a baptism into every name of the baptismal formula; and therefore a valid sacrament.

who are minded to receive the Holy Communion," and have joined in the "General Confession," partake sufficiently of the priestly character to join in it with the clergy, and to do so not as mere observers, but as fellow-actors. And if we properly understand Bishop Seabury's theory of its character, he introduced it as anything but a truckling to Rome, as rather a protest against her narrow and one-sided sacerdotalism.

When these things come to be understood better than they now are, the old Church of St. James will no longer be the bugbear which it has been to many, and the reputation of Bishop Seabury will be rescued from the sorest imputations by which it has been attainted. We knew St. James's in our boyhood, and are qualified to speak about these imputations understandingly. From the echoes which then, amid Puritanic localities, rolled about our ear-drums, we gathered that Bishop Seabury was a quasi-pope, and we should have withered under his formidable eye-brow as if a Ghibbeline trembling before a Hildebrand!

Dr. Hallam's book gives us agreeable portraiture of his private character; and here we can honor his traditions, albeit still not old

For others than Romanists—those, *e. g.*, who say that representing the Eucharist as a renewal of our covenant with God is a lowering of its dignity and value—we beg to say, that such a renewal is about the most exalted service a finite being can engage in. What can be more solemn, what more profitable, too, than a service which brings the soul into personal unison with the Fountain of all life, and of all that can make life (God's greatest covenanted benediction) a genuine and abiding blessing? Why God, when first entering into covenant with man, created him for Paradise and immortality, "a living soul." And to renew our covenant with God is to bring back, as near as may be, for the children of exiles, the day of man's creation in God's image. An archangel might well aspire to join in a service which carried him back to an angelic birthday. And even the ancient Jews would contemplate such a service with grateful awe. It was their beautiful, not to say celestial, theory, that angels mingle in all high and Divine solemnities. Could they help believing so? Does not God always gather angels round Him when preparing for His most august transactions? (compare Psalm lxviii. 17; Matt. xxv. 31). The connection of angels with an infant baptism is easily inferred from Matt. xviii. 10; and why, then, may we not suppose them present at a Eucharist? Our first Prayer Book, in King Edward's time, supposed them there, and taught us to hope that our prayers might be treated by them as "the prayers of all saints" may be (Rev. viii. 3). We have often lamented the abscission of such an allusion to them in our "Prayer of Consecration." How it can be in anywise Romish or anti-evangelical to follow such a Scriptural example as St. John has put squarely before us, is about as much of a puzzle as all miracles are to Dr. Strauss.

enough to speak of the Bishop's memories in any other way, notwithstanding he baptized one of our near relations. His Communion Service—now substantially our own—when fairly understood, redeems him from all aspersions of Romish infection. Dr. Cummins's Communion Service, if he adopts the Proposed Book as his pattern, would be much more acceptable to a Romish priest, or to a Ritualist, than our own, and will present him directly under that sacerdotal aspect which he now ignorantly professes to abhor. If his schismatical association blunder on, and through, as they have begun, they may end in fresh Romish approximations, till the old proverb which a Psalmist has commended becomes as true in their case as in a thousand more: "He is fallen himself into the destruction that he made for other" (Ps. vii. 16).

We have used Dr. Hallam's book, as the times seemed to require, more for theological than literary purposes. Let no one suppose from this that it is any the less entertaining or instructive as an historical monograph. No son of Episcopal Connecticut can read it without profit and delight. It will be *monumentum aere perennius* for its venerable and venerated author.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, D.D., Missionary of the Church of England in Connecticut, and first President of King's College, New York. New York: Published by Hurd & Houghton. London: Rivingtons. 8vo; pp. 380.

In a great hurry to complete this number, we do not pretend to notice this very interesting and important work, save for a single purpose. It will receive, we trust, by and by, such a notice as it deserves, from a hand able to do it honor.

But in reference to some recent history of our own times, we were very curious to know how the Congregationalists of the last century looked upon departures from their communion, to join the communion of the Church of England, and how they characterized them. We knew, of course, that they disliked them and denounced them. But from what stand-point, principally and preëminently? Because they were departures from primitive antiquity? By no means. The sin which Connecticut's Episcopal forefathers were chiefly guilty of, was the sin of "covenant-breaking." They were understood to have committed themselves, in a covenant-way, to "The Standing Order;" and to break away from such a commitment was an excessive, if not an unpardonable, sin (p. 88).

Now Dr. Cummins, who has lately broken away from our Church

in these States, was not bound to that Church in what may be called a covenant-way alone, but by one of the most solemn—nay, awful—adjurations which a human being can take upon himself. He wrote it, too, as well as uttered it; and then called upon God to help him in the act, through the Redeemer of his soul!

And yet, with the attainer of perjury cleaving fast to him, the descendants of the impugnors of our Episcopal forefathers can receive him with open arms; and that, too, when he fleches from our Church what was given him to be exercised for her advantage solely, and uses it to her (so far as he himself is concerned) utmost detriment. Our forefathers did not carry away from Congregationalism what Congregationalism made much account of; rather, they went away to seek what Congregationalism cannot give, and held up even to scorn. Dr. Cummins carries off what Episcopacy gave him to be used under her auspices alone, and with pledges of fidelity, which, for sacredness and honor, could not be exceeded.

And yet our forefathers were desperate sinners, while Dr. Cummins—if Congregationalism can do such a thing—will be canonized for a saint!

The cases present a parallel worthy long and intense remembrance. They illustrate graphically one of the curious points of proximity between Congregational and Jesuitical morals. The violation of a covenant made to Congregationalism, with a preference to Episcopacy, is a terrible crime. The violation of an oath given to Episcopacy, and fraternization with anti-Episcopalians, is an eminent virtue. So it is with the Jesuits. A man who breaks faith with their system, and prefers Protestantism, is an offender to the uttermost. One who breaks faith with Protestantism, and joins them, is a candidate for Paradise.

*Technical* virtue, and not *genuine* virtue, is the rule with such extremists. As Dr. Johnson discovered, in due time, it was necessary to adopt—not, of course, to fully believe, but to adopt—Calvinism, “upon the pain of damnation” (p. 122). So, now, it is indispensable to adopt the immaculacy of the Virgin Mary and the infallibility of the Pope, upon the same identical penalty. And, to go very far back, it was precisely so with theoretical moralists among the Pharisees. The parable of the two sons, as we read and understand it, furnishes the example wanted. In Matt. xxi. 31, the better reading, and the true one, is *ἑσπερος*, or *ἑσχατος*, and not *πρῶτος*. The Pharisees pronounced, as they might be expected to do, in behalf of the son who was *technically right*. Hence the logical sequence of our Saviour’s exclamation, that the publicans and

harlots could get into heaven before people who held such monstrous positions. This logical sequence (one of the best of all guides in interpretation) is lost, upon the supposition that the Pharisees approved of the first son and not the second.

No; *technical* virtue, and not *actual* virtue or *practical* virtue, was the standard of Pharisaic moralists. And it was too much the standard of Puritan moralists also, in times gone by. It was once a puzzle to us that good Dr. Johnson thought a new system of moral philosophy was necessary, during the last century, and labored to supply the want by text-books of his own. We can fancy him, in his quiet study at Stratford, pondering over such curious parallels as we have instanced, and resolving that, so far as he was concerned, morals should be put by Churchmen upon an honester and more substantial foundation.



# AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

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## THE FIRST RESURRECTION.

(Concluded.)

REV. XX. 5.

“BUT the rest of the dead lived not again, until the thousand years were finished.”

“The rest.” This expression places them in the class of disembodied souls (v. 4). Like the souls of the beheaded, “the rest of the dead” are not in this world, but are in the world of spirits.

“The rest of the dead lived not again.” *They lived not again.* This verb is in contrast with “they lived,” in v. 4, and therefore with it has a spiritual sense. The rest of the dead are destitute of spiritual life. Spiritual life, the rest of the dead have not. Spiritually, they live not again. In this world, they may have had spiritual life, in various degrees, but they died without spiritual life, and they can never recover it. *Spiritually, they live not again.* Thus is the Restoration theory refuted and exploded.

This is the terrific truth the Holy Spirit in St. John here reveals to us. The wicked dead are not annihilated, but they never recover their lost spiritual life.



## THE TRUE READING.

"Until"— $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ . This is the reading Robert Stephens gives in his text of A. D. 1550, and this reading the *Textus Receptus* follows. Of the Text of Robert Stephens, Webster and Wilkinson thus speak in their Commentary on the New Testament: "It is, upon the whole, more satisfactory and safe than any other single Text that can be named" (Vol. II. Preface, p. viii.).

$\alpha\chi\rho\iota$ . On the other hand,  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$ , instead of  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , is the reading of the Alexandrian Codex of the fifth century, of an Uncial Manuscript of the eighth century, and of several Cursive Manuscripts of the twelfth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

In deference to these manuscripts, Scholz, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Alford, and Wordsworth receive  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  into their respective Texts of verse 5, chap. xx. We need not, however, feel obliged to follow their example. When readings conflict, there is still another arbiter. We may then resort to

INTERNAL EVIDENCE.<sup>1</sup>

The internal evidence is strong, that  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  was the earlier and better reading in v. 5. This is the form of the demonstration.  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  is actually in the *Textus Receptus*. How came it there?

Regarding  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  as the original Text, we can account for the subsequent insertion of  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  in v. 5. On the contrary, we cannot account for the insertion of  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , in case  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  was the original reading. The copyist of v. 5 would be familiar with the word  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$ . In the course of the Book of Revelation, he had already copied  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  not less than *ten* times; the last time in v. 3, only a few lines above v. 5, and in connection with the very same words (a thousand years) he was about to copy in v. 5. With  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  thus familiar to his eye, memory, and hand, he would almost necessarily insert  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  in v. 5, even though the manuscript from which he was copying read  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ . But, on the other hand, in case  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  was in the manuscript he was copying, how almost impossible would it be for him to insert  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  in v. 5, in place of  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota$  in the manuscript he was transcribing!

With  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  he was *not at all familiar*. He had seen it only *twice* since he began to copy the book, and then merely in a single passage (vi. 10, 11). Since he saw  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , he had copied not less than

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<sup>1</sup> Ellicott on Galatians. Preface, p. xii.

thirteen chapters, in which operation he must have spent certainly as many days, and perhaps weeks. How highly improbable, then, that with  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$  before his eyes (and before them it was, in case it was the original reading) he should, in its stead, write in the transcript he was making the rare and almost unknown word  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ !

Thus, from the nature of the case, it is a probable demonstration that  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  now stands in v. 5, not from the mistake of the copyist (which it would be, if  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$  is the true reading), but  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  is now in the Stephens Text, because it was in the very Text from which the Alexandrian Codex, containing  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ , was taken; the maker of this Codex being probably the very man who, with his recollection surcharged with  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ , omitted the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  directly before his eyes, and in its place wrote  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ , by interpolation.

With this insight into the way in which various readings sometimes originate, we may be prepared to appreciate some of the reasons which influenced the Rev. John Burgon, author of "The Plain Commentary," to express this strong judgment respecting the Texts of Tischendorf and Tregelles: "It is impossible to deny that the published Texts of Doctors Tischendorf and Tregelles as *Texts* are wholly inadmissible" (Last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel. Preface, p. viii.).

In deference to the opinions I have cited, and in view of the very strong probabilities that  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  is the original reading in v. 5, I feel constrained in interpreting the passage, to regard the particle  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  as the production of St. John himself.

*Until with a Negative*— $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  with  $\delta\upsilon\chi$ —"Not until."

We here have a peculiar construction. The importance of the construction, as giving us the true sense of Rev. xx. 5, requires us to refer to a few instances of this construction, and also to some of the explanations of the usage, which have descended to us from interpreters of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. The construction appears to be derived from the Hebrew language, as this construction occurs in the Old Testament, as well as in the New.

"I will *not* leave thee, *until* (Septuagint  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ) I have done that which I have spoken to thee" (Gen. xxviii. 15).

But did God actually leave the patriarch Jacob, when He had fulfilled His promise to him? We cannot say this. God was incessantly Jacob's protector and guide, even to the very end of his life.

In the subsequent history of Jacob's descendants, we have this record: "Samuel came *no more* to see Saul, *until* (Septuagint  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ) the day of his death" (I. Sam. xv. 35). This is the only meaning this record can have. *At no time whatever* did Samuel see Saul

*any more.* The same is the meaning of this declaration: "Michal, the daughter of Saul, had *no* child *until* (Septuagint  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ) the day of her death" (II. Sam. vi. 23). The declaration is a strong assertion (Until strengthening the Not) that she bore no more children.

There is the following instance in the New Testament: "*Till,  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law*" (Matt. v. 18).

By this emphatic language, our Lord does not affirm that the law would cease with the destruction of heaven and earth, but He affirms just the contrary,—that the law will exist *forever*.

These instances, from the Old and New Testaments, show most conclusively that  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , Until, instead of destroying the negative, really increases and confirms the negative.

#### EXPLANATIONS OF THIS USAGE.

This construction of  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , Until, with a negative, very early attracted the notice of the Greek interpreters of the New Testament. The construction is mentioned and explained by Origen of the third century; by Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom of the fourth century; by Isidore of Peluzium of the fifth century; and by Photius of the ninth century. Of these patristic explanations, it will be sufficient to repeat a single one, that of Photius, as it is very explicit and conclusive:

"The word  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  is sometimes used to indicate *an endless period*."<sup>1</sup>

Modern expositors, Richard Hooker, Bishop Pearson, Bengel, Gesenius, and Holden explain in the same way the construction of  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , Until, with a negative. The explanation of Bengel embodies the explanations of all the other expositors, when applied to Rev. xx. 5. Because the rest of the dead lived not, until the thousand years were finished, "it does not follow, that therefore they lived afterward."<sup>2</sup>

In view of these instances and explanations, and their legitimate and necessary application to Rev. xx. 5, we are compelled to adopt this conclusion respecting St. John's thousand years.

During this indefinite period, to which St. John here assigns no termination, the rest of the dead are without spiritual life. In case this indefinite and termless period should have an end, would the rest of the disembodied dead then have spiritual life? The usage

<sup>1</sup> Pearson, Creed, Art. III. p. 264. Am. edition. <sup>2</sup> *Non sequitur, ergo, post.*

we have before us forbids an affirmative answer to this question. The expression, "Until the thousand years were fulfilled," does not terminate the time of their spiritual death. The time of their spiritual death continues *beyond* the indefinite period of The Thousand Years. Spiritually, they never live again. They are never restored to spiritual life. The restoration of lost souls is not taught in the New Testament. The restoration of lost souls is not a part of Divine Revelation. The restoration of lost souls must have no place in our theology. As the expression, "Until the thousand years were fulfilled," cannot affect nor terminate the spiritual death of "the rest of the dead," so the expression can neither affect nor terminate the spiritual life and reign of the souls of the beheaded. An interminable period lies before each class. On the one hand is an eternity of spiritual life and happiness; on the other hand there is an eternity of spiritual death and misery.<sup>1</sup>

It is sometimes stated that there are, in portions of the New Testament, written before the Book of Revelation, intimations and foreshadows of a First Resurrection. These intimations and foreshadows are supposed to be contained in the phrase *ἐκ νεκρῶν*, from the dead, and in the word *ἐξανάστασις* in Phil. iii. 11. When examined, however, neither the phrase nor the word affords the slightest support to the supposition. This assertion we shall now endeavor to establish.

It is said that in the phrases *ἐκ νεκρῶν* and *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, the preposition *ἐκ* renders the genitives *partitive*, and thus causes the phrases to teach a *partial*, and, consequently, a first resurrection. But the usage of the phrases proves that the preposition *ἐκ* has no partitive effect whatever upon the following words. In the phrase, *ἐκ νεκρῶν*, *νεκρῶν* denotes *the state* of the dead. This state cannot be *partial*. The genitive *νεκρῶν* cannot, then, be partitive. Since not partitive, it cannot describe a partial and first resurrection. Of the forty-three places where *ἐκ νεκρῶν* occurs in the New Testament, not one means anything else than *the state* of the dead.<sup>2</sup>

That every reader may judge for himself, the places are subjoined: Matt. xvii. 9. Mark, vi. 14, 16; ix. 9, 10; xii. 25. Luke, ix. 7; xvi. 31; xx. 35; xxiv. 43. John, ii. 22; xii. 1, 9, 17; xx. 9; xxi. 14. Acts, iii. 15; iv. 2, 10; x. 41; xiii. 30, 34; xvii. 3, 31. Rom. iv. 24; vi. 4, 9, 13; vii. 4; viii. 11; x. 7, 9; xi. 15. I. Cor. xv.

<sup>1</sup> "Eternally rewarded or punished."—*Prayer Book, Morning Family Prayer.*

<sup>2</sup> Winer, Gram. p. 123. Webster & Wilkinson on Rom. viii. 11.

12, 20. Gal. i. 1. Eph. i. 20. I. Thess. i. 10. II. Tim. ii. 8. Heb. xi. 19; xiii. 20. I. Pet. iii. 21.

In the phrase, *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, τῶν νεκρῶν, *the dead*, denotes the dead as a class. The phrase occurs only three times,—Eph. v. 14; Col. i. 8; ii. 12. In Eph. v. 14, τῶν νεκρῶν is *figurative*, and because figurative, cannot teach anything respecting a bodily resurrection. In Col. i. 18 and ii. 12, our Lord is *exclusively* intended. *Nowhere*, then, in the New Testament, does *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* denote *His people*. As the phrase never denotes Christ's people, it is utterly impossible that the phrase should indicate the bodily resurrection of a *portion* of their number.

Thus, it is certain that the New Testament furnishes no support whatever for the supposition that the phrases, *ἐκ νεκρῶν* and *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, indicate a partial, and therefore a first, resurrection.

*Ἐξ ἀνδραστάσις*.—PHIL. III. 11.

The language of St. Paul is here unusual. *Ἐἰ πῶς καταστήσω ἐς τὴν ἑξ ἀνδραστάσις τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*. "If by any means I might attain unto *the resurrection*, which is from the dead." On account of the *ἐκ* here prefixed to ἀνδραστάσις, it is thought by some that a *selected*, *partial* resurrection is meant.

Is this the force and signification of the *ἐκ* in ἑξ ἀνδραστάσις?

Usage must decide.

What, then, is the difference between ἀνδραστάσις and ἑξ ἀνδραστάσις?

In the New Testament we find θαμβος a noun, and ἐκθαμβος an adjective. What is the difference? Θαμβος (Luke, iv. 36; v. 9. Acts, iii. 10) is astonishment. Ἐκθαμβος (Acts, iii. 11) is *completely* astonished. In II. Cor. xii. 15, St. Paul has δαπανήσω and ἐκ-δαπανήσομαι. What is the difference? Δαπανήσω, I will spend. Ἐκ-δαπανήσομαι, I will be spent out; I will be spent *completely*. Ἀπατάω is in Eph. v. 6; ἑξαπατάω in Rom. vii. 11. These again are St. Paul's words. What is the difference between them? Ἀπατᾶν, to deceive; ἑξαπατᾶν, to deceive *completely*. St. Paul also uses ἰσχύω, Gal. v. 6, and ἑξισχύω, Eph. iii. 18. Once more we ask, What is the difference? Ἰσχυέν, to be able; ἑξισχυέν, to be *fully* able. The same difference exists between ὀλοθρεύω, Heb. xi. 28, and ἑξολοθρεύω, Acts, iii. 23; between ὀρκίζω, I. Thess. v. 27, and ἑξορκίζω, Matt. xxvi. 63.

From these instances, it is most evident what effect *ἐκ* produces upon the word of which it forms a part. In these instances, *ἐκ in-*

*tensifies* each word to which it is prefixed. As we have seen, St. Paul does intensify not less than *three* words by means of *ἐκ*, viz.: *δαπανᾶν*, *ἀπατᾶν*, and *ισχυεῖν*, while St. Luke intensifies a noun, *θάμβος*, by the same preposition.

From these intensifications, this conclusion is unavoidable, viz.: Precisely the same intensification does St. Paul create by means of *ἐκ*, when he prefixes it to *ἀνδρασεις*, in Phil. iii. 11, and forms the uncommon word, *ἐξανδρασεις*. His own usage, then, authorizes and demands this meaning for *ἐξανδρασεις*, *complete, final* resurrection.

In Phil. iii. 11, the best reading is *τὴν ἐξανδρασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*. This expression, *ἡ ανδρασεις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν*, occurs in Luke, xx. 35, and Acts, iv. 2, and denotes the resurrection *unto life*; *ανδρασεις ζωῆς* of John, v. 29, as exhibited in the resurrection of Jesus Christ Himself.<sup>1</sup>

We can now clearly see the nature of the resurrection St. Paul describes by *ἐξανδρασεις*. It is a *complete* resurrection from the power of death. It is the "better resurrection" (Heb. xi. 35). It is the resurrection our Lord has, who "dieth no more, death hath no more dominion over him" (Rom. vi. 9), and which, at His Second Advent to judge the world, He will give to all His people.

St. Paul's unusual word, *ἐξανδρασεις*, instead, then, of denoting selection and limitation and a partial resurrection, denotes the completeness, the fulness, the finality, and the perfect consummation of the bodily resurrection of all the holy dead, when Christ shall appear the second and only future time, at the last day.

#### THE FIRST RESURRECTION.

This phrase is only here (Rev. xx. 5, 6) in the whole Bible. The phrase, The Second Death, is also used only by St. John. The places are Rev. ii. 11; xx. 6, 14; xxi. 8.<sup>2</sup>

Of all the writers of the New Testament, St. John alone defines Death and Resurrection by numerals. Bear in mind, then: These two phrases, The First Resurrection and The Second Death, are exclusively St. John's phrases. St. John, therefore, must be allowed to explain his own phrases. The explanations of others

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν τῇ Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν.—"In Jesus the resurrection which is from the dead" (Acts, iv. 2).

<sup>2</sup> The Chaldee Paraphrase, first century, has this expression, Second Death, Deut. xxxiii. 6; Isa. xxii. 14; both in figurative sense.—Cf. Wetstein, p. 756, Bengel on Rev. ii. 11.



must never be substituted for his own. His explanation is the only true explanation.

#### THE SECOND DEATH.

Every person, when he reads this definition of St. John, "The Second Death is a part" [*τὸ μέρος*, part, portion, allotted condition] "in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone" (Rev. xxi. 8), must allow that the Second Death is figurative. It is not the death of the body. It cannot be. It is the figurative death of the soul—its punishment and misery.

The phrase is made figurative by the appellation Second. The numeral creates figure.

Mark this fact. The fact is the key which opens the long hidden sense of the other phrase, used only by St. John, The First Resurrection.

As St. John's exclusive phrase, Second Death, is by him made figurative by his exclusive appellation, Second, so, we must insist, does his exclusive appellation, First, render figurative his exclusive phrase, The First Resurrection.

Since the numeral Second expresses figure, the numeral First also expresses figure. The office of the two numerals is identical; consequently, their meaning is identical. In other words, the meaning of each numeral is figurative.

Thus St. John explains himself. No other person can be his interpreter. His explanation excludes and condemns all other explanations.<sup>1</sup>

The First Resurrection, because figurative, is not the resurrection of the body. There will be no first resurrection of the bodies of the martyred saints.

The First Resurrection, because figurative, is the resurrection of the soul—its holiness and happiness.

#### PARADISE.

The place where the First Resurrection is possessed and enjoyed, in its perfection, is not this world. St. John teaches otherwise. "The souls of the beheaded lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. This is the First Resurrection."

*The First Resurrection is the blessedness and holiness of the*

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<sup>1</sup> Webster and Wilkinson on Rev. ii. 11.

*souls in Paradise.* "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the First Resurrection. On such the Second Death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years" (Rev. xx. 6),—shall reign with Him forever.

When, in I. Thess. iv. 16, St. Paul says, "The dead in Christ shall rise first," the word First does not describe the nature of the resurrection, but only the time of its occurrence. In Rev. xx. 5, the word First describes the nature of the resurrection. I. Thess. iv. 16, does not, then, explain Rev. xx. 5.

With regard to the nature of the resurrection in I. Thess. iv. 16, it is the bodily resurrection of the holy dead at Christ's final coming, and is therefore the Second Resurrection.

The First Resurrection, the resurrection of the soul "from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness,"<sup>1</sup> begins in this world. This our Lord himself teaches. "He that believeth on Him that sent Me is passed from death unto life" (John, v. 24). St. Paul affirms the same truth: "Buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead."<sup>2</sup> Thus begun in this life, the First Resurrection is perfected when the disembodied soul enters Paradise. This fact we perceive in this declaration of St. Paul: "Ye are come to an innumerable company of angels, to the church of the first-born, and to the spirits of just men made perfect" (Heb. xii. 22, 23).

The Second Resurrection is the resurrection of the body in glory, and its reunion with the perfected soul. "The Lord Jesus Christ shall change the body of our humiliation, that it may be fashioned like the body of his glory" (Phil. iii. 21). Of this Second Resurrection, "Christ is the first-begotten,"<sup>3</sup> and "the first fruits."<sup>4</sup> Of all the children of Adam, who have died, Christ is the only Man now dwelling in an immortal body. "Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him" (Rom. vi. 9).

This Second Resurrection Christ promises to His people: "They that have done good shall come forth from their graves unto the resurrection of life" (John, v. 29). "He which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus" (II. Cor. iv. 14).

It was the Second Resurrection, and not the First Resurrection,

<sup>1</sup> Prayer Book, Burial Service.

<sup>2</sup> Col. ii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Col. i. 18.

<sup>4</sup> I. Cor. xv. 23.

which St. Paul reached forth unto, and pressed to attain, when he thus wrote: "I count all things loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection which is from the dead" (Phil. iii. 11).

#### BOTH RESURRECTIONS TAUGHT BY THE CHURCH.

In our Prayer Book, we teach both Resurrections, and pray for them both.

The First Resurrection we teach in these words:

"With the Lord the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, do live, and are in joy and felicity" (Burial Service).

For the First Resurrection, we pray in the Baptismal Service for Infants, and in the Burial Service.

In the Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants, this is our Prayer for the First Resurrection:

"Almighty and Immortal God, . . . the life of those who believe, and the resurrection of the dead; we call upon Thee for this Infant, that he, coming to Thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration, and enjoy the everlasting benediction of Thy heavenly washing."

In the Burial Service, this is our Prayer for the First Resurrection:

"O Father, raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness."

The Second Resurrection we teach in the Apostles' Creed and in the Nicene. Also in the Visitation of the Sick, where, in place of the expressions in the Creeds, "the resurrection of the dead" and "the resurrection of the body," we expressly call it "The Resurrection of the flesh."

For the Second Resurrection we pray in the Collect for Easter Even, and also in the Order for the Burial of the Dead.

In the Collect for Easter Even, we pray for "our joyful resurrection from the grave and gate of death."

When, at the grave, the corpse is laid into the earth, these are our prayers:

"Almighty God, we beseech Thee that we, with all those who are departed in the true faith of Thy holy Name,<sup>1</sup> may have our per-

<sup>1</sup> The Church would not say "all," did she believe in a First bodily resurrection. By saying "all," the Church rejects Millenarianism, in every form.

fect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory ; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

"O Father, we humbly beseech Thee that at the general resurrection in the last day, we may be found acceptable in Thy sight, and receive that blessing which Thy beloved Son shall then pronounce to all who love and fear Thee, saying, Come, ye blessed children of my Father, *receive the kingdom* prepared for you from the beginning of the world."

#### REVIEW.

We will now very briefly review the foundation on which the Exposition we have now made rests for its support, that we may more clearly see a few associated truths :

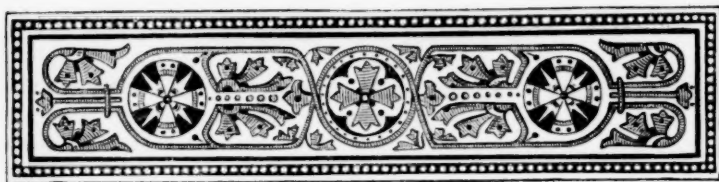
1. "The Thousand Years" can never be proved to be a definite period. But, since not definite, the period is indefinite, and will remain indefinite so long as the Book of Revelation continues in the world. No definite millenarian period can ever be deduced from the indefinite term, "The Thousand Years."

2. "The souls of the beheaded" are disembodied spirits in Paradise. So are "the rest of the dead" disembodied souls. Neither class possesses bodies. Neither class has risen from the dead. Neither class is in this material world, nor ever will be.

3. The word *ἕως*, Until, does not predict any change in the condition either of the souls of the beheaded or of the rest of the dead. By the vision in Rev. xx. 1-6, eternity and unchangeableness are stamped upon the condition of each. "The souls of the beheaded" will never lose their holiness and bliss. "The rest of the dead" will never recover the happiness they have lost.

4. Words cannot adequately describe the urgent necessity there is for each one of us to have the spiritual resurrection in this world, to be now "raised from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness." To have, in the world of spirits, part in the First Resurrection, we must here partake of its new-creating power, "spiritual regeneration."

5. The First Resurrection (Second Prayer in Public Baptism of Infants) is the only preparation for the Second Resurrection. Without the First Resurrection, we cannot have the exaltation, the bliss, and the joy of the Second Resurrection.



## PERIODS OF TRANSITION IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

### THE TIME OF EDWARD III.

**H**ISTORIC transitions are not confined within strict chronological limits. Gradual as they are wont to be, the time of their beginning and ending cannot be precisely defined. They are distinguished, rather, by the season of their climax, and characterized by the central historic figure; while a margin of years is allowed for their evanishing as well as for their appearing. This is true not only of the period known as the Time of Edward III., but equally true of the Elizabethan Period, and of The Age of Queen Anne. The Augustan Period, or The Age of Queen Anne, extends over a century, although she reigned less than twelve and a half years. The Elizabethan Period includes nearly fifty years before the reign of Elizabeth began, and more than a score of years after it closed.

The period which we are to consider comprises, at least, the fourteenth century. In this period, the reign of Edward III. was far the most brilliant—perhaps the most brilliant reign that England ever knew. Winning unequalled triumphs, it also suffered unsurpassed trials. The period was no less critical than brilliant. An English scholar of large observation and mature judgment has declared the fourteenth century “the most important epoch in the intellectual history of Europe.” If this was its im-

portance for Europe, it was still more important for England. Whether, indeed, there should be an English nationality, whether the kingdom should be independent or tributary, what should be the language, the literature, and the civil constitution of the realm, whether Romanism should be supreme, whether Feudalism should be perpetual,—these were the questions to be decided for England. These great issues make the period one of the utmost importance in English history.

For three hundred years, the Norman conquerors had domineered over the conquered Saxons of England. The Feudalism of the Continent, introduced by the Conquest, had been extended and established. The type of Continental Christianity had also been introduced into the British Isles. And thus, at the opening of "the Middle Ages," Romanism and Feudalism had become, for England, the dominant influences. Saxon resistance had, hitherto, availed little—had, at times, even aggravated the tyranny of the conquerors. Saxon firmness and endurance had, indeed, saved the people and principles from extirpation; Saxon courage and character promised more than this. But to other than prophetic vision the fourteenth century opened portentously. Seven crusades had come, at the bidding of the Papal hierarchy, and gone, convulsing the entire world. Chivalry, serving itself and the Church, playing false and fair with the people, loyally or licentiously toward the Crown, had grown into colossal proportions. Boniface VIII. occupied the pontifical throne. "Gregory VII.," says Hallam, "appears the most usurping of mankind, till we read the history of Innocent III.; but Innocent III. is thrown into shade by the superior audacity of Boniface VIII." By him, temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty was arrogantly claimed and exercised. To his arbitration, the independent (?) Kings of France and England tamely submitted their national disputes; while the very Kings who thus became vassals to the Pope, claimed complete vassalage from the people. An occurrence at Rome, in the year 1300, well illustrates the state of European affairs, civil and religious. A jubilee was decreed by Boniface. Remission of sins and plenary indulgence were promised to all who should join the celebration at Rome. Multitudes, from far and near, thronged the city. Their contributions replenished the Papal exchequer. Their devout ceremonies for thirty days seemed like the triumphal celebrations of the old Cæsars. The ambitious Pontiff led the procession, clad in imperial robes, and, for the first time, bearing two swords as emblems of his spiritual and temporal sovereignty. Little promise



was here for liberty in Church or State, for progress in social life or in literature. The multitude saw nothing but the splendor and supremacy of power, and they bowed admiringly and submissively. Perhaps the prudent turned away in despair. But Boniface had passed his four-score years. His arrogance had over-strained the Papal authority, and over-taxed the public patience. In five years, a great schism rent the Church. Rival Popes dwelt at Rome and Avignon, and for seventy years the Papal feud distracted all Christendom. In England, the fickle and feeble King Edward II., after a troubled reign of twenty years, was deposed by a vote of Parliament. Henceforth, "the right divine of Kings" was evidently subject to parliamentary limitation. The public estimate of both Papal and Royal prerogative was changed. A new and vital principle was growing with the century. But there was an important ally of the old *régime*. Chivalry was superseding knight-errantry. Knighthood, in the spirit of vassalage, had served the interests of Feudalism and Romanism; chivalry, in the spirit of freedom (misdirected), would subserve a higher purpose. That, embodied in the Crusades, had sacrificed 5,000,000 of the people, in its fanatical zeal to demonstrate the superiority of feudal civilization and Western Christianity. This, in behalf of the Crown and the Country, would annex an entire nation, and unite France and England under the sovereignty of Edward III.

Knighthood had performed its mission for good, if it ever had any; and more, had proclaimed its folly and feebleness at "The Battle of the Spurs," in 1302, when the whole army of cavaliers was annihilated by the smiths and weavers of Courtrai; and four thousand golden spurs, collected after the fearful fray, gave token of the knightly disaster, and name to the battle, and signalized the death-blow of knighthood. Chivalry, as the voluntary heroism of ceorl or chief, peasant or prince, taught by the excesses of the knights and the successes of the people, was girding itself for high endeavor beneath the banner of Edward III., to settle, forever, the hitherto doubtful question of English nationality, and, as collateral, the question of language and literature for England. Crecy and Poitiers are well-known samples of the severity of the struggle. By common consent of historians, "chivalry was at its zenith." Its noblest characteristics—devotion, courage, courtesy, gallantry—were exemplified by Edward III. and his son, "The Black Prince," and by those yeomen-archers and high-born cavaliers who followed them across the English Channel. Even the French chronicler—

Froissart—kindling with admiration at “the great enterprises and deeds” of English valor, declares: “Never since the time of good Charlemagne of France, were such feats performed as in these great wars.” To trace these famous but familiar facts is not at all our purpose, but to make this point, that while English chivalry failed to subjugate France, though it won surprising victories, yet it developed (if it did not create) an English nationality.

The Norman nobility of England and the Saxon yeomanry, who had hitherto been hostile parties at home, but who fought with common purpose and with common courage, side by side, in France, learned, henceforth, to look upon each other with mutual good feeling and respect. And, as they withdrew from the foreign wars, it was to recognize, at home, a nationality—an English nationality. This was worth far more to England than the conquest of the French crown. Yet more than this was gained for England and for humanity. Although Edward the Black Prince, the flower of chivalry, had expired, and the brilliant reign of Edward III. terminated with these “great enterprises and deeds,” and the age of chivalry was departing, yet the English nationality survived, and with it, the language, hitherto uncertain whether to become Norman or Saxon, now, by common consent of Norman and Saxon, became English; and the literature, no longer dead to the masses through the monopoly of the Latin, or perverted and corrupted by the romantic fiction of the Norman, or feeding the flame of hostile feeling in the Saxon ballad, was penetrated by a free and pure and friendly life, and transformed into the noble English; and the constitution, no longer the football of fitful barons, or ambitious kings, or wily priests, recognized, henceforth, the existence of the Commons, and the rights of the people, and the authority of Parliament. So that, with the transition to an English nationality, and the English language and English literature, there should be henceforth not only the theoretical but the practical recognition of the English constitution. And the Church, although not delivered from its foreign bondage, was, in this period of transition, forcibly reminded of its primitive condition and its ante-Papal parentage, when, as a Christian Church un-Romanized, it was equal in privilege and in freedom to the Church of Rome, or Alexandria, or Constantinople, or Jerusalem, and was shown the way of reformation, and recalled to its birth-right. A brief unfolding of these thoughts must conclude this article.

Until this period, the language was not one, but several—a mixture, not a combination. Thus, in 1311, a poetic stanza,

lamenting the frequent royal violations and confirmations of the Magna Charta, mingles the Norman and the Saxon verses :

" L'en puet fere et defere,  
Ceo fait-il trop sovent ;  
It nis nouthur wel ne faire ;  
Therefore Engelond is shent."

And a political poem, of nearly the same date—Edward II.—closes, as it proceeds, with a mixture of the Norman, the Saxon, and the Latin :

" Pees seit en tere, per te, Deus, alma potestas !  
Defendez guere, ne nos invadat egestas.  
God Lord Almyhty, da pacem, Christe benigne !  
'Thou const al dyhty, fac ne pereamus in igne !"

This has been appropriately characterized as the macaronic stage of the language. This applies, especially, to the spoken language. The multitude, whether high or low, as they mingled in business and in the unavoidable intercourse of social life, indiscriminately employed Norman and Saxon words. Thus, even servants and masters could be reciprocally understood, and could freely as they would carelessly communicate with each other. It needed one strong, all-pervading national life to combine and unify this mixture into a living language. While in this indiscriminate use of words the populace would strongly incline to a preference for the Saxon, the nobility would as strongly incline to a preference for the Norman. This would in turn react upon the national feeling, and tend to stifle the national life. There was greatly needed a stimulus, and an occasion for a full and final development of such a life. This was furnished, not in the baronial wars of England, which began and ended in civil strife, and which extended and intensified social discord, but in the great wars of England with France, when all the people, high-born and low, were willing and proud to fight side by side with the dauntless Black Prince and their valiant and victorious King Edward III., when the same words of command rang out the battle-charge, when, in the language of the old chronicler, "the sharpness of the English arrows began to be felt," and when the archers and lancers of merry England conquered the flower of the French chivalry. Such a life, developed upon foreign battle-fields, not only made victory sweeter and home dearer, but it was strong enough to penetrate the language, and transform and ennoble it as a living speech, and, at home and abroad, make the soldier and the citizen proud to employ it as the language of

victors—the new—the English language. Henceforth, it was no disgrace for the Saxon to adopt a Norman word, nor for the Norman to apply a Saxon inflection or grammatical form. The word or the inflection was, henceforth, a secondary consideration, for the language had already become one by a higher authority—the power of a common, a national life.

And now the unified language is ready for a unified, an English literature. The demand and the supply are consensaneous. The very year in which the English victory was won, at Poitiers (1356) appeared the first book of English prose literature, dedicated to Edward III., and written by the greatest English traveller of that age, Sir John Mandeville. With genuine literary loyalty he says that he wrote first in Latin, then translated it into French, and afterward into English, “that every man of my nation may understand it.” Six years after, Parliament was for the first time opened by a speech in English; and, by a law of Edward III., the pleadings in court were ordered henceforth to be in English. A few years later, and old John de Trevisa declares: “In all the grammere scoles of Engelond, children leaveth Frensche, and construeth and lerneth in Engliche;” and he himself translates the famous Latin *Polychronicon* into English, and, in his description of the rustic pronunciation and dialects still remaining, he says, quaintly enough: “Some use strange wlaſſing, chytryng, harring, garring, and grysbytyng. The languages of the Northumbres, and speecially at Yorke, is so sharpe, slytyng, frotyng, and unshape, that we Sothern men may unnethe [hardly] undirstonde that language.”

Such transition from the old to the new tongue, from a conglomerate to a unified language, however marked may be the change, cannot be complete as quickly as we note its existence and designate its causes. The new national life which unifies the language needs time and opportunity to complete the process of development, a process which even yet, after the lapse of five centuries, is advancing. The process of development evermore is by the living agencies of speech and literature. The principle of development is evermore the national life. As this is more profound and pure and vigorous, the development is more rapid and persistent.

It is declared that Mandeville's book was “a fair example of the spoken language of the day,” and that “no work of the age was more popular.” But Mandeville described his foreign travels. While the language was English, the subject and the spirit of his book were not national. A better response to the literary

demand of the times was called for. A master mind was needed in the fourteenth century, not only to mould and modify and adorn the language, but to furnish and fashion a literature at once national and enduring. As the new, the national life, had been inspired by patriotism, and developed by the great wars of Edward III., it was especially fitting that a soldier undertake this literary service. Such a man the times produced; a soldier, and yet more a citizen than a soldier; not only serving his country in battle, but suffering as a military prisoner; a favorite at Court, and yet more a citizen than a courtier; entrusted with foreign embassies for the Crown, and yet never losing his sympathy with the people; an orthodox patron of the Church, and yet frankly and sharply satirizing its follies, and keenly condemning its errors and corruptions; experiencing all the varieties of prosperity and adversity, yet retaining the equanimity of a noble nature, and the joyousness of a happy disposition; not beneath the assertion of manhood in the most depressed circumstances, nor above it in the most exalted; true to the interests of the English language, and true to the honor of the English nation. Such a man the times demanded to fashion the English literature, and such a man was Geoffrey Chaucer—for England the highest literary ornament of the fourteenth century; and, now that Dante had died as the century began, we may safely say, the highest literary ornament for Europe. He had conversed with Petrarch, and, perhaps, with Boccaccio, and was familiar with the best Italian literature; and though, in early life, a translator of that literature, yet he was greater than the greatest living Italian masters. He had translated French literature, yet not as a servile imitator, but as a master, to improve the English language and equip himself for the higher service of English literature. After attesting his skill and prudence as a translator, he girded himself for the nobler and maturer work of genius—original composition in his own vernacular. Inspired with the prevalent feeling of English nationality, which had prompted his patriotic activity and suffering in war and peace, in the camp and the court, at home and abroad, in poverty and in plenty, he chose not a local but a national theme; he sang not of the great wars, though they signalized his country's triumph, but of the national life, developed on a broader field than that of battle—the national life developed in time of peace; and at the bidding of devotion, and in the manner of the times, and with all the favorable circumstances of a peaceful pilgrimage, and with all the variety of English pilgrims. In this selection of language and theme and treatment, not only was he strictly English and national;

more than this, he was cosmopolitan and true to humanity. The impulse to devotion is universal, and must be perpetual. His band of Canterbury pilgrims was sufficient and sufficiently varied to represent not only every English characteristic and calling, but well-nigh every grade of human life and human character. We repeat the catalogue, not to inform, but to remind the reader of the comprehensive range of description proposed by Chaucer.

Chivalry was represented by the brave knight, and his son, the young squire; forest-craft, by a yeoman; rural manners and justice, by a franklin or country gentleman; peasant life, by a ploughman, a miller, a reeve, or bailiff; religious and ecclesiastical life, by a prioress of a convent, a nun, three priests, a mendicant friar, a Benedictine monk, a sompnour or pardoner, and a secular priest or poor parson, set over against each other to represent at once the virtues and the vices of the Church; learning and philosophy, by the clerk of Oxford, the sergeant-of-law, and the doctor of physic; trading and manufacture, by the merchant, the wife of Bath, the haberdasher, the carpenter, the weaver, the dyer, the tapestry maker. The shipman or mariner, the manciple or purveyor of the Inns of Court are included, and even the cook is not forgotten.

From out the "Tabard"

"hostelrie

Wel nyne and twenty in a companye  
Of sondry folk, by aventure i-falle  
In felawschipe, and pilgrims were thei alle,  
That toward Canterbury wolden ryde."

The poet himself is one of the number. The host of the "Tabard" is to be the guide and the literary judge. These were not only strongly representative of each particular vocation, but so arranged as by similarity and contrast to give variety and intensity to the representation. And so, in the selection of his theme, Chaucer gave proof of exalted genius, inspired at once by the national life and by the fuller life of humanity. Wisely loyal first to his own England, and in this loyalty, and perhaps because of it, true to the human race.

Hitherto, literature itself, reflecting the public temper, had been sectional and hostile. Churchmen had their manuscript books, whether few or many, but they were Latin, and carefully locked in cloisters and convents. The nobles had their marvellous stories of knight-errantry and the fictions of feudal romance. The commons had their native ballads, applauding the deeds of some



favorite hero, or fiercely satirizing noble and churchman. Each despised the other. There could be no literary interchange or communion. Authors wrote their books at the impulse of factional feeling, and to be read only by their own party. Even in the fourteenth century, the French Froissart, brave and busy chronicler that he was, wrote only for lords and ladies. Petrarch, the poet-laureate of Italy, cared chiefly for the party of his choice. Northern poets commemorated the courage of the Scottish chiefs, or the cruelty of the English usurpers. The controversial Schoolmen were read aloud, but it was "at the refectory table of the college," to be "discussed in angry disputations in the university hall." Chaucer wrote for all true Englishmen—for all men. His subject would interest all; and his treatment—so simple, so natural, so vivid, and so vigorous—added new interest to his theme. Friends of England and foes have vied in their praise of Chaucer. I need not repeat, and certainly need not add to the flattering criticism of the four succeeding centuries. By common consent, Chaucer ranks among the four greatest poets in English literature, standing not even fourth in that select number. The transition was unquestioned. At a single bound, English literature took rank with the foremost literatures of the world. In the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer completes his great service to the English language and English literature; and with the close of the century, closes the memorable life of this our first, if not our foremost, literary genius. Lydgate, in the next generation, celebrates him as "chief poet of Britain." Occleve styles him "the floure of Eloquence," and laments: "The honor of the English tongue is dede." Leland, in the sixteenth century, says of him:

"Linguam qui patriam redegit illam  
In formam."

Spenser styles him:

"The well of English undefiled,  
On Fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be fyled."

Milton would, if it were possible,

"Call up him that left half-told  
The story of Cambuscan bold,  
In sage and solemn tunes that sung  
Of tourneys and of trophies hung,  
Of forests, and enchantments drear,  
Where more is meant than meets the ear."

While the greatest English poet of to-day offers this beautiful tribute to him :

"The morning-star of song, who made  
His music heard below ;  
Dan Chaucer, the first warbler whose sweet breath  
Preluded those melodious bursts, that fill  
The spacious times of great Elizabeth  
With sounds that echo still."

The English nation—henceforth confined, but consolidated within the limits of the sea-girt isles; the national spirit universal and intense; the language composite, but unified by the organizing power of the national life; literature penetrated and inspired by this new life, and employing this new tongue—was open now to the expansion and growth and force of all the future.

But the transition in literature itself had more than a literary significance. Literature both reflects and reforms public sentiment. Literary genius follows at once, and guides public feeling. Langland and Wiclif were co-workers with Geoffrey Chaucer. The literature was both the sign and the stimulant of a mental uprising, and a social movement unusual for England. Abuses were challenged. Rights were asserted. First principles were recalled. The pomp of Roman rule could not shield it from scrutiny; its spiritual splendors could no longer blind the people to the faults and follies of the Papal Church. The authority of the Scriptures was reasserted. In the presence of this Divine authority, Church history was read with unwonted interest, and Romanism was convicted not only of corruption and ambition, but of perversion from pure, primitive Christianity, from Christianity as introduced to the Britons, when, for centuries before the Papal mission, the Church of Christ had been planted in the British Isles.

In this movement, all were profoundly interested—kings, barons, commons, churchmen. Feudalism was challenged. When it may have first appeared, and however it may have been organized into a social and political institution, and why, were antiquated considerations. They were not the practical questions now, for a newly-consolidated nationality, with a new language, a new and vigorous literature—in a word, for a nation, a language, and a literature, taking "a new departure;" but was Feudalism adapted to the times? Was it beneficial to the State? Was it just to the people? These were the engrossing questions. Literature had pandered to the hierarchy; literature had catered to the nobility. Should it continue to do so? The spirit of Feudalism, first in the form of knighthood, and then

in the form of chivalry, had pervaded the literature for the nobility with fiction, and fashioned it into romance—false, not merely because it was fictitious, but because it was exaggerated; false, because it placed the baron and the serf, the lord and the laborer, in antithesis and antipathy; and thus, in society and in the State, involved all in ceaseless hostility—and so, not only false, but ultimately suicidal. The people demanded recognition of their manhood and their rights. The commons and the King demanded constitutional reform. If literature did not henceforth rule out fiction, it would, at least, found it in fact; if it employed romance, it would conform it to reality.

Chaucer loved nature, and would picture it truthfully; he regarded man as man, and would treat him as such, recognize his rights, and represent him justly. Although himself of gentle birth, he was neither noble nor royal; yet, in his own conscious worth, and in the public estimation and the united estimate of the ages, Chaucer was the peer of barons and kings, and by a right divine, such as even kings could not boast, he pierced, with the Ithuriel spear of satire, the high-blown follies of Feudalism and Romanism.

Langlande, in his peasant morning dreams on Malvern Hill, had clear but terrible visions of the faults, as well as the follies, of Feudalism, and the underlying, intenser, all-comprehending corruptions of Romanism. In the day-dawn of this better time, he awoke with this great uprising of the fourteenth century, to tell his vision in words of clear but terrible earnestness; and, like Chaucer, "*Piers Ploughman*" addressed the people with the power of the new tongue, inspired with the new national life.

Wiclif, another harbinger and promoter of reform, learned, as all admit, honored by the foremost University in England, prominent as he had become by the favor of the College, the Church, and the State, though not a peer, or high priest, or pontiff, Wiclif was an honest man, loyal to truth, to liberty, to humanity, drawing wisdom from the fount of inspiration, deep-read in Church history, accustomed as he was to serve in the State, and familiar with civil affairs—it was not for him to see the Scriptures proscribed by the Roman hierarchy, and offer no protest; and when his protest was first scorned, then condemned, then anathematized, it was not in Wiclif to desist and keep silence. The issue was so great, the duty so imperative, the opportunity so favorable, that he could but supplement words with deeds. Not only would he protest against the usurpations of the Pontiff, and point out the abuses

of the Romish Church, and expose the deception and debasement of the mendicant friars who infested the land, but he would remind all of the primitive history of the Church in Britain, and, still higher, point all to the sacred Scriptures, and thus make his appeal direct to first principles and to Divine authority. And at once, in this great conflict, the Bible, inaccessible to the people, and unknown, must be translated, and put within the reach of all.

The literature of Chaucer pointed to reformation. The visions of Langlande revealed the necessity and mode of reformation. The translation by Wiclif, with Divine authority, summoned to reformation. And so, with united voice, literature heralded reform. But the task was difficult and dangerous, almost beyond the power of present conception. Knighthood, Feudalism, and Romanism were identified in interest and wellnigh in origin. They had been, for centuries, in mutual alliance, inter-penetrating society, the Church, and the State.

Romanism had reached the climax of usurpation at the opening of the fourteenth century, and for a hundred years had been schooling kings and subjects to servile submission. At the Roman Council, Boniface had promulgated his famous constitution, the *Unam Sanctam*, assuming, under his command, the two swords—the spiritual and the temporal, the temporal authority to be subordinate to the spiritual, decreeing, as an article of necessary faith, that every human being should be subject to the Roman Pontiff: "*Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate fidei*" (Extravagant. Lib. I. tit. viii. c. 1). Assumption could go no farther. It comprehended, in one sentence, all the possible details of tyranny.

Feudalism had reached completeness earlier than this, even before the Norman Conquest, which introduced it into England; and for three hundred years it had been sedulously fortifying and applying its system of seignior and vassalage, demanding from its vassals a fealty which itself would not render even to the King, while knighthood ranged the country, everywhere asserting the dominant principles of the age—Romanism and Feudalism—ostensibly protecting the rights of the people, really guarding the right of their subjection.

Kings, like the daring Philip of France, and Emperors, like Barbarossa, had defiantly resisted, but their resistance had ended in their own humiliation; and resistance by divines and poets, in the narrow realm of England, seemed as hopeless as it was anom-

alous. But English vigor appeared to increase, as the territory of England lessened. Besides, the times had changed. The uprising was not physical and fanatical, like that of the Crusades, but mental and moral. Saxon mind and character, which had outlived subjugation in England, and had won equality at home, and compelled an English nationality, and formed a common language, and created a new and high-toned literature, had, like its adversaries, the preparatory discipline of centuries. And now it was more than Saxon—it was English mind and character. It was English free thought. It was the English right to life and property and representation, which was asserting itself. In this assertion were garnered the living seeds of reformation.

Although the transition had been slow, it was real and steady. The commons had been rising. Parliamentary right had been advancing. The right of private judgment was claimed by Wiclif, for himself and the people, and more, the right of expressing that judgment—in a word, the right of forming and freely defending honest opinions.

Spence, in his "Inquiry," p. 5, refers to the intention of Edward I., at the close of the thirteenth century, to confine the office of the commons to the presenting of petitions, reserving to himself, with the advice of the lords, the sole power of making the laws. The commons dared not even remonstrate. But in the fourteenth century, and in the very next reign, they made this condition to the payment of a subsidy: "That the King should take their advice, and redress their grievances;" and the King accepted the condition. Next in order, they presented a bill of grievances, and secured the royal assurance of redress; and Walsingham and Rymer relate, that when the King proved false, the commons were consulted upon ordinances of governmental reformation; and, finally, the assent of the commons availed to dethrone the Monarch and appoint a Regency (Edward III. and Richard II., pp. 373, 381, etc.).

Edward III., during his prosperous reign of fifty years, summoned seventy parliaments—a demonstration of his willingness to consult the representatives of the people; and concessions to the commons were multiplied, until three important principles of government were firmly established: "The illegality of raising money without consent; the necessity that the two Houses should concur for any alterations in the law; and, lastly, the right of the commons to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public counsellors."

The parliamentary records refer repeatedly to "the consent of all the commons of their free-will," and the commons decline to yield this assent until they may consult their constituents, as in the case of granting the subsidy proposed by the King in 1340, when the great wars with France began. In the conduct of this war, Edward III. gave repeated proofs of his sympathy with the new ideas. Indeed, it was expressly called "The war which our Lord the King has undertaken against his adversary of France, by the common consent of all the lords and commons of his realm in divers parliaments."<sup>1</sup>

Philip of France, like a true Bourbon, proceeding as if there had occurred no change, relied upon his barons. Edward III. turned to the commons for advice and support, and the people responded to his sympathy, and rallied to his standard; and this, as we have elsewhere intimated, was the turning-point not only in the issue of the war, but in the history of the nation. In the parliamentary record of legislative enactments, the commons, who had seldom been mentioned hitherto, were now seldom omitted. Indeed, the laws were declared to be made at the petition of the commons. In the Parliamentary Roll of 50 Edward III., these references amount to one hundred and forty.

The third concession to the commons—the right to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public counsellors—virtually contains the present important constitutional principle of "sparing the sovereign, but punishing his advisers." A single instance will illustrate the advance in this direction: Upon a committee of inquiry, appointed in 1341, the commons had no representation. In 1376, the commons not only prosecuted the inquiry, but impeached two officers of the Government—Lords Latimer and Nevil—and threatened the royal favorite, Alice Perrers, with forfeiture, and banishment from the kingdom; and before the close of the fourteenth century they deposed the King himself, the inefficient and profligate Richard II.

At the opening of the century, the nobility had despised and avoided the people; but the yeomen won their equality at Crecy and Poitiers, and the people had secured not only a representation in Parliament, but a separate house for their representatives.

At the opening of the century, the King determined to yield to the commons only the right of petition; before the close of the century they had gained the right to impeach counsellors, and had

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<sup>1</sup> Rymer, Tome V. p. 165.



dethroned two obnoxious sovereigns, and in less than a century after this determination of Edward I., the commons proposed a law limiting the succession, and declared the son of Henry of Lancaster heir apparent to the throne. And the year that witnessed the brilliant English victory of Agincourt, 1415, completed the constitutional triumph of the commons by this great law: "That, henceforth, nothing be enacted to be petitions of the commons that be contrary to their asking, whereby they should be bound without their assent," which committed to them the control of English legislation! During this transition in language, literature, and civil affairs, the Church did not remain unaffected.

Pope Boniface VIII. had, in 1300, decreed the subjection of every human being to the Roman See, and the schismatic Popes of Rome and Avignon had surpassed the avaricious rapacity of Boniface. The religious orders were multiplied. The mendicant friars became, in the language of Gregory X., "an extravagant multitude," not only spreading over the continent, but infesting England. Arrogant, cunning, sensual, it was estimated that four thousand of them in England "annually expended 60,000 marks of the goods of the kingdom."

English kings endeavored to check the accumulations of the Romish Church by statutes of mortmain. But these were evaded by licenses of alienation. Friars mingled with the students whom they sought to influence, thus interfering with the educational policy of the universities. "Parents," says Middleton, "feared to send their children to the University of Oxford, lest they should fall into the hands of the mendicants; hence the number of students was reduced from 30,000 to 6,000 in 1357 A.D."

Parliament at length decreed that youths under eighteen years of age should not be received by the friars. This law was contemptuously disregarded by the friars; while "abbots, as those of Reading or Glastonbury or Battle, lived with the riotous pomp of princes, and passed their days in feasting."<sup>1</sup>

But Parliament was in earnest. The famous "Statute of Provisors," designed to check and punish illegal provisions or reservations made by the Court of Rome, was, under Richard II., followed by the still more famous "Statute of Premunire," punishing with forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment all persons bringing papal bulls for translation of bishops and for their preferments.<sup>2</sup>

Under the growing restraint imposed by Parliament, "the fat ab-

<sup>1</sup> Choules's Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> 16 Richard II. c. 5.

botes swet, the proude priors frouned, the poor friers cursed, the sely nonnes wept, and altogether wer nothyng pleased nor yet content" (Halle). Martin V. published an angry Bull against "the execrable statute" of premunire, enjoining Archbishop Chicheley to procure its repeal. The Archbishop did all in his power, but the commons were always inexorable on this point. These two statutes, says the historian, checked the papal usurpation of patronage, which, for two centuries, had been steadily increasing. This spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical rapacity, which, like an earthquake shock, disturbed the Roman Catholic Church,—this public spirit reached a still higher expression when, in 1406, less than a hundred years after the iniquitous decree of Pope Boniface VIII., the commons of England made the direct proposal that the King should "seize all the temporalities of the Church, and employ them as a perpetual fund for the exigencies of the State." Thus, in this great period of transition, side by side with these constitutional reforms in the State, was occurring a corresponding, though not coequal, movement toward reform in the Church. If the commons were the originators of this movement, Wiclif was its greatest champion.

Pope Urban V. (1365) demanded "the odious tribute" of 1,000 marks (annually) from England (omitted now for several years), and the due performance of feudal homage by Edward III. The conqueror of France, fresh from the victories of Crecy and Poitiers, demurred and referred the "insolent exactions" to his Parliament. The prompt parliamentary refusal concluded thus: "If therefore the Pope shall attempt anything against the King by process or other matters in deed, the King with all his subjects should, with all their force and power, resist the same." Bold words were these to fling back defiantly to the Pontiff. The papal hierarchy took note of the change occurring in England, and summoned its energies to thwart the movement. An anonymous monk expressed the amazement and displeasure of the Roman hierarchy at this parliamentary resolution, and challenged Wiclif to defend it. The monkish argument Wiclif reduced to this syllogism: All dominion granted under a condition is, by the violation of the condition, dissolved. But the Lord Pope granted to our King the realm of England, under the condition that England should annually pay 700 marks, and 300 for Ireland, which condition has, from time to time, been disregarded. Therefore, the King of England has, long since, fallen from the sovereignty of England. Then, with the combined satire of logic, common-sense, and Scripture, he exposed it as the *petitio principii*, as virtually assuming the very point in dispute,

viz. : first, whether the Pope had a right to impose such a condition upon the English nation ; and, secondly, whether the King had the right to accept it for the nation.

Dismissing, then, the monkish fallacies as unworthy of further notice, he addressed himself to the real issue, more than vindicating the parliamentary resolution, and concluding with these words, which, in review, seem wellnigh prophetic : " If I mistake not, the day will first arrive in which every exaction shall cease before the Doctor will be able to establish that a stipulation such as this can ever be consistent, either with honesty or with reason."

The Roman Catholic historian, Lingard, asserts that this paper " is chiefly remarkable for containing the germ of those doctrines which afterward involved Wiclif in so much trouble."<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the Roman clergy engrossed the offices of the State. This was a custom, Feudal and Roman combined, which has prevailed for centuries, and prevailed everywhere in Europe. Whether well or ill meant, at first, it had become an intolerable burden. In 1371, the Parliament petitioned the King for a statute of prohibition. Wiclif ably seconded the petition, maintaining the " inconsistency of such occupations with the spiritual function."

Although unsuccessful then, his view has since been substantially adopted in England, Bishop Williams—seventeenth century—being the last of the ecclesiastics who sat in the Court of Chancery, while the last of clerical statesmen and royal counsellors was Archbishop Laud.

The battle with the Romish Church was fairly begun ; whether destined to an easy and speedy triumph, Wiclif did not stop to inquire. He heard the call of truth, and promptly and conscientiously girded himself for its defence. The Archbishop of Canterbury had, with high commendation, appointed Wiclif warden of Canterbury Hall, at Oxford, which the Archbishop had himself founded.

Receiving the degree, Doctor of Divinity, he was raised to the Chair of Theology ; but, in this exalted place, he was no less true to duty—rather, he proved himself worthy of the place by his fearless devotion to truth and duty. Profanity had so infected the language of the laity and the clergy, that Wiclif describes the abbot or prior as riding " with fourscore horse, and harness of silver and gold, and many ragged and fittred squires, and other men, swearing heart and nails and bones and other members of Christ." Chaucer, in

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<sup>1</sup> Ling. V. iv. p. 215, note 194.

"The Parson's Tale," also refers to this practice of profanity "that to swere great oaths, all be the cause not worth a straw, was held a gentry and a manly deed," and, in the Squire's prologue,—

"Our host on his stirrops stode anon;  
Sir Parish Priest (quod he) for Goddis bones,  
Tell us a tale.  
I see well that ye learned men in lore  
Can muckle good, by Goddis dignitie."

Wiclif, in his "Exposition of the Decalogue," faithfully rebuked this profanity. With rebuke he mingled appeal, "for the love of Christ who shed His blood to save." Then came his "Pore Caitiff," tracts written in England, "to teach simple men and women the way to heaven," in which he pointed them to salvation by faith in Christ, instead of remission and indulgence by priest or pontiff, and urged them to obedience from love, instead of the Jesuitic sophistries even then anticipating the heresies of Loyola, viz., "that it is not lawful to be busy in keeping the commandments, and that it is needful sometimes to break them."

While the commons were securing (1350) the Statutes of Provision and Premunire, and "The Good Parliament" (1376) was remonstrating against the papal extortions, Wiclif was industriously sowing the seeds of truth broadcast over the land, and hastening forward the work of translating the Bible from the Latin into the English, that all the people might "search the Scriptures," exposing, now, the trickery and excesses of "the Mendicant Friars," who, in "extravagant swarms" were infesting the country, and under the garb and plea of poverty amassing untold riches; and now, rebuking the profanity of the prelates, the rapacity of pontiffs, or the corruptions and heresies of Romanism in faith and practice; showing, for example, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation, declared by the Fourth Council of Lateran (1215) an article of faith, was unknown to the Anglo-Saxon Church, and was introduced into England by Archbishop Lanfranc after the Norman Conquest.

Everywhere frankly and boldly maintaining his convictions of truth, he was exposing himself to persecution. The guilty friars clamored against him; the whole army of the papal servants maligned and assailed him. The storm of Pontifical vengeance was gathering.

In attacking the meddlesome mendicants, he had the approbation of the university. In resisting papal taxation, he had the sympathy of the Court. In translating the Scriptures, he had the sup-

port of the laity. But in controverting the dogma of Transubstantiation, he stood alone.

Though, at times, we may doubt his prudence, we can scarcely question his courage or his constancy. However delayed or direct had been the success of the commons in constitutional reform, the progress toward religious freedom and ecclesiastical reform was difficult and slow. The conflict here was waged against "spiritual wickedness in high places." It was not as in the case of parliamentary reform, a conflict with a single civil crown; this was against the triple crown, the pontifical tiara. The successor of Boniface, holding the globe in his hand, and armed with the two swords of spiritual and temporal sovereignty, would not suffer either priest or layman to offer the insult of impartial investigation, nor especially to employ in self-defence the sword of the Spirit—the Word of God. Wiclif was summoned before the Convocation for trial, February 19, 1377. Every reader of history is familiar with the tumultuous scene which occurred at St. Paul's that day, as the Duke of Lancaster, the son of the King, and Lord Henry Percy, the Earl Marshal of the kingdom, made way for Wiclif through the multitude of anxious spectators, and stood beside him in the presence of the papal convocation. The tumult prevented the proceedings; but, though the trial was suspended, there was no suspense, on the one hand, in the papal persecution, nor, on the other hand, in the industry of Wiclif.

The question whether the Pope could bear away the treasure of the kingdom, in violation of the statutes of provision and premunire, Parliament referred to Wiclif. He defended the right of the English Crown.

The papal schism, which had existed for seventy years, rending in twain all Western Christendom, the Pope at Avignon warring with the Pope at Rome, was terminated in a singular way, by electing a third Pope, and thus increasing the schism. All history teems with representations of the miseries inflicted by this "Great Schism of the West." Wiclif called upon the Sovereigns of Europe "to seize the occasion which Providence had sent them, of shaking to pieces the whole fabric of Romish dominion," declaring, "The head of Antichrist is cloven in twain, and the two parts made to fight against each other" (see Wiclif's *Schisma Papae*).

In rapid succession, Wiclif dealt his sturdy blows, addressing the nation, now, "on the Truth and Meaning of Scripture." In this work, so pertinent to the period, so adapted to all times, he asserts and maintains the modern doctrine of Protestantism: "The

supreme authority and entire sufficiency of the Scriptures; the necessity of translating them into English; and the right and responsibility of private judgment." These fundamental truths, Wiclif reasserted in his sermons at Lutterworth, and in his tracts, scattered everywhere, protesting boldly against the claims of Antichrist, as full both of spirituals and temporals, turning Christian men aside from serving Christ in Christian freedom. "For in this day Christian men are oppressed, now with popes and now with bishops; now with cardinals under popes, and now with prelates under bishops, and now their head is assailed with censures. In short, buffeted are they, as men serve a football" (*Le Bas*).

In his "Office of Curates," he declares, "It is ordained of God." The call and the commission are Divine; and him who neglects his sacred office, Wiclif denounces as guilty of "foulest treason," earnestly rebuking "those priests as haunted taverns out of measure, and stirred up laymen to excess, idleness, profane swearing, and disgraceful brawls." His inculcation of doctrine, his words of rebuke, of warning, of expostulation, had the tone and the temper of a true reformer, and they roused the English mind, and challenged attention at home and abroad. But his mightiest appeal was to the Word of God. Here lay the greatest secret of his power. Here was the crowning service which he rendered to the English language, to the English literature, and to the English welfare—the translation of the Scriptures into the common tongue. To this great service, he addressed himself with unfaltering devotion. Although storms of persecution threatened him, Heaven preserved his life and activity until he accomplished the noble task.

However we may regard the wisdom of Wiclif, we must admit his earnestness. Though he failed to accomplish all that he desired, yet he accomplished much. The very charges preferred by his enemies, bear testimony to his effectiveness. Knighton, for example, complains that "this Master John Wiclif, by translating the Scriptures, has made it vulgar, and has laid it more open to the laity, and even to women who can read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of the best understanding; and thus the Gospel jewel, the evangelical pearl, is thrown about, and trodden under foot of swine." And Lingard thus testifies how important was the agency, and how successfully it was exercised by Wiclif: "In proof of his doctrines, he appealed to the Scriptures, and thus made his disciples judges between him and the bishops. Wiclif made a new translation, multiplied the copies with the aid



of transcribers, and, by his poor priests, recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands, *it became an engine of wonderful power*. A spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution which, in little more than a century, astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe" (Lingard, vol. ix. pp. 266-7).

Wiclif's reverence for the original Scriptures inspired his style in translation with unusual excellence; so that, perhaps, in this he effected more for the English language, and style, and literature, than in all his other contributions. Friends of the translation, and foes, rallied. It was condemned and branded as heresy, to read and circulate the translated Scriptures. "The Pope at Rome," says Burritt, "and his legates, cardinals, and bishops in England, and all through Christendom, were not much moved with fear at Wiclif's Latin disputations with the monks at Oxford. He might over-master them in argument, without breaking or bending a beam in the huge structure of their system. But when he took Christ's Gospel out of the iron coffin of the coldest of dead languages, in which they had shut it from the masses of Europe for centuries, fearfulness surprised them, as if they saw the same handwriting on the walls of papal domination, that Belshazzar saw on his."

Wiclif was under the painful necessity of defending his own great and toilsome service. Promptly and boldly he replied to those who called it heresy to speak the Holy Scriptures in English, that they "condemn the Holy Ghost, who gave it in tongues to the Apostles of Christ, to speak the Word of God in all languages that were ordained of God under Heaven." . . . That, "Scripture is the faith of the Church, and the more it is known, in an orthodox sense, the better, . . . since, according to the constant doctrine of Augustine (*Epist. ad Volusianum*), the Scripture is all the truth."

A bill was introduced into the House of Lords, prohibiting the perusal of the English Bible by the laity. Old John of Gaunt rose in Parliament, and declared: "The people of England will not be the dregs of all men, seeing all nations besides them have the Scripture in their own tongue." The bill was defeated, and the fourteenth century was spared the disgrace of a statute forbidding the people to read the Scriptures, translated into the English tongue. Persecution, indeed, continued. Wiclif was proscribed, but the Word of God was not bound. Obstacles, however multiplied, were overcome, and the Bible continued to circulate with remarkable rapidity; and, for five succeeding centuries, the English people

have possessed an English Bible, and to-day, on both sides of the Atlantic, they hold this possession in freedom.

Here we reach the climax of transition in the fourteenth century—the period under review. It is easy to detect the Anglo-Saxon spirit as the effective agency in the difficult but steady advance.

This availed to prevent the language from becoming French; and, in giving fashion to its grammatical form, to make the English the product of the Saxon tongue.

This availed to explode the artificial folly of mediæval romance and Norman fiction; and, by inspiring genius with true love for nature and real life, to create a new national literature, displaying, at once, in the picture-gallery of Chaucer, “the thirty master forms of the fourteenth century.”

This availed to withstand Feudalism in its most oppressive form; and, with its accumulated authority of centuries, and even to win from it its most effective champion, Chivalry—to serve the better cause of equality and liberty—equality wrought out on the battle-fields of France, and liberty won in the halls of English legislation. The splendid chivalry which signalized the wars of Edward III., in France, was—as I have already shown—displayed no less by the yeomen than by the cavaliers, and served to place the archers in as high a rank of military merit as the lancers.

This noble but novel emulation, which gained the brilliant victories of Crecy and Poitiers, begot the English nationality, in which Norman and Saxon were henceforth recognized alike as patriot citizens. Henceforth, English patriotism superseded Feudal chivalry. It did not reappear in the wars of Henry V., not even on the battle-field of Agincourt. Its surprising splendor, under the brilliant Black Prince, was only the sunset-glow of chivalry, as it disappeared before the better light of the new day of English patriotism.

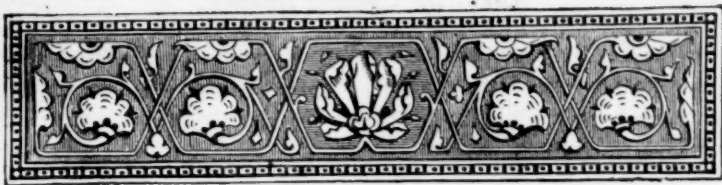
It has been said that by no lower hand than its own could the nobility be overthrown, either in France or England. And old Monteil declared that “Feudalism was as little capable of change as the castles with which it studded the land.” It is, indeed, true that Feudalism had steadily declined since the time of Edward I., and this decline was hastened by the dissensions and excesses of the nobility, and by its ignoring the advance of the people, and, finally, by its hostility toward the Crown and the Country, uniting the King and the Commons in deliberate resistance. But it is equally true that the indomitable firmness and resistless valor of the Saxon yeomanry won the very recognition which Feudalism struggled

to withhold. If the invention of gunpowder was disastrous to the mailed armor of the knights, and the thunder of cannon was worse than a panic to the gay cavaliers, it was chiefly because the brave yeomen employed it to realize, on an enlarged scale, the portentous prophecy of "The Battle of the Spurs." If Froissart's chronicles are "The Epitaph of Feudalism," it is because Feudalism was smitten with death by the Saxon spirit of independence.

This availed to organize the Commons, and, by the strength of association, not only subdue Feudalism, but compel even Monarchy to submit to constitutional limitations, and Kings to recognize the rights of the people, and constitute the Commons—who were hitherto mere petitioners—leaders in English legislation.

This availed, at length, to confront the Roman hierarchy, rebuke its arrogance, check its usurpations, remind it of a higher, even a Divine authority, and, in the light of the translated Scriptures, point the nation to the better day of reformation.

We cannot fail to observe, along this whole line of advance, the spirit of protest against wrong and error,—a Saxon element—expressing itself more and more forcibly, and, at length, combining with this protest a growing demand for the true and the right, in literature pointing to nature and man; in the State, to political rights guaranteed by constitutional limits; in the Church, to Divine revelation first, but not excluding human reason or historic interpretation; in all things pointing to progress, since man, and literature, and religion, in unrestrained development, invite and promote progress.



## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

**E**ACH year, a large number of pamphlets, called reports of various societies, reach the office of the "Church Review." They are welcome, as evidence of the living energy of our Church, and that Christians, lay as well as clerical, are beginning, more generally, to appreciate their personal responsibility in the work of evangelizing the world. As, year by year, these pamphlets increase in number, they suggest many thoughts to the reflective, as to the expediency of religious societies, the causes of their existence, and the principles upon which they are to be justified or condemned.

Upon what principle are religious societies to be justified? Have they any inherent right to exist as voluntary associations, independently of the authority of our Church at large, or, at least, of some of her organized dioceses? The right has been denied by many, and is still denied by some, although practical Church-working has decided the question overwhelmingly in the affirmative. It is, nevertheless, a subject worthy of discussion; for, unquestionably, many coöperate with societies of various kinds, because they feel the pressing necessity of accomplishing a certain work by any available means, not clearly wrong, though at the same time but half satisfied of the propriety of such instruments. If once convinced of the right to use them, as well as of their expediency, they would work with greater zeal and vigor, and the result would be correspondingly greater.

Voluntary societies are sometimes, in thought, placed in opposition to a committee, or board, appointed by a diocese, or the Church at large in the nation, to carry on a certain work. If, however, the committee and the society act in due subordination to a Bishop, there is, in principle, no essential distinction between them. A convention, or council, appoints a committee to coöperate with its Bishop, in, for instance, the work of missions. The Bishop, because the work is too great for him alone, gladly accepts their assistance and advice. The work, therefore, is properly his. He is the chief missionary, the head, and front, and director of the aggressive warfare of Christ's Church, within his appointed jurisdiction. For that work, the general opinion of this Church holds a Bishop responsible, and Revelation, the world's Church-charter, teaches that he must also answer for it to God. The members of the missionary committee hold a very subordinate position of responsibility, derived chiefly from the fact that the Bishop, acting for the Church within his sphere, has accepted them as his advisers and helpers. If now, in any special field of labor, the Bishop accepts the proffered advice and help of any voluntary association of clergymen and laymen (such, for instance, as those called Missionary Conventions), a similar subordinate responsibility is laid upon this voluntary association, and it does not differ essentially, in principle, from a missionary committee. It is evident that a Bishop, acting as the chief missionary of a diocese, may, in his discretion, make use of one, or both, or neither.

What is true of a voluntary missionary association, and a diocesan missionary committee, must be true also, though perhaps in not so striking a manner, of all voluntary societies and diocesan boards of charity. When they each act in due subordination to the Bishop, and, through him, to the Church at large, there is, in principle, no essential distinction between them. They are the Bishop's and the Church's helpers, accepted by him for the more complete fulfilment of his work as a foremost missionary. He who, upon principle, denies the right to form voluntary societies, must, upon principle, also deny the right of a diocesan convention to appoint a committee to advance, and protect the interests of any special work. If it is unlawful for any number of men to offer their united, organized help to the Bishop, as the Church's representative, it must be equally unlawful for a larger body of laymen and clergymen to delegate a few of themselves to offer that help.

To deny the right of existence to voluntary societies, would

thus eventually place the whole burden of Church-work upon Bishops alone. In the present state of ecclesiastical affairs, this would be utterly impracticable; and when we see that, even in a single large parish, it is necessary for a rector to call to his aid various associations of members of his congregation, in order to carry on, vigorously and successfully, the work within his limits, it is obvious that a Bishop, however small his jurisdiction, would have need of similar coöperation.

It may be said, however, that voluntary societies, as ordinarily constituted and managed, have no more than a nominal connection with a Bishop, and practically act in entire independence of his control. This may be so, and yet the fault of it cannot be laid upon the voluntary nature of the society, but rather upon the overwhelming amount of labor that would be placed upon a Bishop, if he were to attempt to attend to the details of every Christian work, which the incessant necessities of a diocese had called for. No doubt, every charitable and missionary society would rejoice to have the Bishop of a diocese present at all their meetings, and take an active part in their management; for it might clearly increase their efficiency, and lead to more permanent results. In the very earliest days of the Church Catholic, such helps were necessary; and the deacons, and inferior orders of the clergy, became the eyes, and hands, and feet of the primitive Bishop. In our day, when, even in our own Church, deaconesses are hardly recognized, and the other orders, once set apart by the solemn blessing of a Bishop, and an imposition of hands, in God's and the Church's name, to their chosen Christian work of love, no longer exist, a Bishop is compelled to avail himself of the assistance of those who profess to be no more than lay men and lay women, either individually, or associated into one sodality. To take away these voluntary societies, would be (so far forth) to deprive the Bishop of eyes, and hands, and feet, and make a Church blind and lame.

It is objected that the clergy of the ancient inferior orders were chosen by the Bishop himself, because of their especial fitness, and were in all things subject to his direction; whereas, modern societies are self-appointed, and acknowledge a very slight, if any, subordination to Episcopal authority. The objection is rather technical, than based upon any real practical distinction. The zeal of the early Church, in which the converts had been brought out from the abominations of the heathen, and were filled with a lively sense of the blessings of the Gospel, and of the utter ruin, in soul and body, of those who remained in that state of pollution from which they



had been rescued—the zeal of these converts placed every man and woman at the disposal of a diocesan head; and, from them, he chose out suitable instruments. At the present day, there are few whom the same zeal induces to devote their lives to works of charity and piety; hence, there can be no choice. All who offer, unless manifestly unsuitable, are accepted and employed, and their labors directed to some obviously useful end. If they have a choice of their own, in the kind of work in which they prefer to engage, that choice is properly respected; for it is evident that that in which, for any reason, they felt a special interest, would be performed most diligently. There is little room for choice at the present day, and yet, beyond question, it is frequently exercised—not in an obtrusive, offensive way, but quietly, and without observation. Every rector, no doubt, has been called upon to exercise such a choice more than once, in his parish; for, although the laborers are few, from time to time unsuitable persons will offer themselves for parochial work. A rector will not rudely repel such offers, asserting his right to choose his own assistants, but quietly turn them into a direction where no harm can be done, and where the zeal which is born of ignorance and ostentation will soon exhaust itself. As it is with individuals, so, questionless, it is with societies; springing into existence from improper motives, or that are likely, from their peculiar organization, to place themselves in opposition to constituted authority, some are diverted from their first purpose and plan of action to a work more consonant with good order and Church unity; others are suffered quietly to linger out a brief and ineffective existence, and depart like the expiring taper.

The societies of the present age are thus chosen instruments, in the only way in which, practically, any instruments can be chosen. Those of them, at least, which retain their vitality and efficiency, are subordinate to a Bishop, as far as possible, consistently with their best efficiency. Subordination does not require that every minute detail should be directly and explicitly arranged by a superior. It is sufficient that the general plan and purpose be approved, and that nothing should be done in opposition to his canonical or reasonable wishes. The old rule to “do nothing without the Bishop,” ought not to be interpreted to mean doing all things by the Bishop, in the sense that his own individual labor of mind or body is to be given directly in the prosecution of every diocesan intention, plan, and aim.

Even if we grant that the Bishops in the early Church were accustomed to seek, and to choose absolutely, their own assistants

in carrying on the work committed to them, that usage would not condemn the utilizing of voluntary associations, when there is no room for choice, but all legitimate, available instruments may be fully employed, with fair auspices. And yet, even in the early Church, the Bishops were habitually wont to consult their clergy and laity in matters that concerned general Church interests. St. Cyprian, in his epistles, expresses himself to this effect, clearly, frequently, and earnestly. The martyr never was a wiser or more useful Churchman, than when he cautioned Bishops to act in unison with those around them.

But if voluntary associations, recognized and used by a Bishop, stand upon the same footing, in principle, with a diocesan committee or board, is it not more expedient that all the clergy and laity should unite in the work of a Church, through a committee appointed by a diocesan convention, than that portions of them, either living in one neighborhood or county, or holding certain views in theology, or about the practical methods of Church extension, should unite for a similar purpose?

The question of comparative expediency depends upon the results produced by each, and also upon the general effect on the tone and character of a Church, by the adoption or rejection of certain modes of action. It is very conceivable, that one method might produce greater present results, and yet tend, eventually, to cripple Church energies. Just as in agriculture, a greater crop of fruit might be produced in one year, by means that would inflict a permanent injury upon over-stimulated trees. The present result, with the general and remote effect, must, therefore, be both considered and appreciated.

Each of these two methods of Church-work has its advantages and disadvantages. When a whole diocese is united in the prosecution of missions, and the support of charitable incorporations, directing and controlling them by means of committees, appointed from year to year, the result in at least small dioceses is to unite the clergy and laity more closely, to help them to understand each other in their best and most praiseworthy traits of character, to increase confidence, and give vigor and spirit to the prosecution of whatever work is undertaken. Another advantage arises from the concentration of funds upon a few objects near at hand. These are, in consequence, the better provided for; and, where charitable institutions are commenced, there is a better prospect of their becoming permanently established; whereas, if the clergy and laity are divided into separate clans and coteries, for the furtherance of

different, and, it may be, rival objects, emulations and jealousies will beget mutual distrust; and, at the same time, the money obtained for religious and charitable purposes, though, in the aggregate, larger, will be dissipated upon rival claimants, and thus, whatever temporary advantage may accrue, no lasting benefit can be attained to. When the spirit of rivalry has worn itself out, all interest in the work, once maintained, disappears, to be followed by a doleful apathy.

The force of these advantages and disadvantages is felt, especially in small dioceses, where it is possible to carry on but a few separately organized works of Christian love and zeal, and where the united effort of all is needed to make them successful. Hence, as a rule, the clergy in small dioceses are more harmonious; and, though differing (as all men will differ) about matters of theological opinion, and in the value they set upon different methods of practical effort, they learn better to tolerate and appreciate each other, and more readily to excuse what they look upon as not heresies, but errors.

In large dioceses, however, do the advantages of the united labor (or the attempt at united labor) by the entire body of clergy and laity, and the disadvantages of the opposite course, have the same force? Evidently, the question must be answered in the negative. Where there is a large number of clergymen, many of them must remain comparative strangers to each other. A mutual interest in the success of each other's specific work cannot exist in any full degree. The knowledge of each other's character and motives of action, the basis upon which confidence rests, will be wanting. In large dioceses, there will, necessarily, be many separate religious and charitable undertakings, each appealing to the sympathies of Christians, and to their sense of religious obligation; for where population is the densest, the poor and the afflicted will be most numerous, and spiritual destitution will likewise predominate. If these undertakings are carried on by means of committees, representing the entire diocese, general interest in them will fall short, from the practical difficulty of getting before the mind of each member of the diocese, a sufficiently clear conception of the details of the work. So numerous are the branches into which Church-work is divided, that committees, in their reports, are necessarily confined to the most meagre and bald outline of their various labors; oftentimes, to a simple account of money received, divided, and expended. If a few resolutions are subjoined, they are passed, almost as a matter of form; or, if one or two mem-

bers of the committee, having been eye-witnesses of the need and advantage of the cause for which they plead, venture to give utterance to their own sense of its importance, the press of routine business destines them to be heard with impatience by the great majority of listeners. It is, however, the detail of Christian work that soonest arouses sympathy, and incites to speediest action. The deep degradation of the people in some localities, their manner of life, little elevated above that of the brutes that perish; their melancholy ignorance of morality, as well as of religion; or the agonies alleviated in some hospital, some house of rest, some home for incurables; or the Christian homes, culture, and privileges provided for destitute and orphan children, and for aged believers, bereaved and friendless; or the spiritual destitution of a wide missionary territory, from which comes a sad cry for help—a territory whose fields are white unto the harvest, while reapers are not found, because young men, zealous and earnest to enter on the work, have not opportunity for the necessary training—it is graphic and lively details about such kinds of Christian effort that will give a quick impulse to individual energy, create a wide-spread interest, make the Lord's treasury overflow, and bring forward the men, as well as the means, to accomplish every scheme of self-denying love. If, however, diocesan committees were to undertake to give such details, in the numerous branches of Christian plans and aims entrusted to them, even with a very moderate degree of fulness, the conventions to which they reported would find it necessary to remain in constant session, or, at least, have their meetings so extremely lengthened, as to become burdensome to the clergy, and a material interference with regular parish labor.

The argument is frequently pressed, that Christians should contribute to all charitable purposes systematically, and from a simple sense of duty; not because their sympathies are appealed to. In one aspect, this is true, just as it is true that men should lead moral and religious lives, from a sense of the bare duty they owe to Him who made them. But when, without losing sight of the obligation of obedience, the influence of God's love is felt, and deeply felt, how much beauty, and fervor, and earnestness is added to and blended in the Christian character! how much is the soul strengthened, by the consciousness of that love, to contend against and overcome the evil which God abominates! how much is the Christian's present happiness increased by his own personal experience of the daily gracious providences of God! while, if the love of God be not kept constantly before the mind, but merely a cold and exacting

sense of duty, a harsh and repulsive form of religion is developed, which substitutes justice for mercy, penances for privileges, God's absolute, indisputable will, for the yearnings of an everlasting love. So also if the warm sympathies of the heart be separated from a Christian's benefactions, though, like Zaccheus, he may devote the half of his goods to feed the poor, though it may be placed upon the altar of God, under a naked sense of debt, he will present but half an offering. Christian sympathy is a necessary part of every gift, however small, to make it verily an act of Christ-like love. It is important, then, that not only an opportunity for the discharge of a duty should be set before all; but the sympathies of each one should be cultivated, that each one should thus be made to feel a direct personal connection with, and interest in, those who may require his help. The sin and misery of the spiritually destitute, the calamities of the distressed, the deprivations and anguish of the needy and the smitten, should be brought so vividly before his eyes, that he may suffer, and mourn, and be afflicted with them. While, then, a mere passing excitement of feeling should not be the criterion by which the Christian should test his duty, there can, nevertheless, be no real offering of charity, without a true and heartfelt sympathy.

So utterly impossible is it for the details of Christian work to be brought before a large convention, in order to arrest attention and awaken interest, that where committees are appointed, they are expected to make only a routine report, embracing simply such brief statistics as can be tabulated; while they are to seek other times and opportunities, to rouse the zeal and secure the coöperation of the clergy and laity, in their respective fields of labor. What is the result of this common, yet hardly necessary, arrangement? Do not the committees cease to be truly representative of the whole body for which they act? On the one hand, they are thrown upon their own personal ability and resources for the accomplishment of the work they have in hand. They must adopt precisely the same methods as those used by purely voluntary societies, if they would gain the ear of the people, and make their labor successful. They have not, practically, a whit more authority to command the support of the parishes of a diocese, than any others who may choose to undertake a similar work. How, then, can they be said really to represent parishes? True representation gives veritable authority. Appointed delegates to convention have, of course, delegated authority to bind all the parishes which have commissioned them, in any matter which falls within their canon-



cal jurisdiction. As well might citizens of the United States refuse to abide by the action of their representatives in Congress, as the members of an ecclesiastical body, like a diocese, ignore the action of representatives created by its own free choice. And yet, as a matter of fact, the committees or boards appointed have no constraining authority whatever to bind clergy or parishes in the most inconsiderable matter. However extensive or populous a parish may be, a missionary committee may not place a missionary there, against the known will of a rector. They cannot decide that a certain sum is needed to support missions during the year, and forthwith assess it upon parishes, according to their supposed ability. Nor can any other board decide that a hospital, for instance, or some similar institution, is needed, and at once apportion the necessary expense upon the Churches and laymen of a diocese. Evidently, committees and boards have no effective authority over Churches, and, therefore, cannot be said, truly and fairly, to represent them. At the most, their appointment by a convention is only a sort of public and official endorsement of them, as suitable agencies to carry on the work with which they have been entrusted; but as for the ways and means to accomplish it, that is left to their own unauthoritative efforts.

On the other hand, if we look at the manner of the appointment of committees in large dioceses, is it, or can it be, practically so managed, as to render them genuine representatives of the Churches in a diocese? As a matter of fact, the few who are known to take a special interest in any particular work, are appointed from year to year. There is no practical representation, but simply an acknowledgment of the necessity of the work, and the endorsement of the personal zeal and activity of a few philanthropic individuals. Or if, as is sometimes the case, a *quasi* representation is attempted, by placing upon committees members from different geographical sections, or of different shades of theological sentiment, the persons so chosen are nominated and virtually appointed, not by those of the same district, and of the same views, but by those who manage and arrange the chief business of a convention. In order to expedite business, and have it smoothly conducted, this management may be thought necessary. The disadvantage (for some would hardly call it a fault) arises from a difficulty, apparently inseparable from the administration of large dioceses, of making individual preferences and wishes felt, and allowing them perceptible influence in shaping the action of a convention, and in giving tone and character to its decisions. Committees are



thus either virtually self-appointed, by the zeal and activity they have already shown, or else receive their appointment, not from the members of a directive convention, but from the few, upon whom circumstances may have thrown the work of systematizing and conducting its business.

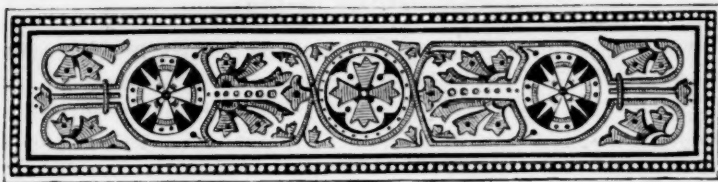
As a matter of right or expediency, diocesan committees can claim no superiority over voluntary societies. Each plan has its own advantages and disadvantages, and perhaps the arrangement, which has become almost, if not quite, universal, for both to exist, side by side, in each diocese, is practically the best. Voluntary societies and corporations seem to be specially adapted to the beginning of any charitable work. Very frequently, indeed, it is the earnest Christian love and zeal of a single individual, that lays the foundation of the most useful and needed institutions. It may be, too, that he has been led on by the providential guidance of God, and that he was, at first, wholly unaware of being an instrument, in God's hand, for the accomplishment of His kind designs. A clergyman, or association of lay men or lay women, in a parish, may have been called upon, suddenly and unexpectedly, to provide for some sick and friendless communicant, or for two or three children, left destitute by the death of their parents, and what was thought and intended to be but a temporary provision for an emergency, has become a hospital, or an asylum, or a home for those whom we pray for in the Litany, as "the desolate and oppressed." A clergyman, whose parish is on the confines of some destitute region, moved by compassion for the spiritual deprivation which stares on him, begins a mission in the moral desert. The work becomes too great for him, singly and alone. He associates with himself others in that same work, and a missionary society, in substance, if not always in form, is the result. Such as this, was the beginning of our Western Domestic Missions, and numerous missionary dioceses—at first, the independent labors of separate clergymen, then a voluntary society, and, lastly, a Board of Missions. The same history is repeated in Indian missions, and in missionary convocations within a diocese.

If our Church were deprived of voluntary societies, her ability to set on foot, and to put into successful operation, missionary and charitable enterprises would be reduced very greatly, if not impoverished. Voluntary societies also give scope to variety of manner and means, by which to attain any given object. They enable each one to work in that way in which he can exert himself most earnestly and effectively. His energies are not cramped

by being tied down to rules and methods, it may be, good and effective for others, but devised by persons of a temperament altogether different from his own, and under which he cannot labor without a constant sense of restraint, and without continual chafing and distrust.

In estimating expediciencies, it is not sufficient to take into account simply the question of present efficiency in attaining a certain result; we must consider, also, the effect produced upon the general tone and character of the Church. When voluntary societies exist by the side of diocesan committees, even though, at first, they are rivals in the performance of substantially the same work, both theory and fact show that ultimately the effect is beneficial. Inevitably, men will differ. They cannot all think or all act alike, for they have never done so. If compelled to work together, in one inflexible organization, time and energy will be wasted in disputes; but if each is allowed to work in his own way, though at first there may be rivalry, and, perhaps, unamiable thoughts, words, and wishes, yet, as each becomes absorbed in his own work, they will all be drawn nearer to each other, and become co-workers, rather than contenders—allies, instead of rivals. No doubt, also, it is the previous attempt at an undue restraint, which is accountable for much, if not all, of incipient rivalry and contention.

Voluntary religious societies, then, are justified by both principle and expediency. It is a conclusion which we might have anticipated, reaching out like an evolution from the fact that our Church has practically declared in their favor. In a living, active Church, the intellectual perceptions could not be so blinded, nor the conscience be so defective, as to sanction, for any length of time, that which is essentially injurious, derogatory, or wrong. If the enlightened conscience condemned such societies, its influence would, no doubt, be felt in the diminishing number of those who adhered to them. If voluntary associations proved a hindrance, their in expediency would very soon be recognized, and they would be neglected, uncherished, and abandoned. On the contrary, such societies are increasing in numbers, in eminence, and in sway. They are gathering large amounts for the permanent foundation and endowment of religious institutions, which society cannot afford to part with, while, at the same time, diocesan and general committees receive no diminished income; but the work of these latter shares in the zeal and earnestness which an increase in works of Christian love, exhibited in any impressive way or form, cannot fail to excite.



## THE ROMAN PATRIARCHATE DURING THE ARIAN TROUBLES.

IF we should write this article after the model of the celebrated chapter on the snakes of Iceland, and say briefly and simply, "There was no Roman Patriarchate during the Arian troubles," we should completely express our apprehension of the fact. But as this might appear too summary a treatment of the subject, and the discussion of the position of the See of Rome at that time may be considered as still open, and may lead to a more correct appreciation of a most interesting period of Church history, we propose to give the reasons for our assertion.

In the latter half of the second century, the "Provincial System" was fairly established—if indeed it were not, in the nature of things, coeval with the institution of the Church. By that time we have abundant testimony that neighboring bishops were accustomed to meet together in council, at stated times or on special emergencies, according to the convenience of travel or affinities of race and language; and matters pertaining to the welfare of the Church at large, were deliberated upon and settled in these assemblies. The Churches of a region thus came to look upon themselves as collectively an unit; and in due course of time, practices founded upon this fact were formulated into rules, and a definite polity was established, realizing in the Ante-Nicene Church, as completely as

in any after period, the communion of the members with one another in the unity of the whole.

Whether the "Metropolitan system" was also established at this time is not so clear. The Thirty-fifth Apostolical Canon (so called) enjoins, in language which may seem like the extension of a custom not universally received, that "the bishops of every country ought to know who is the chief among them, and to esteem him as their head, and not to do any great thing without his consent," etc.; but this falls short of the proposition that the Bishop of the Metropolis, *as such*, was that "chief" and "head;" nor do Beveridge and Bingham convince us that this was generally the case,—their own examples show that it was not, as notably in Africa to a late day. The presidency of the provincial council might be bestowed at first, either because of personal preëminence, or seniority of consecration, or the magnitude of the See; but this last would occur only when the city was so important as to be beyond comparison with any other in the province. Such was the case beyond peradventure with the three great cities of the then Roman world,—Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; and they were undoubtedly *metropoles* from the rise of the provincial system. A local council at which the bishop of either of these cities was present, but at which he did not preside, would be an impossibility; unless, as in the case of Paul of Samosata at Antioch, he was the party upon whom the Council sat in judgment.

The Bishop of Rome, at this time, like other bishops, was under the obligations and protected by the safeguards of the Ecclesiastical Common Law. The relations of all to each other were ascertained by a polity with means and instruments effective for the preservation of Catholic Unity, and for securing the communion of member with member in the one body of Christ. Of these means and instruments, the principal were in the Ante-Nicene period, the three following:

1. *Litterae formatae*, or official letters.
2. Duly accredited messengers from one Church to another.
3. A concurrence of local or provincial decisions upon matters of general interest.

1. The *Litterae formatae* were so called because they were written in a peculiar hand, and with certain distinguishing marks by which they were authenticated. They were not only letters dimissory for the clergy, and of communion for the laity, but also epistles giving official information of any important transaction, or communicating opinions upon subjects under discussion, or publishing

provincial decisions in adjudicated cases.<sup>1</sup> By means of these letters duly sent and preserved in the archives of the Churches which received them, accurate information was everywhere obtainable of the condition and history of the whole Catholic communion, and we cannot open the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius anywhere, without seeing the use he made of them. By this means, also, a judgment of the Catholic Church upon any matter was arrived at as fully and as accurately as by the assembly of a general council in later times; for example, on the Quarto-deciman controversy, the Montanist heresy, or the Novatian schism. To give or withhold these letters, to receive or refuse them, was the test of Catholic communion, and the one means by which the unity of the Church was brought to bear upon any particular See, for the preservation of the faithful from schism and heresy.<sup>2</sup> Under certain circumstances, letters of this sort, by whatever bishop sent, were really, if not in name, *Decretals*,<sup>3</sup> and a collection of them agreeing in a common decision gave the law or pronounced the judgment of the Catholic Church.

2. These letters were not left to chance means of transmission. They were sent by accredited messengers of the clergy, with the utmost care to guard against fraudulent or unauthorized communications. St. Cyprian furnishes a remarkable instance of this, returning with his Third Epistle (Oxford trans. No. 9), a letter to the Roman Church: "Inasmuch as in the same letter both the writing and the matter, and even the paper itself, gave me the idea that something had been taken away, or had been changed from the original, . . . that you may examine whether it is the very same which you gave

<sup>1</sup> Bingham, B. II. chap. iv. sec. 5, omits this kind of *literae formatae*, which were very important.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Augustine (Ep. 44 Migne, al. 163) challenges his antagonist, "Hic primo asserere conatus est, ubique terrarum esse communionem suam. Quaerebam utrum epistolas communicatorias quas formatas dicimus, posset quo vellem dare, et affirmabam quod manifestum erat omnibus, hoc modo facillime illam terminari posse quaestionem." So Optatus, Lib. II., contra Parm.: "Nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordat."

<sup>3</sup> Baronius, ad ann. 142, enumerates the following kinds of letters as used in the Early Church: 1. Communicatoriae, also called Canonicae and Pacificae; 2. Commendatitiae; 3. Dimissoriae; 4. Memoriales sen commonitoriae; 5. Synodicae; 6. Encyclicae, *i. e.*, circulares, also called Catholicae; 7. Decretales; 8. Pastorales; 9. Confessoriae; 10. Apostolicae; 11. Tractoriae. But these distinctions were not formulated so early. Nor were "Decretals" issued only by the Bishop of Rome.

to Crementius the subdeacon to carry. For," he adds, "it is a very serious thing if the truth of a clerical letter is corrupted by any falsehood or deceit." In Epistle 23 (Oxford 39) he informs the clergy of Carthage that he has ordained Saturus a reader, and Optatus a subdeacon, for the express purpose of qualifying them to bear a letter to the clergy of Rome: "For a very urgent reason I have sent a letter to the clergy who abide in the city. And since it behoved me to write by clergy, while I know that very many of ours are absent, and the few who are there are hardly sufficient for the ministry of the daily duty, it was necessary to appoint some new ones who might be sent." Other examples may be seen in Blunt's "Right Use of the Fathers," pp. 252-4, 3d edition.

3. By these means the presence of the bishops in the provincial councils was given, so to speak, an ecumenical character,—a concurrence of local decisions being collected at any given place when necessary for the defence of the Church against schism or heresy. Take for an example the Novatian schism, a case particularly in point. Cornelius and Novatian, rival claimants for the Roman See, send to all the Churches their letters announcing their election and consecration. Cornelius alleges regularity and priority of ordination; Novatian affirms that Cornelius is disqualified through communion with the lapsed. The issue thus assumes a doctrinal character, raising the question whether sinners can be restored to communion upon repentance. Upon this issue an appeal is made to the Church at large for a catholic judgment. St. Cyprian's Epistles show us how a decision was reached in Africa by the Synods. Eusebius tells us of the correspondence of Dionysius of Alexandria with Fabius of Antioch, with Novatus (*i. e.*, Novatian) himself, with Conon of Hermopolis, with "the brethren of Laodicea," with the Armenians, with Cornelius and others upon this question; showing that all parts of the Church considered it and gave their judgment upon it; so that finally a general agreement decided in favor of Cornelius, and Novatian and his party, being refused the *litterae formatae* of the Churches, were rejected from the Catholic communion, and so peace was restored to the Church of Rome.

There was then, it is evident, during the period preceding the Council of Nicea, an effective catholic polity, founded upon ideas of coördinate authority and universal communion. Subsequent to the "Great Synod" other ideas came into vogue, and another polity was established, with the result that the influence of the bishops in general upon the Catholic body fell into abeyance, and their means of influence were converted into prerogatives, first of the



greater metropolitans, and afterward of the patriarchs. Political circumstances, which it is the object of this paper to trace in part, gave to the *literae formatae* of the Roman Bishop the force of *decretals*, to his *clerical messengers* the power of *legates*, and to his *coördinate authority* in the Church an exaltation which aimed at *exclusive supremacy*. And so the Metropolitan of the "suburbicarian Churches" was converted into the Patriarch, and the Patriarch into the Pope.

The above brief sketch of the Ante-Nicene polity is not unnecessary, because it furnishes us a distinct point of departure in our inquiry. It gives us power to see that the Papacy (as the world now understands the term) had no existence—no shadow of existence—in the Ante-Nicene period. The Roman See appears in three characters in the course of history: First, as the Roman Episcopate, from the beginning to the Council of Nicea; secondly, as the Patriarchate of the West,—having its germ in the Council of Nicea, arriving at self-consciousness in Damasus I., brought to maturity by St. Leo I., and continuing till Gregory VII.; thirdly, as the Papacy from Gregory VII. to the present day. The distinctions are vital. When Victor, in the second century, pronounced his excommunication against the Churches of Asia Minor on account of their peculiar mode of keeping Easter, he had no idea of papal or of patriarchal power; he acted, however unadvisedly, only as a bishop having a part of the undivided Episcopate of the Church Universal; and the other bishops, having equal portions of the same oversight, rebuked his rashness. When Siricius sent the first authentic decretal now extant to Himerius of Aragon, or St. Leo instructed his legates at Chalcedon to uphold the rights of the "Apostolic See," or St. Gregory the Great commissioned Augustine to preach the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons, they had no idea of papal power; they acted as Patriarchs of the West, and as first among the Patriarchs. These facts regarding the power of the Bishop of Rome need to be remembered by all who would understand the history of the Church. Forgetfulness of them on our part enables the Roman controversialist to confuse together things essentially distinct, and to advance, as proofs of the original title to supremacy, facts of which—though they be true in themselves—the interpretation is altogether fallacious, and the inferences from them unwarranted.

The discussion of our immediate subject properly begins with the celebrated Sixth Canon of the Council of Nicea:

"Let the ancient customs prevail—those in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis; that the Bishop of Alexandria have the power over all these; since also the same is customary for the Bishop of Rome. Likewise as regards Antioch, and in the other provinces, let the privileges be secured to the Churches. In general let this be manifest, that if any be made a bishop without the consent of his Metropolitan, the Great Synod ordains that such an one ought not to be a bishop. If any two or three out of love of disputation do contradict the choice of all the others, it being a laudable one, and according to Ecclesiastical Canon, let the vote of the majority prevail."<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Beveridge<sup>2</sup> has fully proved that the power thus secured to the Sees named, was metropolitan, and that only. The following circumstances will enable us to see this clearly, without going over his arguments again:

In the year 324, the Emperor Constantine, following out the policy commenced by Diocletian, of emancipating the emperors from the tyranny of the army by balancing it with an immense civil establishment, divided the Empire into four praetorian prefectures, and these into thirteen *dioceses*, and these again into one hundred and seventeen provinces, each of which had its civil metropolis, where the business of the government was carried on.<sup>3</sup> Now, it was in 325 that the Nicene Council sat, and this coincidence of dates furnishes a sufficient explanation of the fact that while the title of Metropolitan, as Bingham notes,<sup>4</sup> scarcely occurs in any ancient record before the Council of Nicea, it is found three times in the canons of that council. It is no mean conjecture that the hand of the great organizing emperor is visible in thus speedily conforming the ecclesiastical nomenclature to the system of the empire. From this time the fluctuating provincial primacy becomes fixed almost universally at the metropolis, and its bishop, as such, is *ex officio* the head of the province. The rule was thus established that each Metropolitan should rule one province, and no more.

There were, however, two great exceptions to this limitation to a single province. From ancient times the Bishop of the great city

<sup>1</sup> When the original Greek is in a book so readily accessible as Fulton's "Index Canonum," it is not necessary to print it here.

<sup>2</sup> Beverigii Adnotationes in Canones Conc. Nicaeni, p. 49 sq. Synodicon, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Guizot, Hist. of Civilization, vol. i. p. 43. <sup>4</sup> Bingham, Antiq., Book II. chap. xvi. sec. 5.

of Alexandria had exercised the right and privilege of ordaining<sup>1</sup> all the bishops, not only in Lower Egypt, but in the Thebaid, and in Lybia and Pentapolis. This prescript right had been invaded by Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, who had taken upon himself to confer ordination, and the matter was brought before the Council. The Council, therefore, decrees that the ancient customs shall prevail, and that the power of ordination shall remain to the Bishop of Alexandria, not only in one province, but throughout the whole region in which he had been accustomed to exercise it. That is to say, his ecclesiastical province was to continue to include several civil provinces. And for confirmation of this right, certain mysterious words are added, by which the privileges of the Bishop of Rome are adduced as an additional precedent: "Since also the same is customary for the Bishop of Rome."

What do these words mean? Dismissing the discussion of alleged meanings which are the desperate recourse of an untenable theory, let the facts inform us; and what the fact was seventy-five years after the Council, the translation or paraphrase made at that time by Ruffinus, in the City of Rome itself, will show without gain-saying: "Let the ancient custom be preserved, both at Alexandria and in the City of Rome, that the former shall take care of Egypt, and the latter of the suburbicarian Churches."<sup>2</sup> Now it is evident that in departing so widely from the Greek, Ruffinus accepted as what was meant by the Canon, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman Church then actually exercised; and therefore his translation is conclusive that at that time this was the exact extent of the Metropolitan power of the Roman See; and that at the earlier period of

<sup>1</sup> The words *την εξουσιαν* in the Canon mean "the power of ordination."

<sup>2</sup> "Et apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat" (Ruffini, Ec. Hist. Lib. II. cap. 6, in Labbe Concilia, Tome II. col. 64). It is a striking illustration of the aptness of the Roman See in the application of *legal fiction*, that what Bishop Beveridge calls a "prisca translatio ante Dionysium Exiguum," expands this paraphrase of Ruffinus into the following: "De primatu Ecclesiae Romanae, vel aliarum civitatum Episcopis. Antiqui moris est ut urbis Romae Episcopus habeat principatum, ut suburbicaria loca, et omnem provinciam sua sollicitudine guberuet; quae vero apud Ægyptum sunt, Alexandriae Episcopus omnium habeat sollicitudinem," etc. Beveridge thinks that by the time of the Council of Chalcedon this had been still further improved, so that Paschasinus, the Legate of St. Leo, read it as follows: "Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum. Teneat igitur et Egyptus, ut Episcopus Alexandriae omnium habeat potestatem, quoniam et Romano Episcopo haec est consuetudo," etc. (Beveridge, *ubi supra*).

the Nicene Council it was no greater, since the tendency of the Roman See was to aggrandize itself, and not to recede in importance.

But admitting this, what bearing has it upon the decision of the Council of Nicea in favor of the See of Alexandria? Simply this: The "suburbicarian Churches" were the Churches of those provinces, ten in number, which were included in the Roman Vicariate, and which, as may be seen in Bingham, acknowledged the Bishop of Rome for their immediate Metropolitan. This makes all clear. Though the rule was, in general, that the Metropolitan should rule one civil province only, yet, in the cases of Rome and Alexandria, the Council acknowledges a right of jurisdiction, founded on established custom, over more than one; or, in other words, that, as the Ecclesiastical Province of the Bishop of Rome consisted of the civil provinces of Picenum Suburbicarium, Campania, Tuscia and Umbria, Apulia and Calabria, Bruttii and Lucania, Samnium and Valeria,<sup>1</sup> so the Ecclesiastical Province of the Bishop of Alexandria should consist of the civil provinces of Lybia Superior, or Pentapolis, Lybia Inferior, Thebais, Ægyptus, Arcadia, and Augustanica.

Whilst, however, the intent of the Council of Nicea was no other than to establish uniformity in the metropolitan system, it could not fail to be noticed and taken advantage of, that four great Sees are mentioned in its canons by name. The celebrity of the "Great and Holy Synod," and its importance in the contest of the Catholics with the Arians, would reflect a peculiar distinction, over and above their own intrinsic political and ecclesiastical importance (or rather because of it, in the case of the first three), upon the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. This mention by name became the peg whereon in after times to hang the "legal fiction" that the Council of Nicea recognized the patriarchal authority of these Sees. We have seen how, in the case of Rome, the fiction formulated itself by the interpolation into the Latin translation of the Canon of the words: *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primum*—the Roman Church always had the pri-

<sup>1</sup> Bingham, Book IX. chap. i. sec. 6. I leave out the islands of Sicilia, Sardinia, and Corsica, because, though they were under the jurisdiction of Rome at a later date, yet as they had Metropolitans of their own, and their customs as late as St. Gregory the Great were different from those of the Roman Church, it is evident that they were not a part of the Roman Ecclesiastical province, originally.

macy ; and a like feeling sprang up, which was equally groundless, that some extraordinary prerogative was intended to attach to the others.

That the assumption *was* groundless may be summarily shown by a brief note of the steps by which the Patriarchal polity developed from the Metropolitan, as they appear in the canons of those councils which were subsequently received into the code of the Universal Church. The Council of Antioch (A. D. 341) largely occupies itself with regulating the relation of the Metropolitan to the province, but makes no mention of the *Dioecesis*<sup>1</sup> as an ecclesiastical unit. The Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381), however, recognizes this by enacting that the Bishops of each *Dioecesis* shall confine themselves to its affairs, and not interfere in matters beyond its bounds. The Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431) gives evidence, in a negative sort of way, that the Bishop of Antioch was well advanced to patriarchal power by its protection of the Bishops of Cyprus against his usurpations. At the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), we find that the patriarchal system is flourishing in full vigor. It is here that the name of Patriarch first appears in ecclesiastical law, it being given to St. Leo, by acclamation ; and at this time, also, the Church of Constantinople is granted patriarchal rights over the Pontic, the Asian, and the Thracian *Dioeceses*. From this time forth we behold the five great Patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, at the head of the Christian Republic.

To return to our inquiry concerning the Roman Episcopate. St. Sylvester held the See at the time of the Nicene Council. His successor was Marcus, who was bishop but a few months, and after him came Julius I. Now, the most that we know of the Episcopate of Julius is in connection with the Arian troubles, and as the defender of St. Athanasius. And we assert without hesitation, and here offer the proof, that the part which Julius took in the defence of St. Athanasius did not spring from any patriarchal authority or papal supremacy. It only needs an inspection of the original sources of the history—with a proper understanding of the Ante-Nicene polity as above demonstrated, and a due allowance for the changes introduced by imperial interference in the affairs of the Church—to see that Julius himself, and St. Athanasius, and all the other parties concerned, were totally unconscious of the patriarchal system as

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<sup>1</sup> We use this spelling to avoid a confusion in idea with the modern Diocese.

it existed in the fifth century. In truth, no other fact in the history of the Arian period is so striking as the absence of such a system.

An Imperial Council was assembled at Tyre, in the year 335, to investigate certain charges brought by the Eusebians against Athanasius. The accusations were triumphantly refuted, and Athanasius betook himself to the Emperor for justice; but the Council in his absence passed sentence of deposition against him, and the Emperor, partly to protect him from his adversaries, and partly to destroy his influence, sent him in honorable banishment to Treves in Gaul, where he remained until the death of Constantine, and then returned to Alexandria. Three years after the partition of the Empire among Constantine's three sons, the elder, who bore the same name as his father, was slain in civil war; and Constantius and Constans became, respectively, Emperors of the East and of the West—the former favoring the Eusebians as the dominant party in the East, the latter the Catholics as predominating in the West.

Under these circumstances it was important to the Eusebians (as the Semi-Arians were now called), that they should gain over some influential Bishops of the Western Church, in order that through them they might operate upon Constans,<sup>1</sup> and incline him also to their side. They, therefore, raise an outcry against Athanasius as having intruded into his See again, without restoration by competent authority, and send a deputation to Julius of Rome, requesting him to re-affirm the decision of the Council of Tyre, and to hold Athanasius as excommunicate. Julius hereupon invites the Eusebians to meet Athanasius before a Council, according to their own request; and Athanasius, fleeing before a threatened persecution, makes his appearance in Rome. The Eusebians, however, detain the presbyters who had borne the letter of Julius, and hold the "Council of the Dedication" at Antioch, at which they pass sundry canons designed to bear against Athanasius; after which they dismiss the messengers with a scornful reply to the Bishop of Rome, being by this time sure of the Emperor Constantius, and foreseeing no advantage to themselves from any further efforts in the West.

The Roman Synod met and declared Athanasius without blame, confirming to him "their fellowship and loving hospitality." Some time after this, the Council of Sardica was held, in which the Euse-

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<sup>1</sup> See Athanasius, *Hist. Tracts*, p. 226, Oxford translation.



bians were again defeated; and, in consequence of the firmness of the Western Church, on the death of Gregory, the intruding Arian Bishop of Alexandria, the Western Emperor, Constans, compelled his brother Constantius to agree to the restoration of Athanasius.

The question of course is, in what character did St. Julius act as the defender of St. Athanasius? Now, it is to be conceded that Socrates,<sup>1</sup> Sozomen,<sup>2</sup> and Theodoret<sup>3</sup> represent this as an exercise of the patriarchal or primatial power of the Bishop of Rome. But they wrote when the patriarchal system was well established, and have simply fallen into the error of transferring the ideas of their own day to a previous age. The contemporary documents show clearly that the interference of Julius was based entirely upon the Ante-Nicene polity, and upon the right of each provincial synod to judge for itself of any matter under litigation in the Church. The true picture of the affair is obtained from St. Athanasius' Apology against the Arians,<sup>4</sup> in which he gives, in full, the letters of the various Councils which pronounced him blameless.

"My cause," he says, "needs not a second judgment, which has already been given, not once or twice only, but many times. First of all it was tried in my own country in an assembly of nearly one hundred bishops; a second time at Rome, when, in consequence of letters from Eusebius, both they and we were summoned and more than fifty bishops met; and a third time in the Great Council assembled at Sardica by order of the most religious Emperors Constantius and Constans, when my enemies were degraded as false accusers, and the sentence that was passed in my favor received the suffrage of more than three hundred bishops."<sup>5</sup>

Now, with respect to these "trials," it is obvious to remark:

*First.* That if the Patriarchate of Alexandria itself had been such at this time as it was two centuries afterward, an Egyptian Synod would be entirely incompetent to pass sentence upon the matter; the Patriarch could not be judged by his own suffragans. Neither Athanasius nor the Bishops of the Synod, however, betray any consciousness of such a relation. In their Encyclical Letter they speak of "our Brother Athanasius" and "the Bishop Athanasius," in terms of perfect equality with themselves.

*Secondly.* St. Athanasius adds at the end of this document, which he gives in full: "Thus wrote the Bishops of Egypt to all Bishops and to Julius, Bishop of Rome"—the Encyclical, in fact,

<sup>1</sup> Book II. chap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Book III. chap. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Book II. chap. v.

<sup>4</sup> Written between A.D. 349 and 352.

<sup>5</sup> Ath. Hist. Tracts, Oxford Library of the Fathers, p. 14.

being one of those letters of information of which we have spoken when discussing the Ante-Nicene polity.

*Thirdly.* If the sentence of the Bishop of Rome had been a finality, the convocation of the Council of Sardica was superfluous. But the fact was, that the Council of Fifty Bishops, of which St. Athanasius speaks as meeting at Rome under the presidency of Julius, was, so far as any evidence goes, a synod of the "suburbicarian Churches,"—that is, of the proper suffragans of the Bishop of Rome, as Metropolitan, and no more.<sup>1</sup> And its whole effect was to testify that the Church of Rome adhered to the communion of St. Athanasius, and recognized him as the true Bishop of Alexandria; just as St. Cyprian, at a previous period, adhered to the communion of Cornelius as against Novatian.

Some have thought that there is more than this in the letter of Julius to the Eusebians after the Council, and that he claims a special jurisdiction in cases affecting the Bishop of Alexandria, as indeed he would, were the ideas of a later day then current. But this disappears when we consider it in the light of the Ante-Nicene polity, and we find instead that Julius makes the most of a single precedent, when a faction wrote to Dionysius of Rome against Dionysius of Alexandria; it being a habit with Bishops of Rome to construct a general law upon a single example. Otherwise, there is nothing in the whole letter which might not have been written by any bishop who was requested to concur in a decision without the opportunity of investigating its grounds. A quotation of the more important parts of the context to the passage in view will establish this proposition :

"These things I have written, not so much for the purpose of defending their cause, as in order to convince you that we acted justly and canonically in receiving these persons, and that you are contentious without a cause. But it is your duty to use your anxious endeavors, and to labor by every means to correct the irregularities which have been committed contrary to the Canon, and to secure the peace of the Churches; so that the peace of our Lord which has been given to us may remain, and the Churches may not be divided, nor you incur the charge of being authors of schism. For I confess your past conduct is an occasion of schism rather than of peace. For not only the Bishops Athanasius and Marcellus came hither and complained of the injustice that had been done them, but many other bishops also, from Thrace, from Ceole-Syria, from Phœnicia and Palestine, and presbyters not a few, and others from Alexandria and from other parts were present at the Council here,

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<sup>1</sup> I cannot forbear remarking the false impression of this passage of history conveyed by the remarks of Dr. Newman in the preface to the Oxford translation of St. Athanasius's Tracts.

and in addition to their other statements, lamented before all the assembled bishops the violence and injustice which the Churches had suffered, and affirmed that similar outrages to those which had been committed in Alexandria had occurred in their own Churches and in others also. . . . It was for this cause especially that I wrote to desire you to come, that you might be present to hear them, and that all irregularities might be corrected and differences healed. . . . Now according to these representations, since the Churches are thus afflicted and treacherously assaulted as our informants positively affirmed, who are they that have lighted up the flame of discord? We who grieve for such a state of things, and sympathize with the sufferings of the brethren, or those who have brought these things about? While, then, such extreme confusion existed in every Church, which was the cause why those who visited us came hither, I wonder how you could write that unanimity prevailed in the Churches. . . . Now, as having bowels of mercy, take ye care to correct, as I said before, those irregularities which have been committed contrary to the Canon, so that if any mischief has already befallen, it may be healed through your zeal. And write not that I have preferred the communion of Marcellus and Athanasius to yours, for such-like complaints are no indications of peace, but of contentiousness and hatred of the brethren. For this cause I have written the foregoing, that you may understand that we acted not unjustly, in admitting them to our communion, and so may cease this strife."

After about a page more in the same strain, there follows the passage usually quoted on this subject:

"Let us grant the 'removal,' as you write, of Athanasius and Marcellus from their own places, yet what must one say of the case of the other bishops and presbyters, who, as I said before, came hither from various parts, and who complained that they also had been forced away and had suffered the like injuries? O dearly beloved, the decisions of the Church are no longer according to the Gospel, but tend only to banishment and death. Supposing, as you assert, that some offence rested upon those persons, the case ought to have been conducted against them, not after this manner, but according to the Canon of the Church. *Word should have been written of it to us all, that so a just sentence might proceed from all.* For the sufferers were bishops, and Churches of no ordinary note, but those which the Apostles themselves had governed in their own persons. And why was nothing said to us concerning the Church of the Alexandrians in particular? Are you ignorant that the custom has been for word to be written first to us, and then for a just sentence to be passed from this place?<sup>1</sup> If, then, any such suspicion rested upon the bishop there, notice thereof ought to have been sent to the Church of this place; whereas, after neglecting to inform us, and proceeding [on their own authority],<sup>2</sup> as they pleased, now they desire to obtain our concurrence in their

<sup>1</sup>The only example known to history is that of Dionysius above alluded to. Some enemies of Dionysius wrote to the Bishop of Rome accusing him of Sabellianism; but he explained his language so that there was nothing to do about it.

<sup>2</sup>There is nothing in the Greek corresponding to these words.

decisions, though we never condemned him.<sup>1</sup> Not so have the constitutions of Paul, not so have the traditions of the Fathers directed; this is another form of procedure, a novel practice."<sup>2</sup>

Now in all this there is nothing to show that Julius acted in any other way than as a Metropolitan, who, as all other Metropolitans, was interested in any affair of sufficient magnitude to be brought before the whole Church. That his position in the chief city of the Empire, and of the West particularly, gave him great personal influence; and therefore that it was necessary to gain him first, in order afterward to gain the Western Emperor and the Western Church, is evident on the face of the history, and accounts for the fact that the Eusebians, conspirators as they were, wrote to him alone, and not to all, as they would have done if their cause were just. But that there was any recognized necessity for an *appeal* to him, either as first of the Patriarchs, or as Primate of the whole Church, in any definite legal sense, does not appear—is negated,

<sup>1</sup> See the note below on *καταγνόντας*.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. Tracts, Oxford Trans. p. 53-56. The Greek of the last four sentences is as follows: *Διὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίων πόλεως μάλιστα ὅνκ ἐγράφετο ἡμῖν; ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι τοῦτο ἔθος ἦν, προτερον γράφεσθαι ἡμῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἐνθὲν ἦν ὀρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια; εἰ μὲν οὖν τι τοιοῦτον ἦν υποπτευθὲν εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τὸν ἐκεῖ, ἔδει πρὸς τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐκκλησίαν γραφῆναι. Νῦν δὲ οἱ ἡμᾶς μὴ πληροφορήσαντες πρᾶξαντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ὥς ἠθέλησαν λοιπὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐ καταγνόντας βούλονται συμψήφους εἶναι. Οὐκ οὕτως αἱ Παν-  
λον διατάξεις, κ. τ. λ.* Observe that *καταγνόντας* is not — *κατακρινόντας*, and the clause may mean, "they desire to obtain our concurrence in their decision, though we have not heard the accusation,"—a complaint of injustice which any bishop would make in the Ante-Nicene times, when each formed an independent judgment on the evidence, and the agreement of all brought out the catholic decision. So that the conclusion suggested in the note of the Oxford translation, p. 56, and backed by the inference of Socrates and Sozomen, is entirely unwarranted. The Benedictine editors translate the passage: "Cur autem de Alexandrina potissimum ecclesia nihil nobis scriptum est? An ignoratis hanc esse consuetudinem, ut primum nobis scribatur, et hinc quod justum est decernatur? Sane si qua hujusmodi suspicio in illius urbis episcopum cadebat, ad hanc ecclesiam illud rescribendum fuit. Nunc autem illi, re nobis non indicata, posteaquam quod libuit egere, nos quibus ea crimina explorata non sunt, sibi suffragatores esse volunt, etc. Athanasii Opera, Tom. I. p. 153. Paris, 1698. In Labbe's Concilia, Tom. II. col. 535 (Venice, 1738), the rendering is: "Cur igitur et in primis de Alexandrina civitate nihil nobis scribere voluistis? An ignari estis hanc consuetudinem esse, ut primum nobis scribatur, ut hinc quod justum est definiri posse? Quapropter si isthic hujusmodi suspicio in episcopum concepta fuerat, id huc ad nostram ecclesiam referri oportuit. Nunc autem nos, quos certiores minime fecerunt, postquam jam egerint quod libuit, suffragatores suae damnationis cui non interfuimus esse volunt. Non ita se habent Pauli ordinationes," etc.

in fact, by the whole narrative of St. Athanasius, by the Epistle of the Alexandrian Church, which was a proper Encyclical, and by Julius's own words, claiming a part for all in a common decision based upon evidence spread before the whole Church.

It is next in order to consider the legislation of the Council of Sardica (A. D. 347), and especially the celebrated Canon, giving to Julius of Rome, by name, a certain power to order a review of a sentence upon an appeal. To understand the intent of this legislation, we must revert to the Council of Antioch, of A. D. 341, of which mention has already been made. It was evident by this time, that the introduction of imperial influence into the affairs of the Church had seriously disturbed the Ante-Nicene polity, and it was necessary to readjust the modes of proceeding to the altered circumstances. By the Fifth Canon of Nicea the business of the Provincial Council was virtually confined to the affairs of the Province; and it was doubtless intended that matters of general interest should be treated of in General Councils, assembled on the imperial summons, instead of by a consent of the provinces in a common verdict as before. But it was very soon found that Imperial Councils and General Councils were not the same thing, and that a class of cases arose which could not be set at rest by the decision of such assemblies as that of Tyre. The flagrant injustice of the Council of Tyre in its treatment of St. Athanasius could not be submitted to, and demonstrated not only that a power of appeal was necessary to the welfare of the Church, but also that in the altered circumstances of the fourth century, such an appeal as had been made to the collective voice of the various Provincial Councils in the Novatian schism, or the controversy about Easter, was no longer possible. Nor was it safe to permit appeals from a Synod to the Emperor, according to the precedent set by St. Athanasius against the Council of Tyre; since it would be a complete surrender of the independence of the Church, and its reduction to slavery by the State. The Eusebian Council of Antioch, therefore, found itself obliged to deal with a new condition of things, and at the same time so to provide for the triumph of the Semi-Arian party over St. Athanasius, as not to violate in too barefaced a manner, the principles of ecclesiastical polity and common justice. The skill with which the managers of that Council met the emergency, by a series of canons so fair in general as to be adopted into the Code of the Universal Church, while yet they were most effective means of oppressing the orthodox, is worthy of the highest admiration; and

is a striking evidence of their political ability and astuteness, and of their qualifications as the unscrupulous Court party in the Church.

The Council of Antioch decreed that the laity who entered the church to hear Holy Scripture, but did not communicate (as the orthodox would not with the heretics), in prayer and the Eucharist, should be excommunicated;<sup>1</sup> that clergy forsaking their own *parochiæ* (as the orthodox might do when the Bishop was heretical), should be deposed;<sup>2</sup> that clergy separating from their own Bishops (as Paulinus with the Eustathians at Antioch from the Semi-Arian Bishop), should be deposed without hope of restoration, and all communicating with them should be cast out;<sup>3</sup> that Bishops officiating after deposition (as St. Athanasius after the Council of Tyre), should have no hope of restoration;<sup>4</sup> that a Bishop deposed by the unanimous verdict of a provincial synod should have no appeal to any other authority for a reversal of the sentence<sup>5</sup> (an unwarrantable extension of the Fifth Canon of Nicea); that when the Bishops of the Province disagreed as to the condemnation or acquittal of a Bishop, the Metropolitan should call in some from the neighboring province to decide;<sup>6</sup> that excommunicate persons, whether of the clergy or laity, should be received in no other Church until restored by their own Bishops or by the Provincial Council;<sup>7</sup> that bishops or presbyters appealing to the Emperor without the consent of the Metropolitan should be deposed and excommunicated;<sup>8</sup> and (specially against St. Athanasius) that bishops or clergy appealing to the Emperor, and not to a greater synod, should not be entitled to restoration.<sup>9</sup> It passed also other canons by which it prohibited bishops ordaining in other provinces than those to which they belonged;<sup>10</sup> accepting vacant Sees to which they had not been consecrated;<sup>11</sup> refusing Sees to which they had been consecrated;<sup>12</sup> being translated from one city to another;<sup>13</sup> or ordaining in cities other than their own, without the consent of the Bishop;<sup>14</sup> thinking in this way to shut out any orthodox interference where they had obtained the power.

Now, it was the duty of the Council of Sardica, under the then existing circumstances, to protect the Catholics from the ill effect of an unjust application of these canons, and specially to traverse the conclusions thus arrived at in three particulars:

<sup>1</sup> Canon II.<sup>5</sup> Canon XV.<sup>8</sup> Canon XI.<sup>11</sup> Canon XVI.<sup>2</sup> Canon III.<sup>6</sup> Canon XIV.<sup>9</sup> Canon XII.<sup>12</sup> Canon XVII.<sup>3</sup> Canon V.<sup>7</sup> Canon VI.<sup>10</sup> Canon XIII.<sup>13</sup> Canon XXI.<sup>4</sup> Canon IV.<sup>14</sup> Canon XXII.



*First*, to legalize hospitality to clergy who were expelled from their Sees by violence and injustice; *secondly*, to take like means against intrigues at Court on the part of bishops not under condemnation, as the Council of Antioch had taken against condemned bishops; and *thirdly*, to provide for an appeal *somewhere* by which an unjust sentence might be reviewed and reversed; and (as regarded the exigencies of that particular period) to lodge the appellate jurisdiction in hands where it would be safe for the orthodox. In the first case, therefore, the Council of Sardica passed canons to the effect that bishops ought not to be translated from a small city to a large one;<sup>1</sup> that no bishop should be absent from his Church longer than three weeks, except on occasion of great necessity;<sup>2</sup> but that a bishop unjustly put out of his See should not be refused hospitality elsewhere until he could be restored.<sup>3</sup> In the second case, to prevent undue influence at Court, the provisions were stringent; that bishops should make no petitions to the Emperor, except as defenders of the friendless, or intercessors for the distressed;<sup>4</sup> that their petitions be sent by their deacons, and not preferred in person;<sup>5</sup> that bishops of a province, having petitions to present to the Emperor, should send them to the Metropolitan, who should despatch them by his deacon with commendatory letters to the bishop of the place where the Emperor was resident at the time;<sup>6</sup> that those who go through the City of Rome on this errand should submit their letters to Bishop Julius, who should endorse them, if he saw fit;<sup>7</sup> and that the bishops whose cities were on the public ways or cross-roads (*canales*) should, for the proper observance of these canons, demand the business of bishops going to Court, and, if their errand was contrary to the canons, should turn them back, or refuse communion with them.<sup>8</sup>

As regards the third subject, the Council regulated and provided for *appeals*, in accordance with the then existing circumstances of the Catholics, by enacting, in the case of presbyters and deacons, that, while they should not be received under excommunication by others than their own bishops,<sup>9</sup> they should have an appeal to the Metropolitan;<sup>10</sup> and in the case of bishops, by three canons which may best be given complete, as follows:

*Canon III.*—That no bishop shall pass over from his own province into an-

<sup>1</sup> Canons I. & II.

<sup>2</sup> Canons XI., XII.

<sup>3</sup> Canon XVII.

<sup>4</sup> Canon VII.

<sup>5</sup> Canon VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Canon IX.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>8</sup> Canon XX.

<sup>9</sup> Canon XIII.

<sup>10</sup> Canon XIV.

other in which there are bishops (unless he is called there by his brethren—that we may not seem to shut up the gates of charity). And this is to be provided: that if in any province any of the bishops have a complaint against his brother and fellow-bishops, neither of these shall call in bishops from another province as judges. But if one of the bishops shall stand condemned in any matter, and shall consider that he has not an unsound, but a good cause, and that the judgment should be reopened; if it seem good to your charity, let us honor the memory of the Apostle Peter, that it be written to Julius, the Bishop of Rome, from those who have judged, so that if it is necessary, the judgment may be rendered anew by bishops bordering upon the province, and let him name the arbitrators. But if it cannot be proved that the cause is such as to need a re-hearing, let not the things once judged be unsettled, but let them remain firm.

*Canon IV.*—That if any bishop be deposed by the judgment of those bishops who live in his neighborhood, and he affirm that he can bring forward matter for his defence, no other shall be placed in his See until the Bishop of the Romans, having cognizance of the cause, shall give his sentence.

*Canon V.*—When a bishop is accused, and the bishops of that region assembled have judged and degraded him, if he have appealed and fled to the Bishop of Rome, and desire that he be heard, [and] if he [the Bishop of Rome] think it right that the judgment be had anew, or the examination of the discussion, let him deem it proper to write to those bishops who are on the border in a neighboring province [*finitima et propinqua provincia*] that they diligently examine all things, and render a decision according to their persuasion of the truth. But if he who asks that his cause be heard again, shall in his petition move the Bishop of Rome to send one of his own presbyters, it shall be in the power of the Bishop what he will and determine. And if he decree that they be sent, who, being present with the bishops, shall judge with his authority by whom they are sent, it shall be according to his will. But if he judge that the bishops shall suffice to bring the thing to a termination; let him do what he judges right in his most wise counsel.<sup>1</sup>

Now, the meaning of these canons has been obscured by importing into them the ideas of a subsequent age, and a traditional sense has been fixed upon them, of which the Council that enacted them knew nothing. Thus the Greek Canonist Balsamon, for example, interprets Canon IV. above, as allowing a *second* appeal to the Bishop of Rome after the first appeal to the neighboring bishops named by him<sup>2</sup>—virtually making it an appeal to the Patriarch from the Dioecesis, as that was the Court of Appeal from the province. But the Canon originally meant no such thing, and Balsamon's interpretation is an application of the principle of "legal fiction"—of which something will be said hereafter. The fact was that the old system of laying the affair before the provincial

<sup>1</sup> We translate this Canon from the version of Dionysius Exiguus, which evidently gives the sense. The Greek is corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> Beveridge, "Synodicon," vol. i. p. 487.

synods of the whole Church, had, as we have said, become obsolete; and in the times of the Councils of Antioch and Sardica, the hierarchical system of a later day had not been completed; there was, therefore, no ecclesiastical unit between the Province and the whole Church—neither Dioecesis nor Patriarchate—and consequently no appeal provided for by Church law to the head of either. The Council of Antioch had endeavored, in this state of affairs, to shut out appeals altogether when the province was unanimous, and, when the province was divided, to give the Metropolitan an opportunity to pack a Court by calling in neighboring bishops of his own way of thinking. The business before the Council of Sardica, therefore, was to prevent injustice to the Catholics in these respects, and it met the exigency by a temporary expedient—marking the temporary character of its legislation on this subject by making the power it granted *personal*—naming Julius, Bishop of Rome, in two places in the Canons. In view of these facts, the meaning of the canons is clear, and their interpretation very easy. The Third Canon provides that when there is a difference in the province, Julius of Rome, and not the Metropolitan, as the Council of Antioch decreed, shall name the arbitrators from the neighboring province; the fourth enacts that while the appeal is pending, no other bishop shall be ordained in place of the one whose cause is still unadjudicated; and the fifth decrees that if the appealing party so desire, certain presbyters of the Bishop of Rome shall be joined with the Court of neighboring Bishops, to act in his name, and to scrutinize the proceedings on his behalf. The legislation was not only an innovation, but a temporary expedient for a time of trouble—the grant of power to pass away with Julius himself. But it was not strange that such a precedent should be erected into a general law by the successors of Julius, opening the way, as it seemed to do, to an appellate jurisdiction over the whole Church. We may, therefore, set down these Canons of Sardica as germinant seeds of the power which the Bishops of Rome subsequently obtained, but in no sense as testimonies to a patriarchal power already existing.

The Council of Sardica was followed by an open schism between the East and the West,<sup>1</sup> the progress and termination of which brings before us Liberius, the successor of Julius, in two scenes, one of which it has been the problem of Romish historians to extenuate, and the other their pleasure to represent as an exercise of papal

<sup>1</sup> Sozomen, Book III. chap. 13.

authority. Liberius became Bishop of Rome in A. D. 352. At this time the Emperor Constans had been put to death by Magnentius, and Constantius, having defeated the usurper, became sole Emperor of the East and the West. This revolution exposed the Western Church to those influences which had succeeded in Arianizing the East, and it must be confessed that the Western Church did not come unscathed out of the trial. But it can be no matter of exultation to any Christian heart, even amidst the exigencies of controversy, to record the fall of a Roman Bishop, at the first exposure to temptation.

Constantius, on assuming the government of the West, called a Council, first, at Arles, and afterward at Milan, from both of which he extorted the condemnation of St. Athanasius. After this result had been reached, Liberius was summoned to meet the Emperor at Milan, and bore himself bravely in his presence. He was sent into banishment for his resistance to the despot's will. After two years' absence from Rome, he became home-sick for the great City, and, to purchase his return, he consented to abandon St. Athanasius, and signed a creed which, whether it were Arian or not, evaded the *Homoousian*. Of all the sins which are charged upon the holders of the papal power, none is more plainly against the modern dogma of papal infallibility than this failure of the Confessor's firmness, in a day when examples of constancy were not rare. The pressure brought to bear upon Liberius was different in no respect from that to which others were exposed, who, like him, held an influential place among the bishops. St. Athanasius tells us in one sentence, that "Liberius, Bishop of Rome, Paulinus, Metropolitan of Gaul, Dionysius [of Milan], Metropolitan of Italy, Lucifer [of Cagliari], Metropolitan of the Sardinian Islands, and Eusebius [of Vercelli], of Italy, all of them excellent Bishops and preachers of the truth, were seized and banished."<sup>1</sup> Of none of these, except Liberius, is it recorded that he fell into Arianism.

That Liberius returned to orthodoxy when he returned to his See is not so much to his credit as a greater constancy in adversity would have been; but, such as it was, the credit belongs to him; and perhaps the struggle he went through fitted him to act the part he did in the reconciliation of the East after the Synod of Lampsacus. Constantius had died and been succeeded by Julian the Apostate, in whose reign the Arian faction, bereft of Court influence,

<sup>1</sup> Ath. Hist. Tracts, Oxford Trans. p. 191.

fell into decay. Julian was followed by Jovian, a bluff soldier of Catholic faith, and he in a few months by Valentinian, who associated with himself his brother Valens, assigning him the East, while he himself took the West. As Valentinian was journeying toward the West, the Bishops of Thrace and Bithynia prayed leave of him to hold a Council, and received the unusual reply, "I am but one of the laity, and have, therefore, no right to interfere in these transactions; let the bishops, to whom such matters appertain, assemble when they please." They availed themselves of their freedom, to assemble at Lampsacus, and, as honest Semi-Arians, condemned the Anomoean faction, the heads of which were Eudoxius and Aetius. But Valens, who had fallen under the influence of Eudoxius, took the part of the heretics, and persecuted both the Orthodox and the Semi-Arians. Whereupon, as Sozomen tells us, "The Macedonians [Semi-Arians], in apprehension of further sufferings, sent deputies to various cities, and finally agreed to have recourse to Valentinian and to Liberius, Bishop of Rome, rather than conform to the doctrines of Eudoxius and Valens."<sup>1</sup> They, therefore, sent a deputation to Liberius, who, after a conference with them, required them to put in writing their assent to the Nicene Creed, which they did. He then admitted them to his communion, and addressed *literae formatae* of the kind called "pacifical" to the Eastern Bishops, naming sixty-four, and including with them, "all their orthodox brethren," and thus brought the schism to an end for a time.

But, lest we might suppose that there was in this anything like "submission to the See of Rome," the extant history is careful to remind us, not only of Valentinian, as above, to whose sympathy and intervention the conciliation of Liberius would be a stepping-stone, but also that the Ante-Nicene polity, by which all bishops had their voice in the healing of a schism, was still in force. The deputation was not to Liberius alone, nor was the schism healed by the "letters pacifical" of Liberius alone. The paper which the Eastern deputies signed at the requisition of the Bishop of Rome declares as much. "Having been sent on an embassy to your Holiness, as likewise to all the other Bishops of Italy and the West, we hereby attest that we adhere to the Catholic faith which was established at the holy Council of Nicea, by the blessed Constantine and three hundred and eighteen inspired Fathers," etc. And the historian adds:

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Sozomen, Book VI. chap. 10.

"Having received from Liberius a written account of all that they had transacted, they embarked on board a ship then sailing for Sicily. A Council was convened in Sicily;<sup>1</sup> and after the same doctrines had been confirmed as those set forth in the Confession of the deputies, the assembly was dissolved. At the same time, a Council was held at Tyane; and Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Athanasius, Bishop of Ancyra, Pelagius, Bishop of Laodicea, Zeno, Bishop of Tyre, Paul, Bishop of Emesa, Otreius, Bishop of Melitene, and Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzum, were present with many other prelates, who during the reign of Jovian had assembled at Antioch and determined to maintain the doctrine of the Son being consubstantial with the Father. The letter of Liberius, and that addressed to the Western Bishops, were read at this Council. These letters afforded high satisfaction to the members of the Council; and they wrote to all the Churches, desiring them to peruse the decrees of the Western Bishops, and the documents written by Liberius and the Bishops of Italy, of Africa, of Gaul, and of Sicily, which had been entrusted to the deputies of the Council of Lampsacus. They urged them to reflect on the *great number of prelates by whom these documents had been drawn up*, and who were far more in number than the members of the Council of Ariminum, and exhorted them to be of one mind, and to enter into communion with them," etc.<sup>2</sup>

And now a word or two upon the Arian history as a whole, and the disturbing influence of the Empire upon the primitive polity of the Church.

1. Some time previous to the Nicene Council the success of the Church had drawn to it a class, of which Paul of Samosata is an example, whose relations with heathen of rank, wealth, and culture, induced them to hold Christianity rather as a philosophy than as a religion; who were Christians as others might be Platonists or Epicureans; and who were more careful of their position in society than of the Faith once delivered to the Saints. While the social advantages of these men gave them influence in the Church, their life, their culture, and their habits made them acceptable, rather than more earnest and orthodox Christians, at the Court of a prince who desired as much that the Church should be politically useful to himself, as that it should subdue the world to Christ. It was no wonder, then, that ecclesiastics of this class should gather round the throne of Constantine after the Nicene Council, and that the Emperor should permit himself to be persuaded by them that peace could be obtained for the Church, as well as for the State, only by an indifference to dogma. The wishes of the Semi-Arians, headed

<sup>1</sup> An incidental proof that Sicily was not at this time one of the "suburbicarian" provinces, in the ecclesiastical sense.

<sup>2</sup> Sozomen, Book VI. chaps. xi. xii.



by the two Eusebiuses, of Nicomedia and Cæsarea, coincided with the imperial design of subjecting the Church to the State; and this coincidence explains the curious phenomenon of the Emperor's support of an unscrupulous minority against the decrees of a Council convened on his own summons. The Arians thought that they were using Constantine, and after him Constantius, against Orthodoxy; but the Emperors knew that they were using the Arian faction to reduce the Church to slavery. The secret of the animosity of both parties against St. Athanasius was that he was the great opponent of both designs—of the one consciously, of the other unconsciously—as the result of his high principle.

2. The policy of the Emperors during this whole Arian period, crooked and faithless as it seems, is not hard to read. That the Western rulers should be Orthodox and the Eastern Arian, is but a consequence of the position in which they found themselves, pending the attempt to make the Church an instrument for securing the imperial government to the family of its administrator. Constantine, up to the time that he lay upon his death-bed, had been scarcely a Catechumen; his knowledge, therefore, of Christian dogma was of the smallest, and his serious convictions of Christian truth were probably limited to a recognition of the Divine unity, and the sense of a Divine Providence. After the apparent failure of the Council of Nicea to produce the unanimity he desired, he seems to have been willing to ignore its definition of the faith in our Lord's Divinity, and to have endeavored to allay the controversy by compelling the Church to admit on equal terms the contrary opinions held by Athanasius and by Arius. The efforts of his successors in like manner were directed, not to a denial of the *Homoöusian* on the part of those who did receive it, but to a toleration of those who did not receive it; and, therefore, as always happens in similar cases, those who were really latitudinarian and indifferent appeared as the abettors and defenders of the most extreme heretics. These heretics had overrun the East, and were as yet strangers to the West, and for this reason the Eastern sovereign became their partisan, while the Western Emperor conformed to the opinions current in his dominions, and recommended himself to his Christian subjects as orthodox, because they were so. It was doubtless personal ambition, and the hope of becoming sole Emperor, through the war for which the restoration of St. Athanasius might form a pretext, that led the worthless Constans to threaten his brother on that account, rather than any real sympathy with the

theological issue at stake; and so, on the other hand, when Constantius became sole Emperor on his brother's death, his attitude toward the Catholics of the West was rather a consequence of the position into which he had been drawn by the state of affairs in the East, than any serious convictions in favor of the heresy he patronized. It was of political importance to himself that the Church should be at one, with a lax and flexible creed, broad enough to take in any philosophic heathen who had lost faith in his old gods, and was willing to admit a divine *numen* as the basis of such religion as he might profess; and to this political necessity the *Homoöusian* was opposed and St. Athanasius an enemy. This attitude of the Emperor and the Court party among the bishops explains the multitudinous creeds of the Arians, *Homoiousion*, *Homoöean*, *Anomöean*, and finally rejecting the orthodox test as "unscriptural"—and it explains also their hostility to St. Athanasius, and the stress laid upon his condemnation. And this it was which made the fall of Liberius so guilty and so deplorable. It was not that he affirmed or held a downright Arian creed; but that in yielding to the Emperor—in giving up the *Homoöusian* and signing the condemnation of St. Athanasius—he opened the floodgates for all unbelief, indifferentism, latitudinarianism, and heresy to sweep in and devastate the Church.

3. A remark is also necessary concerning the greater Synods, of which so many were held during the Arian troubles. It is evident that they were assembled by the Emperors, in imitation of the Council of Nicea, and resulted partly from the fact that the law of Ecumenical Councils, as such, could not be formulated from a single example; and partly from the older polity of the Ante-Nicene times, when, as we have said, a quasi-ecumenical character attached to the presence of the bishops in the Local Synods. It was a consequence of that older polity that the bishops sat in council in right of their order wherever they were present, and that the councils treated of matters beyond their immediate local jurisdiction. The theory of the undivided Episcopate was thus carried out in the Local as well as in the General Council, and both ideas blended in the transition period of which we are writing. It was under a combination of ideas of this kind, that the Council of Tyre, for instance, assumed to judge St. Athanasius. At a later period, such a proceeding would have been barred once for all by the plea that the Patriarch of Alexandria was not amenable to a Synod of the Diocese of the East. The Council of Sardica, again (A. D. 347), assumed to be a General Council after the model of Nicea, not the

Constitutional Assembly of a definite division of the Church;<sup>1</sup> and the same was the case with the Council of Antioch, of which we have spoken. It was not, in intention, a Synod of the Oriental Diocese, but an imitation of the Nicene Council, at least in its relation to the eastern half of the Empire. Such assemblies may properly be designated, as summoned by the Emperors, Imperial Councils, to distinguish them from General Councils, properly so called, and from those which were provincial.

4. Finally, in studying any great historical development, the operation of two principles needs to be carefully noted, if we would avoid confusion in the apprehension of facts, and false conclusions from the premises. The first is that of *legal fiction*, so ably expounded by Mr. Maine, in his treatise on "Ancient Law," a device as useful to the politician as to the jurist.

"When a group of facts come before an English court for adjudication," says the author above-named, "the whole course of the discussion between the judge and the advocate assumes that no question is, or can be raised, which will call for the application of any principles but old ones, or of any distinctions but such as have long since been allowed. It is taken absolutely for granted that there is somewhere a rule of known law which will cover the facts of the dispute now litigated, and that if such a rule be not discovered, it is only that the necessary patience, knowledge, or acumen is not forthcoming to detect it. Yet the moment the judgment has been rendered and reported, we slide unconsciously or unavowedly into a new language and a new train of thought. We now admit that the new decision *has* modified the law. The rules applicable have, to use the very inaccurate phrase sometimes employed, become more elastic. In fact, they have been changed. A clear addition has been made to the precedents, and the canon of law elicited by comparing the precedents, is not the same with that which would have been obtained if the series of cases had been curtailed by a single example."<sup>2</sup>

An analagous, or to speak more accurately, a reverse operation is performed continually in the field of history, and the failure to detect it is a fertile source of the mistakes of historians, and of the fallacies of controversialists. An innovation is made; its advocate or defender is concerned to prove that the state of facts has existed

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<sup>1</sup> And, therefore, Beveridge makes a mistake when he calls it a Provincial Council.

<sup>2</sup> Maine's *Ancient Law*, Am. Ed. p. 30.

from the beginning, and precedents are read in a new way to cover the case. The later practice is a series of variations by successive steps from the earlier, not a violent substitution for it; and, therefore, facts may be found in the earlier condition, which will bear a plausible interpretation in behalf of the later, and which are used by the innovator to legitimate it, and by the controversialist to defend it.

The second principle is akin to the one just mentioned. When the germ of a new development has emerged at its centre, and the old ideas still govern at the circumference, the latter continue to be acted upon, and overlap and blend with the new course of things in many ways, the transaction being interpreted in a different sense by either party to it. The actors on the scene play at cross purposes; their acts and words are mutually misrepresented or misunderstood; communications are made in one sense and received in another; conventional terms of compliment or respect are assumed to mean more than they do; concessions to circumstances are accepted as acknowledgments of right or privilege; and whole courses of action are viewed contrary to the feeling and intent of the actors,—until at last the old ideas are crowded out, and the new order of things is universally accepted.

An admirable illustration of the legal fiction in its legitimate application, if it has one, may be found by a comparison of the the Twenty-eighth Canon of Chalcedon with the Third of Constantinople, on which it is professedly founded. But a better one for our purpose, and not often quoted, is in connection with the attempt of Antioch to extend its jurisdiction over Cyprus, which was defeated at the Council of Ephesus. It seems that there had been, a few years before, some sort of communication between Alexander of Antioch and Innocent I. of Rome, about this Cyprian affair, and we have an Epistle of the Roman Bishop to his brother of Antioch, which shows him (as do other of his productions) to be a master of the art of constructing legal or political fictions. Acknowledging the receipt of Alexander's letter, Innocent replies:

“Considering, therefore, the authority of the Nicene Synod, which alone unfolds the minds of all the priests throughout the whole world, what things it decreed to be necessary not only for all the priests, but also for all the faithful to observe concerning the Antiochene Church, we acknowledge that the said Church was established by it, not over any province, but over its own *Diocesis*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This assertion is without foundation; but it is a convenient legal fiction,

Upon which we remark that this was given to it, not so much on account of the magnificence of the city, as because it was the first See of the first Apostle, where also the Christian religion received its name, and which merited that the concourse of the Apostles [*i. e.*, the meeting of St. Peter and St. Paul] should be celebrated with it; 'and it would not yield even to Rome, were it not that it only enjoyed for a time, him whom Rome possessed to the end.'<sup>1</sup> We judge, therefore, beloved brother, that as you ordain Metropolitans by a singular authority, so also you should not allow other bishops to be created without your permission and assent. In which you will rightly observe this method, that you will decree by your letters, that those who are at a distance shall be ordained by those who now ordain them of their own motion; but will require that those who live near you shall come, if you think fit, to your own imposition of hands.<sup>2</sup> . . . You rightly assert that the Cyprians being wearied out formerly by the power of the Arian impiety, have not held to the Nicene Canons in ordaining bishops for themselves, and to the present time they presume to ordain by their own will, consulting with no one else. Wherefore we must persuade them to take care that they be wise in the Catholic faith according to the faith of Canons, and agree with the other provinces, that it may appear that they also, as all the Churches, are governed by the grace of the Holy Spirit."<sup>3</sup>

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as Constantine had attached Cyprus to the Diocesis of the East. The language of the Canon is: *Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις*—"Likewise as regards Antioch and in the other provinces."

<sup>1</sup> The words in quotation marks are from Newman's *Fleury*, vol. ii. p. 170. This sentence, like the preceding, is a pure fiction—having for its object the impressing upon the mind of Alexander the supremacy of Rome, by holding out the bait of an advantage over Constantinople, which was not an "Apostolic See."

<sup>2</sup> Innocent, it will be observed, is instructing the Bishop of Antioch how to carry out a successful usurpation. We do not wish to be wanting in reverence to the memory of Innocent, but this passage reminds us irresistibly of Fagin the Jew, and Oliver Twist.

<sup>3</sup> "Revolventes itaque auctoritatem Nicaenae Synodis, quae una omnium per orbem terrarum explicat mentem sacerdotum, quae censuit de Antiochena ecclesia, cunctis fidelibus, ne dixerim sacerdotibus, esse necessarium custodire, qua super dioecesim suam praedictam ecclesiam, non super aliquam provinciam recognoscimus constitutam. Unde advertimus non tam pro civitatis magnificentia hoc eidem attributum, quam quod prima primi Apostoli sedes esse monstretur, ubi et nomen accepit religio Christiana, et quae conventum apostolorum apud se fieri celeberrimum meruit, quaeque Urbis Romae sedi non cederet, nisi quod illa in transitu meruit, ista susceptum apud se, consumma-



Fleury calls this a Decretal Letter of Pope Innocent. If so, we may learn what authority a General Council attached to such documents, or what credit it gave to a papal assertion concerning facts, by comparing the above with the Eighth Canon of Ephesus.

The application of this principle of legal fiction, however, produced other convenient readings of history besides this of Innocent on the prerogatives of Antioch. When the Patriarchal system was established, or on its way to an establishment, the Sixth Canon of Nicea became a witness to the primitive character of the Roman claim<sup>1</sup> to supremacy; the protectorate of Julius over Athanasius was the exercise of his prerogative of receiving and deciding appeals; the Canons of Sardica were the recognition of an immemorial right; and the transaction of Julius with the deputies of Lampascus was the "submission" of the latter to "the Holy See."

The fact was, that the interference of the Emperors in the affairs of the Church necessitated a change in its whole polity, and was the real cause at work in the development of the Patriarchal system—as the reaction from imperial tyranny eventually produced the Papacy. Under color of convenient legal fictions the Church gradually assimilated its organization to that of the Empire; and the Province, the Dioecesis, and the Patriarchate of the Church became the analogues of the Province, the Dioecesis, and the Praetorian Prefecture of the Empire. When this result had been reached, a struggle was inevitable to decide who should sit on the summit of the pyramid. On the one hand, the Byzantine Emperor, advancing the Patriarch of Constantinople, in outward appearance, to an unrivalled dignity, reduced him in reality to abject slavery; on the other hand, the Bishop of Rome, sitting apart amidst his Western barbarians, directed an incessant warfare against the despot and his

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tumque gaudet. Itaque arbitramur, frater carissime, ut sicut Metropolitanos auctoritate ordinas singulari, sic et ceteros, non sine permissu conscientiae tuae, sinas episcopos procurari. In quibus hunc modum recte servabis, ut longe positos, literis datis, ordinari censeas ab his qui nunc eos suo tantum ordinant arbitratu: vicinos autem, si aestimas, ad manus, impositionem tuae gratiae statuas pervenire. . . . Cyprios sane asseris, olim Arianæ impietatis potentia fatigatos, non tenuisse Nicaenos Canones in ordinandis sibi episcopis et usque adhuc habere praesumptum, ut suo arbitratu ordinent, neminem consulentes. Quocirca persuademus eis, ut curent, Justa Canonum fidem, fidem Catholicam sapere, atque unum cum caeteris sentire provincis, ut appareat Sancti Spiritus gratia ipsos quoque, ut omnes ecclesias, gubernari."—*Innocent I., Letter xviii. in Labbe Concilia, vol. iii. col. 29.*

<sup>1</sup> Some later papalists have even maintained the absurdity that the "suburbicarian Churches" of Ruffinus are all the Churches in the world!



tool, until the great schism of the East and the West rent the Church in twain, and left each of the combatants enthroned upon his own half of the ruins. But throughout the whole long struggle, and to the present day, the whole argument for the Papacy rests upon the assumption that the legal fictions of the ages are the truths of history.



## THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL.

THE literature of the nations of antiquity is, after all, our best guide to a knowledge of the nations themselves. For the ideas of men are better expressed in words than in marble or brass; we know more of a people when we trace the thoughts of their minds, than when we study the works of their hands; last year's file of a New York daily paper can give future ages a better idea of that city than could possibly be gathered from a study of its houses, its offices, its workshops, and its stores, if they could all be suddenly closed and kept untouched for centuries. Pompeii shows us the external part of the life of the Romans and suggests to us a way of imagining something of the springs of action which guided that life; but we feel that we know more of the Greeks than we could ever have learned from a buried Athens or Corinth. The masterly poems of Aristophanes, which an ingenious writer has called "the newspapers of Athens,"<sup>1</sup> give us a view of all that complicated machinery which moved the Greek mind and the Greek hand, and thereby the world. For, as we have just said, what we need to know of any people in order to understand them aright is not so much their food and drink and clothing, their architecture and their coinage, as "their prayers, their fears, their angers, their pleasures, their joys, their fickle pursuits,"<sup>2</sup> the reasons why they

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<sup>1</sup> Walsh's Aristophanes, Pref. p. x. London, 1848. <sup>2</sup> Juvenal, Sat. i. 85.

did what they did and as they did it, and the judgments which they passed upon themselves either accusing or excusing their former actions.

In the partly moralizing, partly humorous, and partly indifferent manner in which our daily paper records our daily news, did Aristophanes tell the Athenians the "new things" of the season. He wrote one heavy article, the "parabasis," corresponding to the "leader" of our day, bearing on the social or political questions which were uppermost in the minds of the Athenians; he gave his audience the latest bits of gossip, the freshest sallies of wit, the choicest bits of humor, sly thrusts at his opponents in politics, open denunciation of those whom he considered the enemies of the State; in short, all that variety which we expect to find in our morning journal. And as we base much of our ordinary conversation each day upon what we read at the breakfast-table, so, we may well suppose, the Athenians talked of the ideas which were suggested by the last comedy or discussed the opinions which were advanced in it, until the next comedy was announced. Thus we know the salient—and therefore the vulnerable—points in the character of the men of whom and for whom Aristophanes wrote. They stand before us, not like the Egyptian mummies in the show-case, but as living, thinking, acting men, having real loves and hates and desires and fears, with noble points of character and yet practising abominable sins, strong in some points and very weak in others; in short, allowing for the change of times and manners, very like ourselves. The old comedian has taught us to know the men of whom he wrote, and, spite of all their faults, to feel strongly drawn toward them, and often to love them.

If our readers agree with us in this opinion, we think that they will not be unwilling to look elsewhere than to the photographs of ancient ruins or to the voluminous dissertations on "Antiquities" for their best ideas of the Romans of the Commonwealth and the Empire. Unfortunately, however, the Republic produced no great authors who wrote of men and things as they saw them; or, at least, no writings of this kind have come down to us. And, as a consequence, such ideas of that important time as we possess, are either the frigid suggestions of the cold-blooded annalist, or the untrustworthy imaginations of our own brains attempting to galvanize these suggestions into something resembling life. But the men of the Empire we know, even if we can rarely love them. They are persons, not only living in houses and eating and drinking, but loving and hating, hoping and fearing, doing noble and mean acts, exhibit-

ing grand—because religious—traits of character and descending to wickedness the accounts of which we are unwilling to believe and sometimes (to our credit be it said) cannot understand. We know of what they thought; we see the hidden springs which guided their actions; we sympathize with them, in so far at least as we learn that they were of flesh and blood like ourselves, sharing with us in a corrupt nature, exposed like us to temptations, and often falling—as who shall say we may not fall?—into disgraceful sins. We know the men of the Rome and the Pompeii of the first century; yet not alone, or chiefly, from what may be seen in the museums or in the once buried streets; we know them because they and their character have been painted for us in the undying words of JUVENAL. The third of the great Roman Satirists, the greatest of them all, is for that part of the world and that age what Aristophanes is for the Athenians of the days of Socrates and of Cleon. Nay, he is much more than this, by as much as the pencil of the painter is more accurate than the description of the speaker, by as much as the tongue of the preacher is more severe and searching than the voice of the comedian.

The Satirist places us by his side in the thronged part of the streets and bids us note what we see. As men and women pass by, he tells us what they are and what they do. The man who has made himself rich by forging wills, the woman who shows her neighbors more skilfully than *Locusta* could do it how to bury their poisoned husbands, the unscrupulous lawyer, the selfish delator, the spoiler of his ward, the condemned but unpunished plunderer of a province, the panderer for legacies, the successful criminal—they are all realities to us.<sup>1</sup> And we do not believe that it is by accident that we happen to see them on the street just now; it is a fair sample of what would meet our eyes on any other corner and at any other hour; and a pencil as bold and as truthful as Hogarth's sketches the picture, and a tongue as vehement as that of the golden-mouthed Patriarch of Constantinople draws the moral. "Indignation makes the verse;" but it is not because "nature denies her aid;"<sup>2</sup> and we feel that the awful days of which the poet writes are realities; we are ashamed of them, as if we were living in them; we hide our eyes from the picture, as if we were afraid of seeing ourselves portrayed in it; we writhe under the denunciations which we hear, as if we thought that the next sentence might cut us to the quick. Juvenal is the painter and the preacher of his time. And the fact that he is so truthful both to what he saw and to his own con-

<sup>1</sup> i. 22-78.<sup>2</sup> i. 79.

victions of right has given him a desirable and honorable popularity. The monk of the middle age and the divine of our own time, the pedantic scholar and the pleasure-seeking reader of the classics, the writer of articles for the encyclopaedia, and the student of men, all are drawn by a strange attraction to the sixteen satires of the Poet of Aquinum.<sup>1</sup> The satires are destined, we believe, to become more widely read and better understood, and therefore more fully appreciated and more popular, and at last to be recognized as the best exponents of the character of one of the most important periods in the world's history, being, as they are, among the most searching and truthful sermons which were ever preached from the pulpit of Natural Religion.

And, indeed, why should we, who believe the truths of Christianity, be unwilling to recognize the truths of natural religion? The latter is, as really as the former, a revelation from God; and when Christianity came into the world, it did not abrogate natural religion; but rather, as Bishop Butler has so well shown, it gave it a new sanction and called attention again to what had been once known, but was in part at least forgotten.<sup>2</sup> It deepened its convictions of duty; it added weight to its threatenings and denunciations; it showed a way in which forgiveness and help might be secured. But the feeling of obligation, the sense of sin, and the dread of punishment were not brought into existence by a written law or by the revelation of the Gospel. They all had a place, and a very real place, in the teachings and the workings of Natural Religion. The heathen knew that covetousness and murder and lust were sins; they suffered from the tortures of a guilty conscience; they knew that God's dreadful judgment hung over the sinner. It seems strange that Christians should be unwilling to recognize these important truths, though they are, as St. Paul shows in words to which we shall presently have occasion to refer, of the utmost importance in establishing the revelation in which they believe.

We look at Juvenal, therefore, as a teacher of Natural Religion. We see no reason for assuming, as some have done, in the face of all the facts which almost demonstrate the contrary, that the passages in which he teaches a high morality or urges exalted truth were inspired by a knowledge of the revelation<sup>3</sup> which had been given to

<sup>1</sup> It is beside our purpose to enter into a discussion of the theory by which Ribbeck would separate the writings of the "true Juvenal" from those of the "declamator;" it will be sufficiently evident from what we have to say, that we do not assent to it.

<sup>2</sup> Analogy, Part II. chap. 1, 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Gifford on Sat. xiii.; and read by all means Maclean's masterly reply in his introduction to this Satire.

the world but a few years before he wrote. And we notice, in the first place, his conviction of the sinfulness of sin and the powerful words in which he endeavors to impress that conviction upon others. As he describes those awful sins of the flesh<sup>1</sup> of which "it is a shame even to speak,"<sup>2</sup> or denounces drunkenness,<sup>3</sup> or shows the meanness of luxury,<sup>4</sup> or protests against the base avarice of his day,<sup>5</sup> or lifts his voice in favor of a nobler and a holier education of youth,<sup>6</sup> or scathes the fawning flattery which preferred money and purple to friendship and truth and honesty<sup>7</sup>—how awfully he shows himself in earnest, how fully he realizes that he is engaged in a real contest with a real enemy, how deeply he is assured that truth and right are on his side! And though he draws the picture with a bold pencil, it is not that he may gloat his eyes with the foul representation; it is that he may show, in all its native ugliness, the deformity and the repulsiveness of sin. "Nos utinam vani!"<sup>8</sup> is written on every page; but, if Rome would be shamed by vile Canopus;<sup>9</sup> if an Empress is a common prostitute,<sup>10</sup> or goes through the semblance of a formal marriage with a paramour;<sup>11</sup> if Senators are flatterers;<sup>12</sup> if a self-exiled Emperor is living a shameful life with his Chaldean herd on the rocks of Capreae;<sup>13</sup> if the poor man has no liberty except that of being thrashed, and no hope of compassion or justice or of a better lot;<sup>14</sup> if fathers and mothers are killed in cold blood;<sup>15</sup> if honest men are scarcely as many in number as the gates of Thebes or the mouths of the Nile;<sup>16</sup> if the age, in short, has become so bad that there is no metal base enough to give it a suitable name;<sup>17</sup> then, indeed, the preacher has a right to speak, and cannot but speak: "*difficile est satiram non scribere.*"<sup>18</sup>

And, as the heathen writer testifies to the conviction of sin, so he bears witness to the condemning and threatening voice of conscience. Human words have never depicted more terribly the stings of conscience than those which the satirist uses in writing to his friend, Calvinus.<sup>19</sup> It does not follow, he argues, that because the Praetor acquits a criminal, he goes free of all punishment. The judges of the nether world never invented a torture which can equal that of the man who carries within his bosom a witness against himself.

<sup>1</sup> vi. ; ix.<sup>2</sup> Ephesians, v. 12.<sup>3</sup> iii. 278; vi. 300.<sup>4</sup> i. 135.<sup>5</sup> xiv. 107.<sup>6</sup> xiv.<sup>7</sup> iii. 100; v. 132; xii. 93.<sup>8</sup> vi. 638.<sup>9</sup> vi. 84.<sup>10</sup> vi. 114.<sup>11</sup> x. 329.<sup>12</sup> iv. 72.<sup>13</sup> x. 93.<sup>14</sup> iii. 284, 203, 164.<sup>15</sup> xiv. 248; viii. 211.<sup>16</sup> xiii. 26.<sup>17</sup> xiii. 30.<sup>18</sup> i. 30. <sup>19</sup> xiii.



“Why must those be thought to ‘scape,  
 Whom guilt, arrayed in every dreadful shape,  
 Still urges, and whom conscience, ne’er asleep,  
 Wounds with incessant strokes, not loud but deep,  
 While the vexed mind, her own tormentor, plies  
 A scorpion scourge, unmarked by human eyes!  
 Trust me, no punishment the poets feign,  
 Can match the fierce, th’ unutterable pain  
 He feels, who night and day, devoid of rest,  
 Carries his own accuser in his breast.”<sup>1</sup>

The guilty man cannot swallow his food from fear; he cannot close his eyes without seeing the altar of the divinity by whom he has perjured himself, and—worse than that—the shape of the man whom he has wronged; he is afraid of the thunder, and if one bolt has fallen without striking him, he thinks the next more likely to be the messenger of vengeance; he is frightened at every little pain of body, and dares not pray to be relieved from it; he learns by experience that the gods are neither deaf nor blind.<sup>2</sup> And the argument is of a similar nature when the poet shows how man differs from beasts in that he has “*animus*” as well as “*animam*,” a soul as well as the breath of life, a nature which is inclined to reverence and able to receive divine things, a perception which came down from heaven’s high towers, and argues that therefore men ought to defend each other and not to exhibit less fellow-feeling than the lion, the boar, the tiger, and the bear show for their kin. “You cannot find,” he says, “a punishment severe enough for such a crime” as that in which natural feeling is disregarded.<sup>3</sup> Thus he shows that men knew that they were sinning, and yet went on their way in open defiance of such warnings as came from the voice of conscience, and without fear of the dreadful torment which they knew it could inflict.

Thus the mind of Juvenal and of those for whom he wrote was led to the conviction of sin and to the denunciation of merited punishment. And they looked even further than the present world. As the great Hebrew prophet described the descent of the fallen king of Babylon into the world below, when the grave “stirred up all the dead to meet him, even all the chief ones of the earth,” that all might join in the chorus of “triumphant insultation;”<sup>4</sup> so the Roman satirist bids us think of the reception which one of the men of his day will meet as he passes into the realm below, and sees the Stygian pool and its dusky oarsman—how Curius and the Scipios, Fabricius

<sup>1</sup> xiii. 192. Our poetical translations are from Gifford.

<sup>2</sup> xiii. 210.

<sup>3</sup> xv. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Isaiah, xiv. 4.

and Camillus, the brave men who fell at Cremera and at Cannae, will rise up to repel such a shade, or will seek to be purified from the pollution which it cannot fail to bring.<sup>1</sup>

Here Natural Religion is forced to stop. It can, indeed, show the need of a reformation; it can call upon men to make at least one effort more to wash out the stain or to cut away the festering wound, as Juvenal pleads for justice and truth and right; but, alas! in his day such a plea was but a note of despair; there was no hope of a change for the better. Even the easy-going Epicurean of the days of Augustus felt or thought he felt that everything would soon be past recovery:

“Aetas parentum, pejor avis, tulit  
Nos nequiores, mox daturos  
Progeniem vitiosiore.”<sup>2</sup>

In Domitian's day the prophecy of Horace had been fulfilled; and we are confounded as we think of the awfulness of the sins which were practised then, and of the depth of debasement into which men had fallen. But our terror will be increased if we are able to put ourselves in the satirist's position, and to see how hopeless everything seemed. The few good men, like Crispus with his gentle nature, never lifted a hand against the surging torrent of corruption or dared to speak their minds or to lay down their lives for the truth.<sup>3</sup> If the strength of Natural Religion is shown in the satirist's noble, burning words, its weakness appears at the same time. It can tell of sin, but it knows no way of obtaining forgiveness; it can persuade of the necessity of reformation, but it cannot furnish the strength which is needed to effect a change of principle and of action; and so, after all, it can but sit down in despair and weep over the ruins of former nobility and of perished greatness, and cry aloud for a Deliverer greater than man to point out a way of salvation.

Another writer, describing the condition of the heathen world at about the same time, and writing with the express intention of convincing the inhabitants of Rome of their sins, has left us a picture which we shall do well to compare with that of Juvenal. We know of no better commentary on the last half of the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans than is to be found in the poems of which we are writing. We close our eyes with horror as the Apostle shows us how the Gentiles, not glorifying God nor giving Him thanks, became fools, and were given up by God to uncleanness; we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that in his description

<sup>1</sup> ii. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, Od. III. vi. 46.

<sup>3</sup> iv. 89.

he is not exaggerating the evils of the time, or at least looking too exclusively on one side of the picture; and we ask ourselves if it is possible that a whole nation could have been abandoned to do in so frightful and repulsive a manner *τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα*.<sup>1</sup> But the satirist assures us that the Apostle has expressed himself in very moderate language; that he was ashamed to give us more than the outline of the character of the men "who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them."<sup>2</sup> The words of the sixth and the ninth satires may not be quoted here; in fact, we doubt if they should ever be read aloud anywhere; but they will repay the careful study of the Christian student, who would realize the strength of the foes with which the religion of the Nazarene was obliged to contend, and the greatness of the victory which it was able to win. And he will learn besides, as very likely he never learned before, how great a need there was for Christianity when it came into the world, not only to reform sinners and abolish sin, but also to preserve the few germs of truth and of right feeling which had been so nearly destroyed, not only "to terminate the evil," but also "to diadem the right."<sup>3</sup>

In all the points to which we have thus far alluded, we have designed to show that Juvenal was a man terribly in earnest. Yet we hope that we have not seemed to speak of him as if he was lacking in kindly sentiment or far removed from sympathy with his fellow-men. He was not—and who would wish to have him?—devoid of prejudice. Witness the contemptuous way in which he speaks of the Greeks and the Orientals, as dregs which had been emptied into the city,<sup>4</sup> and the abomination which he has for the Greek language—"omnia Graece!"<sup>5</sup> See how he goes out of his way to make sport of Greek history and legends; how the mention of Xerxes suggests to him "the daring tales which lying Greece puts in her history;"<sup>6</sup> and how the legend of the origin of the Thebans is brought in with a contemptuous "*si Graecia vera*."<sup>7</sup> Or see how he despises the Jews with their "basket and hay for furniture,"<sup>8</sup> among whom

"Kings the Sabbath, barefoot, celebrate,  
And old indulgence grants a length of life  
To hogs, that fatten fearless of the knife;"<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Romans, i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Romans, i. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Neale's Celestial Country.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 60.

<sup>5</sup> vi. 186.

<sup>6</sup> x. 173.

<sup>7</sup> xiv. 240.

<sup>8</sup> iii. 14; vi. 542.

vi. 159.

how their "laws of Solyma,"

"Tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moses,"

are maligned and misrepresented, yet (it must be confessed) interpreted in accordance with the perverse actions and the corrupt traditions of the Jews of that time, who had forsaken the kindly precepts of the law for the comfortable maxim, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy."<sup>1</sup> Or, once again, see how Juvenal plays the part of a "laudator temporis acti,"<sup>2</sup> in commending the days when Rome, "under kings and tribunes, needed but one prison," as if there was no crime and no corruption then;<sup>3</sup> as if nothing led to offences against God or man, "ad scelus atque nefas," except the purple of which the hardy Marsian spoke:

"Ne'er think of ill; 'tis purple, boys, alone,  
Which leads to every crime, purple, to us unknown."<sup>4</sup>

Yet we think none the worse of our poet for being a "good hater;" we rather admire his deep convictions, his reverence for truth, and his determination to uphold it at every hazard.

Nor ought we to forget that, with all Juvenal's earnest and severe—and prejudiced—denunciation of sin, there is a deep vein of kindly sentiment which runs through his writings. He can see the beauty of nature and complain that the grass and native rock about the fountain in the vale of Egeria have been displaced ("violata") by the marbles, and that the divinity has been thus dishonored;<sup>5</sup> he can draw the beautiful picture of the mother swallow, hungry herself, yet flying with full mouth to feed her young;<sup>6</sup> he can remind the man who thinks that no one is looking on his disgrace, that the moon sees it, and the stars are witnesses;<sup>7</sup> he can sympathize with the hard lot of teachers, and pray for green grass and blooming crocuses on the graves of those who held such men "sancti parentis loco;"<sup>8</sup> he can appreciate the fact that "nature, who gave us tears for others' woes, proves thereby that she gave us tender hearts," and thus "separated us from the herd of dumb beasts;" and can go on to draw a beautiful sketch of his idea of the origin of communities and of civil government, as based on this feeling of sympathy;<sup>9</sup> he can, in fine, teach us a lesson of humanity by bidding us remember that even a slave is a man, and has a soul and a body made of the same material as ours, and of like

<sup>1</sup> xiv. 100; St. Matthew, v. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, Epist. ad Pisones, 173.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 313.

<sup>4</sup> xiv. 187.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 18.

<sup>6</sup> x. 231.

<sup>7</sup> viii. 149.

<sup>8</sup> vii. 207.

<sup>9</sup> xv. 131.

elements.<sup>1</sup> Thus we see that in his preaching he appreciates the beautiful and the good in nature and in man, and is by no means unable or unwilling to appeal to the nobler impulses and the truer instincts which form the only foundation on which Natural Religion can undertake to lay the frame-work of reformation.

In writing at so great length of Juvenal as the preacher, let it not be thought that we have forgotten that we were also to treat of him as the painter. In point of fact, his best sermons are his best pictures; or, rather, like Hogarth, when he guides his pencil most faithfully to nature, he acts best the part of a teacher. Yet there are sketches thrown in, as it were, by the way, which seem to be intended to convey no direct moral lesson, and which yet are very pleasing and very instructive, because they are the means of telling us so much about the men and the manners of his day. For instance, the successful plea of the rich freedman to be assigned a place before the sacred but poor Tribunes;<sup>2</sup> the sufferings of the Christians at the stake;<sup>3</sup> the dangers and discomforts of the city of Rome;<sup>4</sup> the characters of the different senators who come at the summons of Domitian to consult about the turbot;<sup>5</sup> the dismal, smoky room of the teacher, and the still more dismal and unpleasant routine through which he is forced to go;<sup>6</sup> the drinking-shop where Caesar is obliged to look for his legate when the armies are to be sent against the enemy, and where the legate is to be found keeping company with executioners and coffin-makers and drunken priests;<sup>7</sup> the way in which private secretaries and cooks and carvers tell the nearest inn-keeper all that is supposed to be most secret;<sup>8</sup> the patrician of old days, thrice consul and once dictator, who came home a little earlier than usual on festal days, carrying his spade on his shoulder;<sup>9</sup> the storm in which Catullus was so frightened that he threw overboard all his most valuable and least heavy merchandise;<sup>10</sup> the contrast which Vulcan, wiping from his face the soot of his forge, offers to the fair cup-bearer, Hebe;<sup>11</sup> the pigmies who never laugh at each other because they are all of a size<sup>12</sup>—are all vividly described; and from such pictures we learn more of the lives and the thoughts of men than could ever be gathered from the study of antiquities or the dissertations of men who attempt to make everything as they think it ought to be.

Nor should we omit to notice the vein of humor which runs

<sup>1</sup> vi. 221; xiv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> i. 99.

<sup>3</sup> i. 155.

<sup>4</sup> iii.

<sup>5</sup> iv.

<sup>6</sup> vii.

<sup>7</sup> viii. 167.

<sup>8</sup> ix. 104.

<sup>9</sup> xi. 86.

<sup>10</sup> xii.

<sup>11</sup> xiii. 43.

<sup>12</sup> xiii. 167.

through the Satires. We are decidedly of the opinion that sturdy English common-sense can best enter into the spirit of Juvenal and understand him; and we think also that English appreciation of humor would have saved many a foolish note on the part of commentators. There are times when he uses an expression simply for the sake of giving a ridiculous turn to what he is saying, when he sets the mind of the reader on a certain path, and then obliges him to turn around suddenly and face in another direction. The dry commentator cannot appreciate this *ἀπροσδόκητον*, and so is not prepared to "expect something quite unexpected" at every turn. But the reader will never understand Juvenal until he knows that he sometimes talks nonsense, and does it intentionally too; that he can use bathos with great effect; and that he can indulge in well-affected raillery. How he urges Hannibal to pursue his journey over the Alps

"To please the rhetoricians, and become  
A declamation for the boys of Rome!"<sup>1</sup>

How he puts as the worst of the terrors of the cruel city "poets reciting in the month of August!"<sup>2</sup> How he badgers his poor friend who has a design of marriage, and asks him if there is no rope to be had, no window open, no bridge to be found!<sup>3</sup> How he suggests that the waiter at Virro's table is not a man whom you would like to meet in the burying-ground in the middle of the night!<sup>4</sup> How he pities the sadness of Pollio who offered to pay triple interest, but could find no fools!<sup>5</sup> How he speaks of Claudius swallowing Agrippina's mushroom and descending to heaven!<sup>6</sup> How he has set the scholiasts and commentators at work guessing who was the nurse of Anchises and the step-mother of somebody whose name varies in the manuscripts!<sup>7</sup>

But it must suffice that we have given a few examples out of the many which lie at our hand. And we can but suggest the idea that the fact that Juvenal abounds in sentences which are of the nature of proverbs and which are easily fixed in the memory goes far to account for his popularity. We shall only add, that we cannot believe that men, especially Englishmen, will ever cease to read the works of the greatest of Roman Satirists, until the time comes when what he wrote will cease to be applicable to the men who are met and the things which are seen in the daily occupations and business of life. While our cities are as dangerous as the Rome of Nero's day;<sup>8</sup> while parasites crouch for food at the tables of the rich;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> x. 166. <sup>2</sup> iii. 9. <sup>3</sup> vi. 28. <sup>4</sup> v. 54. <sup>5</sup> ix. 7. <sup>6</sup> vi. 620. <sup>7</sup> vii. 234. <sup>8</sup> iii. <sup>9</sup> v.

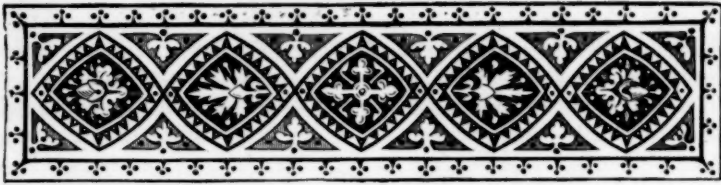


while divorces are granted with frightful frequency;<sup>1</sup> while men live to make money and affirm that gold smells sweet no matter whence it comes;<sup>2</sup> while trusts are violated and widows and orphans are robbed;<sup>3</sup> while police courts are held from morning till night;<sup>4</sup> while boys are taught vices by example and avarice by precept;<sup>5</sup> while men pray for what can only harm them;<sup>6</sup> while "conscience doth make cowards of us all;"<sup>7</sup> in short, while our poor human nature is what it is, Juvenal will be read. And as he gives us much instruction concerning the Romans of his own day, he will also preach us many solemn sermons and portray us in such faithful representation that we shall at least acknowledge that the work of reformation in us must be begun by some Power above ourselves; nay, we venture to say that oftentimes the wrath of God will be so "revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men,"<sup>8</sup> that we shall better appreciate that way of escape which is pointed out to us in the revelation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> vi. 146. <sup>2</sup> xii. 50; xiv. 204. <sup>3</sup> xiii. <sup>4</sup> xiii. 157. <sup>5</sup> xiv. <sup>6</sup> x. <sup>7</sup> xiii.

<sup>8</sup> Romans, i. 18.



## CATHOLICISM AND THE VATICAN.

CATHOLICISM AND THE VATICAN; with a narrative of the Old Catholic Congress at Munich. By J. Lowry Whittle, A.M. London: Henry S. King & Co., 65 Cornhill.

TO look at the Old Catholics from a Protestant stand-point has now become quite a common affair—so common, indeed, that if this book contained matter which Protestants generally are familiar with, we should never have touched it. But it is the work of a veritable Romanist, or, as he prefers to style himself, “a Catholic;” a name, by the way, which we are perfectly willing to accord him and his friends, if we may be permitted to share it with them. But to call a man by the worst ecclesiastical name you can fling at him—the name of heretic—and then expect him to recompense the insult by bestowing upon its perpetrator one of the best ecclesiastical names possible, is requiring of poor halting human nature a generosity which borders on the miraculous. And it was always one of our sorest puzzles, that the votaries of a Pope should throw the outrageous epithet “heretic” broadcast, and then indulge a groan, parallel to a Puritan whine, because they were not repaid with the honorable, the glorious appellation, “Catholic.” But the difficulty is a chronic one, and we no more expect to have it put an end to, than we expect the final departure of rheumatism and the influenza.

Our author is an “Old Catholic,” and, in his own estimation,

quite a sturdy one. He is also an Irishman. He is, as his academical degree assures us, a man of liberal education. He is a layman, and, as we are informed, a barrister. To look through such a man's spectacles at the new ecclesiastical wonder, Old Catholicism, is "an indulgence" which we never expected to have accorded those spiritual unfortunates whom Mr. Orestes Brownson dubs "non-Catholics." But this book furnishes us the happy opportunity; and we hope to have, for awhile, the company of sympathetic readers, while we examine the unique curiosity, and expatiate upon the phases of affairs ecclesiastical, which it arrays for our review.

Mr. Whittle, lawyer-like, has no appetency for hearsay testimony. He has not squatted in his office in Erin, and gathered up the reports which have floated over from Continental Europe on the wings of a newspaper. By no means. By no manner of means. He would judge of Old Catholicism as an embodied and practical affair, and at the fountain-head of its influences; or, as its foes would say, its devices. He formed an acquaintance with the venerable Von Döllinger, and hied himself away to Munich, to see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears—taking jottings accordingly.

And none the less of an Irishman was he when breathing German air and listening to German arguments and oratory. The essence of Erindom is so concocted in him that you can see it dripping and crystallizing on every page; and his very last words are a burst of patriotism, as earnest and devoted and confident as that which glowed in the bosom of Robert Emmett. "This school of cultured Catholicism, which Germany now promises the Church, may enable Ireland at last to attain that end she has sought, through so many centuries of misery and suffering, and is still seeking—the enjoyment of Christian communion in peace from the intrigues of politicians, or the fanaticism of theologians" (p. 110).

Mr. Whittle is anxious (as doubtless he does well to be), before he gives us a picture of Old Catholicism, its apprehensions, designs, and issues, to show what *that* shape of Romanism, or Vaticanism, or Italianism is, against which it has uprisen, and with which it means not to contend only, but to do, if necessary, valorous and exhaustive battle. If Romanism has always been *the same*; if its pretended "Catholicism" has always, and everywhere, and by all competent judges, been esteemed *the same*, *i. e.*, genuinely and unmistakably Catholic; then Old Catholicism, if a dissenter from

it, has made a prodigious chronological mistake, and should subside into silence and oblivion. If, however, Romanism is one thing, and genuine Catholicism is quite another thing, then the position of *Old Catholicism* is a very clear one, and one logically definable and defensible. It can show (be Romanism what it now is or assumes to be) that it is a parallel to Catholicism, when Catholicism was palpable, yet uncontaminated. And really—people should understand it exactly and beyond all possible mistake—this is what *Old Catholicism* professes to aim at, and designs to achieve. Its claim is that Rome has changed her own professed ground, has swung loose from primitive moorings, has transcended established law, has contradicted history, has thrust in novelties, and then demanded for them a homage which she has no more right to require than Nebuchadnezzar had a right to require prostration before his gorgeous image, erected on the plain of Dura.

Well, if this be actually so, then one never need tell a lawyer, pressing a claim for a client, founded on ancient and well-established precedents, that he must offset the claim of an opponent, appealing to the same precedents, by showing that his opponent has mistaken or perverted his authorities. The Italian or Vatican Catholic makes the same appeal which is made by the *Old Catholic*. And on that appeal the *Old Catholic* joins issue with him, most confidently and staidly. The Italian Catholic, or Vaticanist, interprets the constitution of The Primitive Church as if it were an imperial monarchy, and not a republic, or a society of republics. As if—so runs the decree of July 18, 1870—as if “definitions of the Roman Pontiff are final in themselves, and not from the consent of the Church” (p. 2). Whereas, nothing can well be plainer, from the very Acts of The Apostles themselves, than that the College of The Apostles—and still less the head of that College, if self-consequential—never acted as if holding supremacy in their own hands, but as if sharing it with deliberative bodies. A new apostle, though his commission come from Heaven and not from earth, is not inaugurated without the formal summoning of an assembly to designate and recommend him. Not so much as a deacon is installed in his humble office, till a deliberative body has made selection of him. A grand question of discipline is not settled but in an ecclesiastical legislature, where apostles appear as debaters and not dictators, and where the canon agreed upon goes with—whatever emphasis it has besides—with the voice of “the whole Church” resounding it (Acts, xv. 22).

So patent is all this, that even Gibbon, with all his rank and rankling toryism, and hatred of the democratic proclivities of our

colonial ancestors, does not hesitate to pronounce ancient Christendom not so much as a limited monarchy, but rather an out-and-out republic.<sup>1</sup> He even puts among his five secondary causes for the marvellous, if not miraculous, success of early Christianity, its decided and unmistakable republican character. We could scarcely conceive of the concentration of staring and sneering, with which he would greet the presumptuous historian who should venture to claim ancient Christendom for an empire, with a single autocratical head—a downright ecclesiastical Caesar.

Nevertheless, this is the construction which Italian Christianity—and we are much gratified to see that Mr. Whittle has got so far ahead of most of his contemporaries as to speak coolly of an Italian Church and of religious Italianisms—gives to the most ancient precedents for Church government. This is its pronounced constitution for Christendom, regarded as a whole, and as a great outspread, world-wide fellowship. Italian Christianity would fain make Christendom—the idea cannot be brought forward too prominently, or too frequently be insisted on—an empire, and the Pope its unshackled emperor, or, rather, its inapproachable despot.

And such a construction of Christendom, so Mr. Whittle argues, as if he were a Protestant Episcopalian, “destroys the whole theory of the Episcopacy. Each bishop becomes only the local agent of the Pope” (p. 3). Nay, he goes further; for evidently his lawyer-like habits and studies have enabled him to look at matters with a politician’s eye, and to weigh them with a politician’s forecast. He declares, in so many words, that this construction is a revolutionary act—is verily a “sweeping away, with the consent of the Episcopacy, of the whole constitution of the Latin Church;” and he estimates such a shearing demolition as “one of the most remarkable facts the modern historian could record!” And why? Because, “all the rights and privileges of separate orders in the Church are abolished. All the customs of local or national Churches, the relations of the parish priest to his flock, to his bishop, of the bishops to each other, of the various National Churches to the Papacy; the whole Canon Law which elaborately regulated all these relations; all these institutions of the Church have a significance,

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<sup>1</sup> Many Americans are not aware that Gibbon was an enemy to the liberties of their country, and disposed to sustain the British ministry in their most violent efforts to put them down. Gibbon was a genuine Sadducee. The Sadducees believed in no accountability, and so made their punishments excessive.

so far only as the Pope may permit, in each particular case. According to this dogma [about the supremacy and infallibility], those who for so many centuries relied on the Canon Law as a limitation of the power of the Popes, as a guarantee of special rights of bishops and of priests, and of local Churches, were violating the ordinances of God!" (pp. 3 and 4.) Mr. Whittle is as acute an ecclesiastical statesman as Archbishop De Dominis in his famous Church Polity; and if Rome could have got him within her grasp, with the capabilities she wielded three centuries ago, he would have perished (as the Archbishop did) by poison, or in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

From all this it appears perfectly manifest that the grandest objection of Old Catholicism to the Episcopacy of Rome, is, simply, that this sort of Episcopacy erects Christendom into a consolidated empire, of which the Bishop of Rome is the imperial, and, whenever he speaks, the never-to-be-questioned head. And this—singular as some may think it—was Calvin's chief objection to the Episcopacy, nestling in the city of seven hills. For, to a reduced Episcopacy, to one simply republican, he was by no means hostile. Nay, as he said explicitly, he could tolerate archbishops; while, upon those who would not allow a republican Episcopacy, he showered a characteristic anathema. Calvin would have absolutely denounced a man who could quarrel with such a modest Episcopacy as that of our Empire State; where, by the side of *one* civil bishop, in the shape of a governor, there are no less than *five* who are ecclesiastical<sup>1</sup> (*Long's Calvinus Redivivus*).

All Protestants then—as we take it—whether Episcopalians as we ourselves are, or such as are willing to accept the great Genevan as an umpire, ought to admit that the Old Catholics have started right, with a determination to reduce Episcopacy to a primitive model; and now let us see whether, in their ideas about ecclesiasti-

<sup>1</sup> The grand objection of multitudes to Episcopacy is, that it is "a one-man power." Why, this one-man power pervades the Republic, from the presidency of a country bank, up to the Presidency of the great Nation. Presbyterianism is an oligarchy; and if oligarchies are preferable to one-man powers, then we must displace our mayors, our governors, and our president, and substitute common councils and cabinets. As to Congregationalism, that does not pretend to govern, it only advises. And its advice, so far as we know, is about as influential as haphazard private judgments. We could not well have a stronger illustration of this, than has been afforded by the late Brooklyn Council, in its dealings with Mr. Beecher and his great congregation. If Episcopalians have (as it is said) made too much of Church government, certainly Congregationalists have reduced it to a *minimum*.



cal law-making, they are not quite as moderate, sensible, accurate, and unpretending.

Ecclesiastical law-making, with a disciple of the Italian or Vatican school, resides in the breast of the Bishop of Rome only. But to dust the eyes of the unlearned public, the Jesuits would fain make a nice distinction between a Pope speaking as a man, and a Pope speaking *ex cathedra*, as the Church's lawgiver. This is fancied to be a wonderfully learned distinction, and its announcement a discovery equal to that of Christopher Columbus, when he "gave a new world to Castile and Leon." As if such a simple distinction had not been known from the very days of Moses; who, when he spake as Moses simply, might have uttered such an Irish bull as our translators of the Bible, when they wrote of dead corpses rising up at matins, and of the fellow-voyagers of St. Paul as *gaining* harm and loss! But when Moses spake for God, as if in God's curule chair, then his voice was tantamount to that on Sinai, and as potential as Sinai's fire and thunder. As if such a distinction were not exemplified continually in our chief court of judicature, where the private opinion of a judge may amount to nothing, but the united voice of the bench commits the Nation.

The distinction, however, makes the best excuse yet invented for an erring Pope; as, for example, for Pope Honorius, whose public condemnation for error is now freely admitted, but whose expressed opinions, it is said, were private opinions, did not commit the Church, and were not infallible. Be it so, if the Jesuits prefer to have it so. But if the opinions of Honorius were but harmless private opinions, why bring the whole force of the Church down upon them, to stigmatize and blast them? If they were but the notions of a common individual, it would be very easy to say so, and to let them die peaceably, as if no better than the contemplations of a Quietist. But they were anything else. They were the opinions of a Pope, speaking with the influence of a Pope,—and hence the Church's protest and the Church's stigma must be brought to bear upon them, to render them at once infamous and innocuous. The Jesuits, with all their cleverness, are so eager that they have never learned how to manage a two-edged sword.

Wherefore there is no hiding the perilous assumption of infallibility, by pretending that there is a wide difference between a Pope's private and official utterances. The hiding makes the Pope no safer for mankind than the nominal distinction between his temporal and spiritual powers. St. Thomas Aquinas's doctrine of concomitancy might blend them into seeming unity, yet the practical

result about the two powers has been, that when either needed bolstering, one worked *with* the other;<sup>1</sup> but when responsibility was to be avoided or evaded, then a retreat was made from the shelter of one or the other, as exigencies demanded. And this twofold, Protean, shifting, shuffling, masquerading character of the Papacy has rendered it the most unmanageable, not to say pestiferous government on earth, to any politician in the habit of appealing to, and relying on, a solid standard. The Pope's standard changes its ground, *ad libitum*; and you can no more catch it than poor Paddy could catch his flea. For we should never catch his infallibility—even if we admitted it—unless it was his choice, or his contrivance, to have us do so. When his utterances need excuse, they will be pronounced private affairs, like the personal opinions of Honorius. When they need buttressing, some ponderous decisions of councils will be thrown around a recusant's neck, to drown him in the depths of a dead sea.

The Old Catholics will permit no Pope, either as a governor or lawgiver, to become a fountain of ecclesiastical authority, or the proclaimer of an ultimate will. For to them he is on a false throne, and speaks with no potential voice—unless it be as the executor of a will above himself, in the shape of ecclesiastical canons. They would accord him dignity enough to satisfy any ordinary mortal craving. They would not have the slightest objection to his being the mouth-piece of ecumenical councils, and ecumenical canon law. They would willingly yield him (as such) the place of a *censor morum*, and *conservator fidei*; a place which belongs, in his sphere, to every bishop of a diocese, and every rector of a parish. But most distinctly—in their view—he is not an Emperor; and most especially not an Emperor authorized to issue *ukases*, as if the Czar of Christendom.

Such *ukases* are, to them, stark novelties. Such *ukases* are inconsistent with Catholic teaching, as Mr. Whittle says—so novel in fact, and so inconsistent, that even the Isle of the Saints rejects them utterly! Capitally done for Ireland, if Barrister Whittle may be her

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<sup>1</sup> Concomitancy is a favorite doctrine of the Jesuits; but here again they miss the double edge. If concomitancy can so unite the two elements of the Eucharist that the reception of one is the enjoyment of both, it can work the same happy change or interchange for the two elements of the Pope's power—the temporal and the spiritual. So if he loses the temporal, apparently, he can still virtually hold on to its enjoyment. We wish the good old gentleman, in these hard times, all the comfort which concomitancy can afford him.

fair and true interpreter! But here he is encountered with a brusque and stout denial. Father Dalgairns flies on Roman wings to the rescue, and declares, as if he could utter the scream of an eagle, "No new or arbitrary power has been put into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff. He judges according to the ancient rules of the Catholic faith" (p. 7). But Mr. Whittle is completely at home in the arena of denials and special pleading. He can talk bouncingly as well as Father Dalgairns. Thus he meets him in unmistakable vernacular:

"Amongst the Catholic people of Ireland, the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was never thought of, as an article of belief, until the time of the meeting of the Vatican Assembly. In the ordinary catechisms, or books of devotion, no such doctrine was hinted at. It was known to the masses of the Catholic people as a question which had been raised to prevent their admission to civil rights. In this light it was alluded to, in one or two books, expressly to be repudiated. Catholics knew that, in earlier days, when the Church was exposed to severe laws, and bore an evil name amongst other creeds in our country, ecclesiastics had been at some pains to disabuse the public mind of the delusion, that such doctrines had any connection with the Catholic faith. Protestant misapprehension, Protestant prejudice, according to the phrase current amongst Catholics, made it necessary for us to defend ourselves *then* against the charge of believing in Papal Infallibility. We were grateful for the work, which the clergy of that time had done, and rejoiced that it had been done so effectually, as to clear us altogether of such a reproach. We little knew what the Jesuits were preparing for us" (pp. 11, 12).

And for the proof of his allegations, he introduces what certainly ought to be respectable authorities, even in Pope-bound and priest-ridden Ireland. Few names have stood higher on the Papal roll of honor there, than those of Archbishop McHale and Dr. Doyle. Yet these are the authorities whom Mr. Whittle summons into court, when he would prove the supremacy and infallibility of a Pontiff near the Tiber, novelties and inadmissibilities under Irish skies. And not content with their decided testimony, he thus quotes the Bishop of Clifden, who made a speech before the Council of the Vatican, in which he fell back on just such witnesses as Mr. Whittle had resorted to:

"Another great mischief is that in England, before Catholics were delivered from the penal laws, and admitted to full liberty and civil equality with their fellow citizens, bishops and theologians were publicly asked by Parliament whether the Catholics of England believed that the Pope could, without the express or implied assent of the Church, impose definitions in relation to faith or morals upon the people. All the bishops—amongst whom were two predecessors of his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin—and the theologians answered that Catholics did not so believe. This appears in the printed

papers of Parliament. Relying on these answers, the English Parliament admitted Catholics to participation in civil rights. Who will be able to persuade Protestants that Catholics have not violated honor and good faith; inasmuch, as when the acquisition of civil rights was in question, they publicly declared that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility did not make a part of the faith; but, as soon as they have obtained what they wanted, abandon their public profession of faith and affirm the contrary?" (pp. 16, 17.)

Wherefore Ireland, as Mr. Whittle logically argues, was altogether ready for such an uprising and such a vigorous demonstration as that of Old Catholicism; and when Dr. Döllinger invited him over to Bavaria, to hear its declarations and proposals, to appreciate with open eye and ear its schemes and expectations, he was in harness for the high adventure. And so he hied himself off to the Congress at Munich; and now let us see whether, as an Irishman, as a lawyer, and in his own estimation an undoubted and earnest Roman Catholic, he was or was not disappointed.

He found it was not because of the umpirage of Popes in theological matters solely, that Old Catholics would not brook their persistent and drastic dictations. Most unfortunately for them, they confounded Religion and Philosophy, as if their dominion were as entire for the one as for the other. Their grand difficulty in Germany began years before the annunciation of the decree of Supremacy and Infallibility stunned German ears. The Syllabus of 1864, which mingled religion and philosophy in dire confusion, and pretended to arbitrate for both, was the commencement of the difficulty—at least, for passing times. As Mr. Whittle intelligently says, "After the promulgation of the Syllabus of 1864, and the discussions it aroused, it was plain that a great school of thought amongst German Catholics was opposed to the extravagant pretensions of the Papacy" (p. 24). And then bringing Dr. Döllinger upon the stage, he adds:

"Thoughtful men saw that a struggle must come, and Dr. Döllinger came to be regarded as the destined leader in that struggle, that man on whom its success would depend. The belief spread in Germany and elsewhere not so much from anything he had said in opposition to Rome, as from a knowledge of the learning and intellectual uprightness of the scholar-priest. All observers felt the antagonism which must exist between such a mind as his and the spirit of the Curia; and they knew when the moment came, he would allow no love of repose or of his own ease, no disposition to shun notoriety and uproar, to interfere with the discharge of his duty to the Church.

"When the proposed Council was summoned in 1867, German Catholics understood better than their French neighbors the dangerous schemes that were afoot. The French bishops appear to have thought that this assembly might be the means of bringing about a union amongst the Christian Churches;

but most German theologians felt that the real object was their obtaining the sanction of such an assembly for a formal enunciation of Papal pretensions, and they entered upon the struggle at once. Early in 1869, appeared in the principal journal of cultured Germany, the 'Augsburg Gazette,' a series of letters, under the signature of 'Janus,' exhibiting the historic falsehoods on which the pretensions to Papal Infallibility were founded. These letters marked, at once, the nature of the impending conflict. It is generally supposed that they were the joint work of Dr. Dollinger, and of Dr. Huber, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Munich. At the same time, the question of Papal Infallibility, which they discussed, was entered upon vigorously in France and other parts of Europe" (pp. 24, 25, 26).

When it was manifest that a Council must come, an effort was made to throw into it a fair representation of the laity; for councils have always felt the influence of the laity, directly or indirectly, nervous as some Churchmen are under the allowance of such a fact—we do not say concession; for we think the laity have a *right* to be there. But the various governments of Europe were wary, suspicious, and stood aloof. The votaries of Popery, never objecting to the presence of the laity, when they can *use* them, endeavored to wheedle and cajole them into a better humor. "Up to this time, the Curia and its organs had repeatedly denied the intention to bring forward the dogma of Papal Infallibility; and these statements seem to have been believed in France, and certainly were so in Ireland. The German bishops at Fulda, in August, 1869, had endeavored to calm the public mind, by arguing that such a thing was impossible" (p. 27). The real ground of the Council, its ultimate aim, was Jesuitically veiled and kept back. Its arrangements were at length so thoroughly and irretrievably fixed, as to bar out all freedom of debate and voting, and *then* the trap being ready for its springing, Infallibility was secured beyond recall or change. The inevitable issue provoked and disgusted even such a life-long and full-hearted votary as Montalembert. Throughout Christendom, there had never been a more sincere admirer and champion of Popery than he. He was a man, in some respects, of matchless capabilities. He was, one might rhetorically say, an incarnation of sentimental Romanism. But the light of a dawning eternity opened his dazed eyes at last. On his death-bed he could not stifle his better and nobler convictions; and the man whom a scholastic age might have called a Seraphic Doctor, let out the fire pent up in his bones. As Mr. Whittle not too emphatically says, "In France the most remarkable thing which those discussions [in the Council] elicited, was a letter of M. de Montalembert, written about a fortnight before his death, in which he repudiated modern Ultramontaniam [alias, High



Church Romanism] in the clearest terms. He speaks of those 'who have come at last to immolate justice and truth, reason and history, a burnt-offering before the idol which they have set up at the Vatican' " (p. 29).

But neither a Montalembert nor a Döllinger, nor justice, nor truth, nor reason, nor history, nor the dread perils of sacrilege and idolatry, could stay the decree which had gone forth from the Papal Curia, with the whole force and art of Jesuitry mustered and marshalled for its enunciation and acceptance. *Diábolo collaborante*<sup>1</sup> it had to be, and it was. A minority of eighty-eight protested against it; but they were intimidated, or sickened, and like the slain or the cowardly after a battle, were reported among the missing. Only two finally opposed it; and forthwith a decree passed with such *almost miraculous* unanimity, was hoisted to the Church's peak, as the acknowledged banner of Christendom! Mr. Whittle will not let it unfurl without an Irish retraction, and comforts himself with the assurance, "Such as the opposition was, it is not uninteresting to an Irishman to remember that the most distinguished members of the opposition, next after the German Bishops, were Irish bishops. Archbishop McHale, Archbishops Conolly and Kenrick, Bishops Moriarty, Leahy, and McQuaid gave their testimony, in one way or another, to the ancient teaching of Irish Catholicism" (pp. 30, 31).

But, granting that the decree was unanimously affirmed, what need is there of any such auxiliary? or what does it amount to? If the Pope is infallible—officially so, if not naturally so—is one council, or all councils, of the slightest consequence to a supremacy like his? To re-affirm infallibility, more especially to presume to sustain it and upgird it, looks like counting infinity by figures, or

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<sup>1</sup> This must not be considered unauthorized language. It is but the copy of Cardinal Lambruschini's. When this thorough-paced Romish dignitary was riding, with one of his colleagues, to the Conclave which elected Pio Nono, he said, "Brother, if the devil guides the Conclave, they will elect me. If the world, they will elect you. If Heaven, they will choose Brother Feretti." This person is the present Pope. And so it seems to be an established Roman conclusion, even about a Conclave which is to make a Pope, that the upper world, the lower world, or the nether world, will preside in it, as the case may be. We ought to add, that Pio Nono *began* as a liberal. We well remember the flourish of trumpets over him, in the secular newspapers of New York, as, like Ganganelli, a Protestant Pope! But the Jesuits, in due time, transubstantiated him. He has been theirs since the revolutions of 1848. They used them as a scare-crow; and he has been timid and gentle enough since, for their favorite manipulations.



measuring omniscience by space. Infallibility is Divine. It has the affluence of Heaven in it, and cannot be endowed by this world's poverties and limitations. Infallibility has the compass of Heaven in its purview, and no more needs enlargement by human accessories, than Christ needed a spy-glass to identify Nathanael beneath the fig-tree. It is sufficient unto itself, and should speak to us dull-sighted mortals as the self-existent One—imaged by a fire that had nothing to feed on—spoke to the Jewish Lawgiver from Horeb's consecrated bush. Councils are an impertinence to infallibility; and if the subject were not too grave for ridicule, one might say that it was child's play, and an affair for sport and mockery, to see Infallibility saying that in a Council of its own construction and direction, of five hundred and thirty-five bishops, five hundred and thirty-three had voted in its favor! had given an All-knowing God their ballots, to publish and maintain His transcendent will! Who, when he reads such an *editorial*, can help remembering the caustic irony of the Psalter, "He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision."

But Mr. Whittle has the instincts of a pupil trained in Papistic schools, and considers it necessary to treat the dogma of infallibility as if his Church were, in some way, committed to its support; and so he stands behind a protest of Dr. Dollinger, and puts that forward as an aegis. We are glad he quoted it, and we are desirous to put it permanently on these pages, for a student's reference,—since the devout scholar, the dogmatic theologian, and the ecclesiastical politician gleam forth in it, as if its author were almost gifted with inspiration.

"This doctrine I cannot accept, either as a Christian, a theologian, a student of history, or as a citizen.

"Not as a *Christian*; for it is irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel, and with the clear utterances of Christ and of the Apostles. It sets up that kingdom of this world which Christ refused; it seeks that dominion over congregations which Peter denied to all and to himself.

"Not as a *dogmatic theologian*; for the genuine tradition of the Church is altogether against it.

"Not as a *student of history*; for as such, I know that the persistent efforts to give reality to this theory of worldly dominion has cost Europe rivers of blood, has involved whole countries in disorder and ruin, has shattered the grand organization of the ancient Church, and produced and fostered in it the most fatal abuses.

"Finally, as a *citizen* I must reject it; because, with its pretensions to subject states and monarchs and the whole political system to the Papal power, and by the privileged position it demands for the clergy, it gives occasion to endless and fatal divisions between Church and State, Clergy and Laity" (p. 39).

If infallibility could be judged by internal evidences, we could suppose that Pio Nono might awake, some fine morning, with his mind clarified from the mists with which the Jesuits have befogged it, and uttering itself in this oracular declaration of Dr. Dollinger. We need hardly say that this is the key, and the key-note, of the old Catholic Congress; and that the manifesto of that Congress, in September, 1871, was its reiteration and its wide-ringing echo. The points there formally made are virtually embodied in it, and the spirit of Dollinger was, to that Congress, almost like a presiding genius. He was its substance, if not its accidents. The Congress, for instance, uttered one of the most thorough denials, viewed from the stand-point of Canon Law; it repudiated ecclesiastical penalties, pronounced in contravention of law, and ordained by an isolated will. It might have gone further (we sometimes wonder it did not), and have denied the Pope's power, because he was not the choice of the Church Catholic—not, therefore, a legitimate officer of the Church Catholic, and therefore again, and most emphatically, utterly incompetent to wield one of the highest attributes of the Church Catholic, the power to purge itself by excluding the unworthy from the brotherhood of Christianity. The subjects of excommunication and election go inevitably together. If the Pope has been plenarily endowed to wield the tremendous power of excommunication, even then he must exert it in strict conformity to law, and never, aye, never, hastily or arbitrarily. Such condemnation would be an outrage under even a Pagan administration. "It is not the manner of the Romans," said Procurator Festus, "to deliver any man to die, before that he, which is accused, have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him" (Acts, xxv. 16).<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless, ecclesiastical outlawry (ecclesiastical death, as the Church treats it,—since she will not re-bury a man virtually dead and buried already), is an act of power extended to the very uttermost. And the Pope has no business with such power (nor, in fact, any other ecclesiastic), but by the free consent of his constituents.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This capital example of the Pagans of old Rome, the Christians of later Rome, under the Pope's conduct, have unfortunately *not* followed. Another example of those Pagans—that of doing evil that good may come—they *have* followed. It is St. Paul who tells us that this sad principle nestled in old Rome (Rom. iii. 8). And St. Paul consigned such a principle to damnation. The Jesuits have given it canonization!

<sup>2</sup> It seems strange that there has been a sort of horror in the English Church, and our own, about legislation concerning penance and its kindred subjects,

Now, the constituents of Christendom, the entire Church Catholic, ought to create the Pope's jurisdiction, if he is the whole Church's sovereign head. But look at his actual election! He is the creation of a small, irresponsible conclave, whose members bear a name (Cardinal), which the primitive Church knew no more of than of the apostles of Mormonism. The Christian world should denounce such an election as a profane, not to say a devil-like usurpation; and declare the throne that arrogates it, no better than the judgment-seat of a Brigham Young!

The Congress at Munich went as far as they considered expedient in vacating all Papal penalties. They might have added a protest against the election, which should have clothed such penalties with real potentiality; and then their protest, in this direction, would have been complete and all-sufficient. Popery would have been denuded, by such a protest, of every dangerous pretension; and, then, if the Bishop of Rome could have been content with a titular primacy, he might have had it, and enjoyed it to the very uttermost. Against such a primacy there would have been no offender under the old Roman statute of *lese-majesty*.

But they did all that was necessary, perhaps, in respect to matters of doctrine, by affirming, in careful and weighty words, "that articles of belief cannot be defined merely by the utterance of the Pope for the time being, and the express or tacit consent of the bishops, bound as they are by oath to unqualified obedience to the Pope; but only in accordance with Holy Scripture, and the old tradition of the Church, as it is set forth in the recognized Fathers and Councils. Moreover, a Council which was not, as the Vatican Council was, deficient in the actual external conditions of œcumenicity, but which, in the general sentiment of its members, exhibited a disregard of the fundamental principles and of the past history of the Church, could not issue decrees binding upon the consciences of the members of the Church" (pp. 56, 57).

Such a provision puts the faith beyond a Pope's mere will, as effectually as a proper election would put law and the solemn execution of law aside from the same arbitrament. It would ensure as guarded and reliable a declaration of the faith as we could hope for;

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confession and excommunication. The English Church has adopted, as a substitute, its abortive Communion Service, with a lame regret which has lasted for hundreds of years! We have not so much as that, and have dropped the absolution for individuals. These things will be *forced* upon our attention by-and-by, if we are supine about them.

especially, if the consent of the Church at large is to be added on, to give doctrinal decisions a permanent and abiding imprimatur. And this consent they strenuously insist on, for they add: "We maintain for the Catholic laity and the clergy, as well as for theological science, the right of testifying, and of objecting, on the occasion of establishing articles of belief."<sup>1</sup>

And with Law under proper guardianship, and Doctrine under proper guardianship, the Church Catholic would certainly never be one man's property, nor under one mind's dictation. In other words, the Church would then cease to be an empire, and the jurisdiction of a mundane emperor, and would become a self-controlling and self-governing Society—a Society where self-assertion would be treason, and despotism a revolution, and where disturbers might be treated as Adam and Eve were when they misappropriated Paradise—made exiles of, and exiles against whom might be pointed a sword of fire.

We do not give all the features of the Congress at Munich, as Mr. Whittle has given them, in full detail; nor can we dwell, as we might, upon the discussions by which they were illustrated and defended. It is enough, perhaps, that we have sketched to some extent the manner in which the Congress supposed law should be administered, and doctrine protected and transmitted. Law and doctrine belong to the vitals of an ecclesiastical constitution. If they are both right, and under rightful superintendence, we may hope that the Church will glide down the rapids of ages like a stately bark, manned by people who understand themselves and their bounden duty. If the Church is a bark which one selfish will may steer, then she may go where the Council of 1870 is whirling about its votaries, amid foam and breakers. Pio Nono acts, all the time, like a shipmaster beside himself; who, instead of studying navigation, is swearing at his crew!

Thus have we endeavored to give our readers some accessible idea of the *πov στω*—the stand-point and the starting-point—the

<sup>1</sup> It is perfectly well understood, now, that the action of even an Ecumenical Council is not final. The action must be affirmed and ratified by the general consent of the Church. The action of a council resembles the action of a convention which has drawn up a body of organic law, like a constitution. The people must ratify such action, or the proposed constitution becomes a nullity. And the general consent of the Church is enough, without the action of a council. The Apostles' Creed stands upon such consent; no council framed it. The Athanasian Creed must plead such consent, if it can; no council drew it up.

temper, aims, and purposes of Old Catholicism, as Mr. Whittle, a zealous Irishman and an equally zealous member of the Church of Rome, as he understands its origin and its principles. And now, with him for an outlooker, we want to dwell awhile upon Old Catholicism's possible future, so far as he can interpret its legitimate omens. "It is desirable to attempt to cast the horoscope of this movement, both for the sake of those Catholics in these islands, who anxiously watch its progress, and in order to guard the general public against misconceiving its nature and objects" (p. 94).

It may at once be supposed that Popery is of course the inveterate foe of such Catholicism; and we are anxious to know what weight to assign the power of Popery, for retarding if not arresting or crushing its demonstrations. Mr. Whittle thus appreciates it: "Though Catholicism boasts two hundred millions, according to Archbishop Manning, this term embraces people of the most divergent traditions, sentiments, and opinions. This diversity may be denied and combated, *but it still exists*" (p. 102). And again, "The Papacy is acknowledged by larger numbers now than in the sixteenth century; but only in a limited and the least influential part of Europe does it claim the majority of the existing population. Not a single state in Europe recognizes Rome as the whole civilized world recognized her in 1500. Except for its descent, and the pretensions of Ultramontaniam, [Roman] Catholicity itself, in most parts of Europe, is, to the student of history, the feelings of an adherent apart, only an extensive civil association for certain civil purposes. In some parts of Europe, as in Bavaria, remnants of its former power may seem to give it actual dominion still. But what material power it still retains is only the opportunity the Church authorities may seize of obstructing and hindering civilization" (pp. 95, 96).

So there are no such tremendous offsets to confront and abash an adventurer, as in the fearful and tearful days of the sixteenth century. Vaticanism and Old Catholicism are to stand, each on its own footing, and be tried by its own deserts; and, too, not by a spell-bound community, but by a thoughtful and an exacting one. This, moreover, while the era of inquisitions and dragonnades and civil persecutions of all sorts has been consigned, as its best fate, to avoidance and oblivion. Romanists could no more revive persecution unto blood, in the Europe of this age, than Puritans could hang a crazy old woman on Witch Hill, in Salem, or an impracticable Quaker on Boston Common.



Physical coercion, then, being no more to be apprehended, we may next ask which is more likely to have the sympathies of the people, Romanism from the Tiber, or Romanism new-born from the study of Von Döllinger? And this is Mr. Whittle's prompt and somewhat full answer to such a query :

"There is plenty of noble work to be done now, in recalling the people to the purer principles of the faith, and teaching them to treasure them. It is a work requiring earnestness, energy, and labor; but requiring to be done in the manner of our time, by the aid of culture. To maintain the local liberties and usages of each national section of the Church, to bring the spirit of modern culture to watch over the faith of the Church, to protect that heritage of past ages from the follies of fanaticism—these are the aims of this nineteenth century's uprising against Rome; and the resolute, calm way they are pursued, as well as the character of the men at the head of the enterprise, the temperament and the present condition of the nation in which it has originated, give assurance of ultimate success. In Dr. Döllinger we have that intimate knowledge of the past, not of facts only, but of its spirit, which is essential to aid in maintaining the continuity of the Church; and with this capacity to live in the bygone ages of humanity, every one who follows his words sees that he combines generous sympathy with his own time. It is impossible to hear him speak without being conscious that pious and learned and deeply filled with the spirit of the Church, he feels the testimony of his convictions is due to his fellow men, as a soldier feels devotion due to his flag" (pp. 97, 98).

And, as Mr. Whittle further maintains, an egregious mistake has been made on the part of Rome, by her desperate efforts to produce a dead level of uniformity; as if, while uniformity could exist at the surface, it would not matter how it might be underlaid—as if the plain of Sodom in its garish beauty were a safe one, though pitch and bitumen were festering in its bowels.

"By the Ultramontanes themselves, a fatal blow has been struck at that evil policy, which Catholics have too generally acquiesced in since the Reformation—the suppression of all difference of opinion within the Church. Jesuitism pushed its theory of uniformity to that extent, that the faith of the Church was only safe in a stillness little different from that of death. For the true spiritual life of the Church was being substituted rapidly, that outward submission to Rome, which ignorance and indifference alike could yield. The catastrophe of the Vatican-meeting has aroused all the healthy life of the Church; and this awakening must have its effect directly upon Jesuit teaching. No doubt, in attacking Old Catholics, they will dwell upon the necessity of unity more than ever; but in their discourses to the general public, we shall have less of vulgar appeals to numbers and uniformity, than to the beauty of Catholic truth, and the testimony which history bears to it" (p. 99).

To accomplish their aim for a petrified uniformity, Jesuits have to use the State, or to quarrel with the State. They can no longer



use Prussia, and so they are contending with her; and will keep up the contest successfully, if they can gain the laurels of martyrdom. Prince Bismarck must beware, and not let them suffer too creditably.<sup>1</sup> But the Old Catholics have started with a wisdom—policy the world may say—which fits them for Catholic extension, by leaving the State out of the question, and confining themselves to the sphere which a Church should ever esteem its *peculium*, the sphere of religion. "Politics," says Mr. Whittle, reiterating the suffrage of Munich, "can never become the main question with the Old Catholics—the religious question is the actuating influence, all through the movement" (p. 101).

Still, with this avoidance of the State as a part of religion, and a thing to be grasped after, or even married to, as the case may be, Old Catholicism means notwithstanding to have due respect for all national peculiarities and national rights. "National susceptibilities, too, will question the present Italian monopoly of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The Vatican doctrines have been imposed upon the Church *by* Italians, and *for* Italians. The Italian monopoly of the Poppedom, the majority of Italian Cardinals in all ages, the enormous preponderance of Italian votes in the Vatican Synod, do not escape the attention of the other Latin and the Northern races. The difficulty was got over tolerably as long as the Pope was only *primus inter pares*, with more or less defined powers; but now that he is the living voice of the Holy Ghost, his greater position makes this privilege of Italy the more remarkable" (p. 105).

Old Catholicism also dwells upon the inevitable results of the excesses of Ultramontanism. Those excesses terminate in violent and implacable reaction, and become the harbingers of anarchy and infidelity. "A vigorous Ultramontanism," says Mr. Whittle, with a clear appreciation of historical sequences, "has generally been the precursor of infidelity; and this sequence we observe particularly in

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<sup>1</sup> He might, for example, treat them as Rome treated the Archbishop of Breslau, for his fidelity to an oath of allegiance. (See the last October number of this REVIEW.) He might ask them, with all due respect, to resign. And if they would not do that, he might declare their sees vacant, conduct them safely and courteously to the boundary line of the kingdom, wish them a good morning, and advise them to stay away! This is the way in which Russia disposed of them: They were summoned into their college-hall at the dead of night, to hear a message from the Emperor. Were hurried off in close carriages, without being allowed to go back to their rooms. And a pack of ugly-looking horsemen sent with them, prepared to use a little gunlock persuasion if necessary!

the Latin nations" (p. 107). A position demonstrable enough from the ecclesiastical history of France. It was the steady and down-bearing persistiveness of Popery in France which resulted in the turbulent and sanguinary outbreak of one of the fiercest revolutions which ever marred the world. Frenchmen could not endure the crudities and enormities and inflexibilities of Popery; and so they recoiled netherward. They began to believe in nothing past or future—in nothing but the wants of the current hour—and they became as rampant and reckless as hunger-mad wolves. They deluged their country with gore, and treated priests as outlaws. Even Napoleon I., who was infinitely better than lawlessness incarnate, while he restored Christianity, had to curb and almost extinguish the Pope; and if England had but known her opportunity, then would have been the time for extinguishing Popery (as such) for evermore.

But England so dreaded and hated the French Emperor—the era of an *entente cordiale* had not appeared in remotest distance—that she would not listen to him for a single moment. Rather, and with blind eagerness, she became an ally of such a wretch as Ferdinand VII. of Spain—filled his treasury, fought his battles, rebuilt his throne, and then allowed him to set up, in very deed, that most baleful of tribunals, which her own racy Southey called "hell plucked up by the roots."<sup>1</sup> England, too, virtually reinstated the Pope, whom Napoleon had formally dethroned and put in prison; and if now she is helping onward the reinstatement of Popery, under her own eye, she may thank herself for the sorry and spiteful intrusion. If England had had the sagacity of Old Catholicism, and looked at ecclesiastical questions from an ecclesiastical stand-point, and political questions from a political stand-point—not commingling the two, and most especially not settling ecclesiastical exigencies by political expediences—Popery would never be harassing her, as she now is, with the throes of Purgatory. Most assuredly, Popery would then never have demanded admittance to her halls of legislation; and she would never have had to endure the

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<sup>1</sup>This was Southey's verdict about The Inquisition in his celebrated controversy with Charles Butler, which produced his invaluable "*Vindiciæ*." Joseph Le Maistre is the most redoubtable champion of it; and his book we should like some day to notice. In a word, we may say that Le Maistre's defence is nothing but special pleading. The Inquisition was a Court of the State, and not a Court of the Church. This is just as good an argument for the Star-Chamber of England, and the Puritanic tribunals of New England; but Le Maistre—Jesuit-like—never looks but one way.

mortal humiliation of claiming that—at least—her Prime Minister should always be a Protestant!

We are not volunteers with such statements, but feel constrained to make them. We are obliged to believe that England has brought all her late Papistical troubles upon herself. And we are equally obliged to believe that if she had not interfered ecclesiastically in the affairs of Ireland—had, *e. g.*, given the Irish the free use of their own native tongue, for a Liturgy and for preaching—that even *there* Popery would have lost its foot-hold, and Ireland be at this day a preëminently Protestant land. Old Catholicism pursues a more accommodating course. It seems to be fitting itself with noble wisdom, for a Catholicity not cramped by languages or nationalities; and if it reaches that supremacy in Christendom, which once seemed falling, so to speak, into England's lap, it will have no undue or inapt recompense. How curious, how intensely, almost miraculously curious will it be, if Old Catholicism should attain that ascendancy in England itself, for which English policy has in a secular way vainly striven: which it seems as far from attaining as centuries ago! Yet such a peerless issue seems, according to Mr. Whittle, among the achievements which Old Catholicism may one day boast even in Ireland. He says, and we quote it as his ultimatum:

"Ultramontanism has always continued a thing alien to the spirit of the Irish people; they have never had any cordial feeling for Ultramontanes. The great organizer of the Ultramontane party in Ireland, is one of the most unpopular prelates Ireland has ever had. With regard to the laity, the same want of sympathy is discernible. The most active of the Ultramontane laity in England, Sir George Bowyer, obtained a seat for an Irish constituency. His enthusiasm for the popular faith was undoubted; and to this recommendation he added many advantages of wealth and position, yet his religious zeal had nothing in common with the simple faith of his Irish constituents; and, after awhile, he had to give place to some one more racy of the soil.

"The Bishops are, at present, the only body of Irishmen with Ultramontane sympathies; and their influence, as a body, has been gradually waning in Ireland, owing to political questions. The lower order of clergy have, for the most part, as little sympathy with Ultramontanism, as the people. A Catholic middle class is being gradually formed in Ireland; and with its growth the chance of such doctrines as those of Canon Pope [an eager defender of the new dogmas] finding acceptance, is diminishing every day. As the Vatican errors come before the Irish people, in all their grossness, without any predisposition of the people to run after new ideas, they will be rejected. But the religious temperament of the people is too active and earnest, to allow them to accept infidelity. They will naturally seek, in such an organization as Germany is preparing, a refuge from their perplexities" (pp. 109, 110).

Evidently, the Irish would not fancy the *French* way of carry-

ing the problem of ecclesiastical safety, peace, and unanimity, to a satisfactory conclusion. Irish soil has no indigenous proclivity for the dragon's teeth of infidelity. And so may God send Irishmen a messenger of His Covenant, whom they will delight in. May he come to them with the mantle of a Döllinger on his shoulders. Let them have a Bishop with his temper, consideration, learning, purity, and devotion; and we should fondly hope that Mr. Whittle might prove himself better than a benevolent dreamer, that he might become a true prophet for the best fortunes of his sighing and anxious country.



## ON THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

[The following article, by the Rev. Dr. Drumm, of Bristol, Pennsylvania, was intended, originally, for another publication. When it was accepted by the CHURCH REVIEW, it was thought best, for the author's sake, to print it as it was written.]

IT was my desire that the correspondence with the late Assistant Bishop of Kentucky should not be unduly protracted. I intended to close it as soon as the evidence offered had all been fairly examined, and I had shown that the assertion which occasioned the discussion had been made in ignorance of the facts. That point was reached long ago. I was quite content then to leave the matter with the intelligent public, and believed that my letter of November 28th would be allowed to end the correspondence. In this, however, I was greatly mistaken. Nearly a dozen communications have appeared since then. One bore the signature that stands for Dr. Cummins and Mr. Mason Gallagher, and *three* were from the Rev. Dr. Fisher of Yale. In these the original assertion is repeated and a number of other matters introduced, which, though not strictly pertinent to the question debated, have some connection with it, and so, if incorrectly stated or misapplied, might lessen the force of the direct argument. This being so, your readers will not be surprised at my resuming the pen.

I should be sorry to take the trouble if the unhistorical "Historicus" had been the only writer on the other side. Self-respect

forbids debate with a person who is not abashed by exposure; and I have no time to waste with one who can quote Tract Society compilations, or ten-cent tracts, or partisan pamphlets of the present day, as if they had even the shadow of a claim to be received as "authorities," or who can accept and characterize as "WELL AUTHENTICATED" any statement that makes for his cause without considering the source from which it comes, or even taking the trouble to examine it. Life is too short for such trifling, and the interests of historic truth too precious to be imperilled by discussion with persons who seem incapable of appreciating them. As to the personalities in your correspondent's letter, I have only this to say,—that I can make allowance for irritation, and afford to leave unnoticed his insinuations that in the matter of unfair dealing, I am even as he.

Professor Fisher is a person of very different calibre and character. Everything he writes is worthy of respectful attention, and with many of your readers, his opinion has, and deserves to have, very great weight. This makes it all the more necessary that his opinions should be well grounded, and, if they should happen not to be so, then that the public should be presented with facts and reasons on the other side. When, therefore, Dr. Fisher declares that he still stands by the assertion which Dr. Cummins quoted from his book, I am obliged once more to show why he should abandon or retract it.

In writing his History he made that assertion in good faith, nevertheless it was an *unguarded* assertion, and his own part in this correspondence shows that very plainly. He simply said what others had said before him, and had not investigated the matter for himself. At least he had not collected and weighed, as he has now done, the alleged facts, or the sayings that are supposed to warrant the statement. One item (and I consider it the most important of all) he only met with since he wrote his letter published on the 13th of December. I say advisedly, then, his assertion was unguarded, and it would not lose this character even if he could *now* produce positive evidence in support of it. The evidence should have been at hand before so important an allegation was made. But it is clear that Dr. Fisher did not rely even upon Fleetwood and Cosin and Hall, but on Burnet and Hallam and Macaulay. Surprised at finding the assertion challenged, he saw the necessity of finding some better "authorities" than these, and now rests chiefly upon persons who lived a century nearer to the time in question. From what *they* wrote he argues that the statement should be re-



ceived as true. I do him the justice to say that his argument is by far the best on that side that I have ever read, but still it is only argument, and argument that can be met at every point. What we wanted, however, was EVIDENCE.

The course this discussion has taken was clearly foreseen. Your readers will bear witness that I have been constant in my endeavor to keep the other side to the point. But they would not keep to it, —and that for the simple reason that if the testimony of incompetent witnesses was ruled out, they had no case, and they must either have confessed that the statement publicly made by Dr. Cummins was incapable of proof, or go off into reasoning about the recognition of Presbyterian orders. The acknowledgment of an error was a humiliation to which these gentlemen could not bring themselves, and so nothing remained but for one party to keep silent, and the other, under the screen of a (most inappropriate) *nom de plume*, to continue repeating the original assertion, and to drag in everything he could find bearing on the general subject of "validity" or "recognition," and so "befog" the question (to use his own word) that the public might suppose he had written something to the purpose.

It would be hard to find, in the history of any controversy, a more exquisite specimen of reasoning in a circle than we have in this, from Dean Goode's time to the present. In the first place, it was claimed that Presbyterian Orders were held to be valid, because Presbyterian ministers were admitted to parishes in England; and when *that* is denied, the proof offered is this: Presbyterian ministers *were* admitted to parishes in England, *because Presbyterian Orders were considered valid!*

Professor Fisher has treated the subject very differently from those to whom his letters have given aid and comfort; still he has, in the main, treated it as part of the larger question, with which, in *this* discussion, it has nothing to do; and so he has taken a part in the logical roundabout. But from it we must get away. Surely, it is possible to keep the two matters distinct. The assertion made by Dr. Cummins is either TRUE or UNTRUE, and its character must be determined by the evidence, and not by reasoning on the "recognition of Presbyterian Orders."

I was the more earnest in requiring the case to be discussed by itself, and from unquestionable facts or definite and unimpeachable testimony, because, as I stated in another letter, men may differ endlessly about probabilities and the opinions of individuals, and to go into these subjects would be only to open what must prove a pro-

longed and profitless discussion. And this remark is illustrated by Professor Fisher's last letter. He says a great deal about the *jure divino* theory of Episcopacy, and the time when (as he thinks) it was introduced into the English Church; but both the nature of that theory and the date of its first appearance might be discussed at great length before either point would be settled to our mutual satisfaction, and the public would have utterly forgotten the ex-Bishop of Kentucky and his random assertions. Surely, then, it is best to keep to evidence bearing directly on the matter at issue.

The point regarding the "authority" of Macaulay, Hallam, and Burnet, is virtually yielded. Dr. Fisher still says he believes their representation of the matter we are discussing is correct. *That* is just as the evidence shall be found, but they themselves can give *no* evidence. As regards Hallam, I am reminded that his last edition was published in 1846. Granted! But Mr. Hallam was then about seventy years of age, and this question had not been pressed upon his attention; it is not to be supposed, then, that he went into a full investigation of the subject with the help of material furnished by the Parker Society. He was contented with his work, as it stood in connection with this matter, and felt neither inclination nor necessity urging him to take it up anew. Dr. Fisher says that I have probably overlooked the passage in which Hallam indicates his authorities for the statement I have challenged. I think I have not overlooked any sentence in his book that bears upon this question, and I have seen no reference to any "authorities" except some of those that we have known or written about already. In the opinions I expressed as to general character of these different historians, I have nothing to alter except this, that I gave Hallam too much credit for impartiality. During the past few weeks I have gone over his work again, and I do not hesitate to say that I think him almost or quite as partial as Macaulay or Burnet. He systematically rejects or sneers at writers on the Church's side, and accepts, without hesitation or apology, Neal and others of that class. But these are matters on which it is not necessary to dwell. We pass by these various modern compilers of history for the very natural and sufficient reason, that whatever they knew of the matter, *sub judice*, they must have learned from those who preceded them. They had no personal knowledge, and so are incompetent to testify. If they have any documentary evidence to furnish, we can examine that, but need not waste further time with *them*. There remains, then, only the alleged testimony of two, or, at most, three persons.

Before proceeding once more to show that these cannot be regarded as warranting the assertion made by Dr. Cummins, allow me to state the rule respecting evidence. I pretend to no legal knowledge, and so cannot point my respected opponent to any law book in which this is fully laid down. Let it suffice that we put it on the basis of common-sense and equity, and that to justify my requirements, I give in place of my own words those of a man who had experience as a judge in matters ecclesiastical and as a writer of controversy. I refer to Bishop Stillingfleet.

"It is one of the nicest points . . . to determine what is good and sufficient evidence; for several things are to be weighed before either witnesses or testimonies are to be allowed. As to WITNESSES, it is required that they be persons of reputation . . . that they be disinterested, and so *not liable to the just suspicion of partiality*; that they be men of discretion and sane memory, and that *all reasonable exceptions are to be allowed against them*. As to their TESTIMONIES, they are to be deliberate and not given in passion, *consistent as to time, place, and other circumstances*. They must be CERTAIN and POSITIVE, and NOT UPON HEARSAY or the believing of other persons."

Let this then be borne in mind, while we proceed to examine what is offered in the name of Bishop Cosin and Bishop Hall; for as to Fleetwood, the canon shuts him out completely. Whatever he knew or thought he knew about the matter, he had only on "hearsay and the believing of others."

COSIN.—My objection to the testimony in this case is that it has not been authenticated. In ordinary trials when a letter is introduced, it is absolutely necessary that the original be produced and the handwriting proved, or if this cannot be done, then, at the very least, that an attested copy be furnished. In the present instance, a letter is offered, the original of which is not forthcoming, neither is there any proof that what is submitted is really an exact copy of the original, nor any account of the way in which it came into the hands of those who put it in print sixty-two years after its date. During Cosin's lifetime some letter in which he was supposed to have made improper concessions was exhibited or talked of to a friend, who wrote to him for an explanation, and he replied, "You shall not find (if the copy of that letter be TRUE and ENTIRE) that I ever said Presbyters had any power of rightful ordination," etc. Here was a suggestion that possibly the letter was not his, or that it had been tampered with. If this were not the case, the holder of the document should have submitted it to Cosin, and had his acknowledgment of it as his own. This was not done, but forty years after he was dead it was printed in the appendix to an anonymous tractate on Lay Baptism.

Is there any Court of Justice that would admit a document so presented?

But this is not the only instance in which Cosin has been thus dealt with. The case of some Dr. De Laune, which has been offered in support of Dr. Cummins's assertion, rests entirely on the authority of a letter quoted in Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, and said to have been written by Mr. John Cosin while he was Secretary to Bishop Overall. It is therein stated that Overall offered to induct a Presbyterian minister to a living if *he* would *adventure* it. This story is exceedingly doubtful; for (1) the man went to him for the very purpose of "adventuring" it, and he could do so with perfect safety; the only evil that would happen to him would be the loss of the living that he had illegally obtained, but the Bishop would run the risk of severe reprimand or even of suspension for wilful breach of the law. (2) Overall's sentiments are well known (see *Convocation Book*, Oxford Edition, pp. 139, 150, etc.), and they are not at all in accordance with, but directly opposed to, what is here attributed to him. And yet after all the letter goes thus far against Dr. Cummins, that it confesses the law was against the admission of a Presbyterian minister, for if not, or if custom sanctioned such admission, why was the question raised at all, what risk would there have been in the case?

But it is Cosin's relation to the document that we have to ascertain always. I deny that he wrote it. Here are my reasons. We have been accustomed to regard Cosin as one of the very best informed men of his age, upon all Church matters. And certainly Overall deserves to be so regarded. Cosin, as his librarian and secretary, had great advantages, and could not possibly be ignorant of most important events in the history of the Church, that had occurred during Overall's lifetime, and were on record. Yet this letter makes him appear as ignorant of the truth respecting them, as any modern party scribbler could be. Concerning Whittingham (whose right to hold the Deanery of Durham was denied by Archbishop Sandys, as our readers know), Cosin is made to say:

"The case was disputed and traversed in *divers* courts, but Mr. Whittingham had judgment finally in his favor, it being declared that ordination beyond the seas was equivalent to our ordination in England; and for the better confirmation of this, a bill was preferred in Parliament which passed both Houses, and this statute, which was either 13th Elizabeth, chap. 8, or 8th Elizabeth, chap. 13, enacted that whosoever alleged to have been ordained a minister beyond the seas, if he subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, might be admitted to a benefice in the Church of England."

Now in this brief paragraph there are four distinct and gross errors. (1) Judgment was *not* given finally in Whittingham's favor. It was not given at all, for his death prevented it. (2) Of course, as there was no decision whatever, there was none to the effect that (Presbyterian) ordination beyond the seas was equivalent to (Episcopal) ordination in England. (3) Neither of the Acts referred to was passed to confirm any such decision, for one of them was passed seven years and the other about fifteen years before the trial. (4) The Acts mentioned contain no such provision as that herein alleged. Indeed, no such law was ever passed! Now, even supposing that Cosin could have been ignorant of the facts in the case of Whittingham, is it conceivable that he could be so grossly ignorant of the very law under which (if at all) De Laune could have hoped to be admitted to a living? If the law allowed such a thing, if the custom existed as Dr. Cummins declared, then Overall must have had cases of the kind, and his Secretary must have attended to the business part of every such induction, and therefore must have had the law at his fingers' ends. But the writer of this document did not know where the law was to be found. He mentioned two, neither being the right one; and as to the tenor of the law, was no more correct.

It is an outrage upon the memory of such a man as Cosin to make him responsible for such wretched trash. I cannot regard it otherwise than as the work of some partisan forger, who had not even elementary knowledge of Statute Law or of the History of the Church. Such is the decision to which we must come from the internal evidence. And now what is the external?

The letter goes in direct opposition to the well-known opinions of Bishop Cosin, yet it is attributed to him. Was the original produced and proved to be his hand? If not, was the copy attested? No! there was no original shown, and no attestation, and the only account Birch could give of it was that it had been "communicated" to him by a son of Bishop Burnet, who is supposed to have had it from his father. But how in the name of common-sense did *he* get it? In those days of strictly drawn party lines, the Cosin connection and the Burnet connection were to each other as Antipodes; and yet forsooth we are to accept as a genuine production of Bishop Cosin a letter in which things are represented precisely as the Burnets would have them! And this letter produced by them for the first time one hundred and twenty-eight years after date! To make the matter still worse, Birch gives some strictures on the story, which were written on the copy before him, and which he *supposed* were in the handwriting of Bishop Burnet (a matter upon



which the son, Sir Thomas, could surely have satisfied him); and in these the writer says that after examining reports, etc., he could "*meet with no such thing as this Whittingham case, and therefore guesses the story to be no more than TRADITION OR HEARSAY!*" So the critic was almost as ignorant as the counterfeiter.

Such, then, is the way, and the only way, in which the testimony of Bishop Cosin is presented to us in connection with the present question. What honorable man that reads this paragraph will say I am not justified in utterly rejecting the document furnished by Birch, and in regarding the letter to M. Cordel as unauthenticated. No one has proved, or even attempted to prove, that that epistle is a just and perfect copy of anything from Cosin's hand, therefore no one can fairly quote it as his. Standing, then, upon strict right, it also should be excluded, and so the number of witnesses would be reduced to one. But I will, under protest, let it pass for his, lest I should seem to press too hard upon my opponents.

HALL.—The good old Bishop of Norwich is quoted as saying:

"I know those, more than one, that by virtue only of the ordination which they brought with them from other Reformed Churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings without any exception against the lawfulness of their calling."

This is substantially the same as what is offered in Cosin's name, and as both lived within the century in which the practice is said to have existed, they are *so far* qualified to testify. But before examining what they say, I beg leave to draw the reader's attention to an illustration of the way in which history is made to serve party purposes.

Travers, in his Supplication addressed to the Privy Council, said that many ministers having Presbyterian Orders had been received in the Church. And this was contradicted by Archbishop Whitgift, who said, "I know of NONE such!" Bishop Hall, about sixty years later, said *he* knew cases, "*more than one.*" And Cosin is reported to have said he *knew* of SOME, and had HEARD of many others. This is the sum total of the "evidence," and yet, about three generations after Hall's death, Neal, in his History of the Puritans, said, "there were *scores*, if not HUNDREDS, of them now (A. D. 1582) in the Church!" Some cases become, in the hands of a skilful manager, "*some scores* of cases,"—"more than one," learned of in the course of a life, multiply into "*scores*, if not *hundreds*," at one time!

And now what is the value of the testimony offered by Cosin and Hall. Just this, that considering the unimpeachable character



of the men, the testimony, *if there were nothing else from which the facts could be known*, would make it appear highly *probable* that some such custom did exist; but it could not make it *certain*. The want of particular specification is a fatal defect. A mere general statement can only give a general impression which will vary according as facts support or discountenance it. Our Canon on Evidence says: "Testimony must be consistent as to time, place, and other circumstances," and to be consistent in these it must give them plainly and fully. Again, testimony must be "*certain and positive, and NOT upon HEARSAY.*" I leave your readers to judge whether these rules do not fully justify my objection to this evidence, although Dr. Fisher thinks that objection "too frivolous to merit an answer."

If there were no other source of information upon the subject, the objection would be valid. How much more powerful does it become when the whole law of the Church sustains it against the proffered evidence. Surely (as I argued in a former letter), when the law prohibited a certain thing, if Bishop Hall and Bishop Cosin said that thing was done, then it was necessary for them to show when, where, and how it was done, that the alleged cases might be fairly examined. In the absence of such particulars, the general statement counts for nothing, as against the law.

I go a step further. The mere mention of a name or names would not suffice, for these might be given (as Whittingham's is in Birch's Tillotson), and yet the case prove not to be in point, or not correctly stated. The person might be an Episcopally-ordained minister (like Dr. Cummins's *Presbyterians*, Martyr and Bucer!), or he might never have had a parish any more than Fagius or Morrison had; or he might have got a benefice under false pretences, like Lowther, who was detected and turned out (even by Archbishop Grindal) after holding his parish about sixteen years! Thus we see that unless particulars are given which can be fairly tested, no allegation that contradicts the written law can be accepted as true.

Permit me to illustrate this. It is well known that prior to our civil war colored persons were not allowed to serve in the army of the United States. The regulations settle that fact. But many persons of African descent have a very fair skin, and it is very probable that some such persons (light mulattoes or quadroons) may have been able to pass the surgeon's inspection, and so get the position from which the law intended to exclude them. Now suppose that, two or three generations hence, some one writing in behalf of the African race should quote letters written by Mr. Lloyd Garrison and Senator Sumner, in which they would say they knew some

cases of colored men who were enlisted soldiers of the United States previous to 1860: would *that* be proof (even if the names were given) that the law sanctioned such a thing, or that the Government knew it? Would it be regarded as proving that for the first hundred years of its national existence the American Republic had permitted persons of negro extraction to bear arms and hold commissions in its service? Such, however, is the evidence, and the only evidence, which the friends of Dr. Cummins are able to bring in support of his assertion!

This is probably the best place to notice what Dr. Fisher calls the testimony of Lord Bacon. No attention was paid to it in my former letter for the simple reason that I did not consider it worth even a brief paragraph. But as the reverend gentleman has again introduced it, it shall be examined.

In 1589, Bacon said:

"Some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonorable and derogatory speech and censure of the Churches abroad, and that so far as some of our men (*as I have heard*) ordained in foreign parts have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers."

What is the testimony here given? It is merely this,—that some Englishmen who had received Presbyterian ordination abroad had been pronounced to be "no lawful ministers!" Did we not know that fact already? And is it not a fact which tells powerfully against the side to which Professor Fisher gives his support?

If, indeed, Bacon had put it on record that such men had been declared to be truly ordained and lawfully inducted, my opponents would then have something to help them; but he testifies to the direct contrary, and I cannot see what advantage they hope to gain from this citation. Dr. Fisher seems to think that it supplies evidence of there having been in the English Church *other* Presbyterian ministers, besides those whom we know to have been in it for a time, and expelled from it on the ground of their defective Orders. There is in the passage nothing whatever to indicate a reference to any new set of men. This is a mere guess on Dr. Fisher's part, and not a very good one. There is no shadow of doubt but that Bacon alluded to the cases that have been mentioned so frequently in this correspondence, all of which had occurred within a dozen years of the time when he wrote, viz., 1589. The first was Whittingham's, 1579. The second, Travers's, 1586. The third, Cartwright's, 1591. And a fourth was that of a certain Robert Wright, not previously named in this correspondence. This man, *though not ordained*, held a University license to preach; but desiring to be made a min-

ister, he went to Antwerp and was admitted according to the form used by the Presbytery there. Having returned to England he was received into the family of a Puritan nobleman (Lord Rich), and as his chaplain preached in his house, and also in the country around whenever he could. Lord Rich applied to the Bishop (Aylmer) of London for a license for him, which was refused on the express grounds that he was not an ordained minister. It then became necessary for him to confine himself to his duties as chaplain. After his patron's death, however, Wright continued to preach, and was arrested and imprisoned. The record of the case ends thus: "All he could say was to no purpose; the Bishop would not allow his Orders, and therefore *pronounced him* A LAYMAN, and incapable of holding any living in the Church." This took place in 1582, seven years before Bacon wrote the passage quoted above, and about ten years after the passing of the Act that is said to have given Presbyterian ministers a right to hold parishes in England.

The case is reported by Neal, who nevertheless repeats the Puritan falsehood, that by the passing of that Act such persons were put on the same footing as Church clergymen. Let us see whether I have used the word "falsehood" rashly. That your readers may be fully able to judge for themselves, I will put before them all of that Act that bears directly upon the question we are discussing. It is notorious that it was passed for the special purpose of legalizing the incumbency of those persons who, during the reign of Mary, had been ordained priests and admitted to livings. In King Edward's time, the law made the Reformed Ordinal the only one by which ministers could be lawfully ordained. This was repealed under Mary, and when Elizabeth became Queen there was in turn a repeal of Mary's Acts against Reformation; still, though the rejected "form" of ordination had been employed, the priests were *validly* ordained, and there was no right why they should not hold their positions, if they knew and would teach the truth. Of this, their own declaration and subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles would give proof. And on these terms it was made lawful for them to hold their benefices. Here now is the Act:

"Every person, under the degree of a Bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a Priest or Minister of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering than the form set forth by Parliament, in the time of the late King of most worthy memory, King Edward VI., or now used in the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lady; shall before the Feast of the Nativity of Christ next following, in the presence of the Bishop or guardian of the Spiritualities of some one Diocese, where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent, and subscribe, to all the Articles which

only concern confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a Book imprinted and intituled, etc., and shall bring from such Bishop or guardian of Spiritualities a writing under his seal authentic, as a testimonial of such assent and subscription, and openly, on some Sunday, in the time of public service afore noon, *in every Church where, by reason of any ecclesiastical living he ought to attend*, read both the said testimonial and the said Articles, upon pain that every such person which shall not *before the said Feast* do, as is above appointed, shall be *ipso facto* DEPRIVED, and all his ecclesiastical promotions shall be void as if he were then naturally dead."

Section II. orders every one to be deprived who shall maintain or affirm anything contrary to the Articles.

Section III. enacts that *no one shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice*, unless he be of the Canonical age of three and twenty years, and a *deacon*, and shall subscribe to the Articles.

Section IV. enacts that of persons then holding livings [illegally but] by *dispensation*, all who were under age, or not in, *at least, Deacon's Orders*, should be deprived.

Section V. specifies the age and attainments of those who shall be ordained to the Ministry, or admitted to preach and administer the Sacraments. They must bring to the *Bishop* a testimonial (signed by men known to be of sound religion) as to their honest life and their agreement with the Articles.

Section VI. specifies the qualifications of those who shall be admitted to a living of the annual value of £30 or more. They must be Bachelors of Divinity, and *preachers lawfully allowed by some Bishop*, or by one of the Universities.

Section VII. declares that all appointments or inductions, contrary to the tenor of this Act, shall be null and void.

Section VIII. provides that no title to confer a living by lapse, shall accrue upon any deprivation *ipso facto*.

Your readers can now judge whether this famous Act is in any respect favorable to such cases as those we have before us. Is it not plain to every intelligent person that the law was drawn up with reference to a regular Episcopally-ordained ministry, and none other? Is it not in entire unison with the Ordinal, and with the whole tenor of the Canon law? If not, where is the difference? Professor Fisher may examine it with all possible care, and state whether it contains anything that any honorable man can say is equivalent to an allowance of any other than Episcopal ordination. It makes no mention of any other. The only persons it describes are those then in possession of livings, and *under the degree of a Bishop*, who claimed to be PRIESTS or Ministers by reason of ordination performed by a "form" different from the Reformed Ordinal. Would such a description suit any Presbyterian Minister? Of course not,—and well the Puritans knew it was not meant to include them; nevertheless, they claimed that it did, and in the face

of every decision to the contrary, they continued to speak of it as if it were an Act drawn up for their especial benefit. By this constant misrepresentation they got some people to believe them, and so the groundless claim, impudently pressed, gave color to the falsehood as to actual admissions. Mark what the Rev. Daniel Neal had the boldness to say: "By a clause in this Act, the Parliament admits of ordination by Presbyters, without a Bishop!" (Hist. Puritans, i. 211). Is there any such clause? Does the word *Presbyter* occur in the Act? Is there any, the least, foundation for a statement so positive and definite? Not a particle! Nor is there for what he says again, that by the same law "Ministers who received their Orders in foreign Churches were recognized." There is not only no mention of foreign Churches, but no allusion to them, direct or indirect! I earnestly request our readers to look at the law, and then at this representation of it, and decide whether the latter is true or false. The audacious claim was so persistently urged in conversation and in writing, that it did impose upon some, as, for instance, upon Strype. His opinion is quoted; but with the law before our eyes, we can judge for ourselves. Or, if opinions are to be deferred to, then they must be those of the proper adjudicators. No court ever sanctioned this Puritan claim. It was in every case negatived; and Archbishop Whitgift said, positively, the law was not made for the benefit of any such parties.

But the Puritans argued that though the words they used were not there, the terms of the Act were capable of the construction they put upon them. Theirs was another "form" of ordaining, *ergo*, theirs was legalized. But such reasoning would prove too much. No one supposed that the intention was to legalize any and every "form" that was then in use, or might afterward be devised. It is not supposed, for a moment, that it was contemplated to recognize the Anabaptist or the Socinian form, and if not, where is the distinction drawn between the Church of Calvin and that of Storck and Muntzer? But this flimsy attempt to strain the terms of the law for their own benefit was exposed as fully in Travers's case as it could be. He claimed the law. He appealed to the nobles, judges, and Bishops who constituted the Queen's Council (and he had several private friends of great influence among them, even Burleigh himself being his patron), but all in vain. His claim was disallowed.

The Archbishop's decision was given in these words:

"When the like Act is made for his ministry, then he may allege it. But the laws of this realm require that such as are to be allowed as Ministers of



this Church of England, should be ORDERED BY A BISHOP, and subscribe to the Articles before him."

After this, then, I trust we shall hear no more of 13th Elizabeth recognizing Presbyterian ordination. Yet, from the statement that it did, and from misrepresentation of the case of Whittingham, etc., the whole matter originated. We know that after a few repetitions of a simple story, "something as black as a crow" developed into "three black crows." But in this instance, we have an historical Darwinism of more surprising character. The groundless claim that the law sanctioned Presbyterian ordination, and the fact that one or two persons, with no other qualification, performed ministerial duty until they were detected and silenced, developed into the broad and positive statement, that there were "scores, if not hundreds," of such persons quietly enjoying their benefices at one time, and that for one hundred years the Church allowed all who pleased to enter her service on the same terms!

I think that, on calm reflection, Professor Fisher will see the propriety of withdrawing his sanction from this statement, as it has not one item of positive evidence to support it, and is opposed by the written laws, and the whole history of the English Church. I know that it is neither easy nor pleasant to rid ourselves of belief in a thing that we have always held to be true; but nevertheless justice may require us to make far greater sacrifices than the retraction of this statement. Professor Fisher has doubtless found in many histories (and even in those whose defender he has been in the present discussion), narratives or assertions that seemed in harmony with the spirit and custom of the times, and that professed to have positive contemporaneous testimony to verify them, but which are totally without foundation in fact. I will mention two such.

1. It is said that when in the reign of Edward VI. Joan Bocher was found guilty of heresy, the King was asked to condemn her to death, but refused, saying, "he thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which they condemned in Papists, to burn any for their consciences." Archbishop Cranmer then undertook the matter, and reasoned with Edward at considerable length. "These reasons," says Burnet, "did rather silence than satisfy the young King, who still thought it a hard thing to proceed so severely in such cases, so he set his hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, saying to Cranmer that if he did wrong, he should answer for it to God." This was first reported, I believe, by Foxe, the Martyrologist. From him Burnet took it, and from Burnet the accurate and impartial Hallam took it, and it has passed even into school histories,



and into denunciatory harangues about the cruelty of "prelates!" Hallam describes the Archbishop as "pursuing to death this woman," and says, "this is a stain upon Cranmer's memory which nothing but his own death could have lightened." And in this way the noblest man of all his age has been spoken of for three centuries! The story has made him almost infamous, while it has brought honor to the memory of the boy-king. It is alleged as confidently as any other thing in the histories written by those men whose word has so much weight with Dr. Fisher; and yet THERE IS NOT ONE PARTICLE OF TRUTH IN IT. Edward never signed the warrant at all. It was not necessary that he should do so. It was signed by the Council in the absence of both the Archbishop and the King! In fact, the pathetic story is a pure fabrication (see Bruce's preface to the works of Hutchinson, Parker Society Library).

2. The other example of history-making touches similarly the character of Archbishop Laud. It is said that when Leighton was condemned in the Court of Star Chamber, and sentenced to a cruel punishment, Laud uncovered his head and thanked God for the passing of that sentence "*which he had dictated himself!*" and then he recorded, "with calm rancour and cold-blooded exultation, the execution of these judicial barbarities." This account was given by Symmons (in his *Life of Milton*), who in addition to this said that "the Prelate noted in his Diary the execution, etc., with the *cool malignity of a FIEND.*" The Rev. Daniel Neal, the Puritan historian, gives a similar account, but to make it more telling against the Archbishop, he professes to quote his own words as follows:

"On Friday, Nov. 6th, part of the sentence was executed upon him (says Bishop Laud in his Diary) after this manner: (1) He was severely whipt before he was put in the pillory. (2) Being set in the pillory he had one of his ears cut off. (3) One side of his nose was slit, etc., etc."

And so the extract goes on for several lines, and is duly enclosed within quotation marks, as your readers can see in vol. ii. page 152, of the *History of the Puritans*. The Rev. Messrs. Bogue and Bennett, in their "*History of the Dissenters*," have repeated the statement, and in similar matter have professed to quote from the private journal of the Archbishop. Now, sir, what will your readers think when I tell them that *there is no truth in the whole story*. There is no evidence whatever that Laud was present when sentence was given, still less that he had "dictated" that sentence, and as to what he is said to have written "with the cool malignity of a fiend," he never did write it. The ten lines quoted from his

Diary by the veracious Mr. Neal are not in that Diary, and never were in it! Even Prynne, who had the Archbishop's books and papers committed to him by the Puritan Parliament, that he might, if possible, find something for which he could be condemned, and who was not above tampering with those papers—even Prynne, the implacable enemy of "Canterbury," was not so scandalously dishonest as to forge such a piece of testimony. As the Puritans murdered the venerable Bishop, so their reverend defenders have libelled him, that by making the victim odious they might gain some color of excuse for their cruel and cowardly crime.

These cases have, I know, no direct bearing upon the question under discussion, but they serve to show how little dependence can be placed on the unsubstantiated statements of ordinary historians. If things that appear to have positive documentary evidence to sustain them can yet be shown to be but fabrications, is it consistent with common-sense and candor to cling to any assertion which has no documentary evidence and no positive testimony in its favor, but is, on the contrary, opposed by an unvaried series of enactments, and by all records of the practice under the law?

Let us turn for a moment to the alleged cases of Presbyterians holding parishes. Of the twelve, four were Episcopally ordained. Two, *probably*, had Presbyterian ordination, and three are *said* to have had no other. Of these nine, there is not even the least proof that any one of them ever held a parish. One was the Dr. De Laune, of whom mention is made only in the quasi-Cosin letter above examined. And the other (Francis) is said, by the infidel pamphleteer, Matthew Tindal, to have held the Mastership of the Temple. No particulars have been furnished, and, above all, no proof that the man was, and was known to be, only a Presbyterian minister. The other three of the "well authenticated cases," furnished by Dr. Cummins, are now acknowledged to have been invented by *Alter Historicus*! Such, then, is the sum total of the evidence.

But Dr. Fisher seems to think that the cases of Whittingham, Travers, and Cartwright, are not so conclusive against the view he takes, as we contend that they are. He says, indeed, that when "fairly stated," they tend to overthrow what I maintain. I have not stated them unfairly; and if I could bring myself to do so for the purpose of gaining an advantage, it would be but a *temporary* advantage, followed, certainly, by exposure and scorn. But how does Professor Fisher deal with them? He introduces, in Whittingham's case, matter that had nothing to do with the suit,—such as his having written a preface to Goodman's book against the "Mon-

strous Regiment of Women," thereby insinuating that this had made him obnoxious to Elizabeth and her Court, and that the process against him may have originated in, or been favored by, this feeling; whereas the fact is, that he owed his appointment to the influence of the Queen's favorite,—that he had lived in peace under Elizabeth for nearly twenty years, and enjoyed his benefice, in spite of his endorsement of Goodman's impolitic publication; and further, that the resistance experienced by his Metropolitan, when endeavoring to have the law carried out against him, was chiefly from the Court of Elizabeth!

I did not give every detail of the case in my former letters, simply because (as Dr. Fisher says), even the hospitable "Tribune" could not be expected to print *everything*; but no circumstance was omitted that was at all necessary to the decision of the point now in debate. The reverend gentleman, professing to supply some of my omissions, says, "there was a standing conflict" between Whittingham and Archbishop Sandys, who prosecuted him. I have no idea that Dr. Fisher meant to be unfair in making this representation; but, assuredly, it is not calculated to leave upon the mind of the reader a correct impression. One would suppose from it, that there had been a long-continued personal feud between the men, and that the official proceedings against the Dean might be traced to this, or were only incidental. But there was no *such* feud, and the only "conflict" was this very one of which the history is as follows:

Whittingham got his position in Durham Cathedral through the influence of the infamous Earl of Leicester (who was called the Puritan's Chancellor) and Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. It is to be presumed that his Bishop (Pilkington) knew of his defective Orders, and yet allowed him to enter upon the office, and permitted him, while holding it, to let discipline sleep, and to do other serious injury. (Hutchinson's History of Durham says, "he committed sad outrages in the Church, by destroying the antiquities and the monuments.") Pilkington was too much of a Puritan to interfere with his Puritanical Dean; and Grindal, Archbishop of York, was too favorably disposed toward that side to be strict with Pilkington. But the death of Archbishop Parker caused Grindal's translation to Canterbury, and Sandys, Bishop of London, became Archbishop of York. Meanwhile Pilkington had died, and so Sandys proceeded, as was his right and his duty, to hold an official visitation in Durham, *sedes vacante*.

Whittingham, conscious of what would follow (for Bishop Barnes, who succeeded Pilkington, said he found the Cathedral a sort

of Augean stable), denied the Archbishop's right to hold visitation. Nevertheless, articles of inquiry were prepared and submitted. One of these questions was as to his own Orders and right to hold his preferment; but the Dean would not submit, nor even reply to the question, whereupon the Archbishop silenced and excommunicated him. Whittingham then applied to the Queen's Council, knowing that he might rely upon the help of such men as Leicester, Huntington, Walsingham, and Knollys, and most probably of Burleigh himself. A Commission was appointed to examine the question of right. This Commission was evidently arranged with a view to having the contumacious Dean maintained, for it consisted of the Archbishop and two men who were both favorers of Puritanism, and both hostile to Sandys. These Commissioners expressed their opinion very freely and very strongly, but their opinion was not law, and could not change the law. Huntington was obliged, therefore, to content himself with a letter to Burleigh, in which he argued that a decision ought to be given for Whittingham, otherwise the Church at Geneva would take it unkindly. Another Commission was issued (May 14, 1578) to the same three, and along with them, to the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Evers, Sir William Mallory, Sir Robert Stapleton, and two others. Now, of these, three were determined opponents of the Archbishop. (1) Hutton, the Dean of his own Cathedral, who was not much more favorable to his visitation of York, than Whittingham was to that of Durham. (2) Sir Robert Stapleton, who was afterward concerned in one of the vilest conspiracies ever formed to destroy a man of such character and standing. The particulars are not fit for publication here, but may be read in full in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Stapleton confessed his shameful crime, and endured a long imprisonment for it. (3) The most important of all, Huntington, the Lord President, who had a little private revenge to indulge. In those days of Church robbery, when every courtier was trying to get what he could, Huntington, supposing that Sandys, grateful for his promotion, would not refuse a favor, or would fear to resist persons of great influence, *put in a claim for Bishopthorp, the official residence of the Archbishops of York*. That would have been a royal prize to gain, and to leave to his family after him. But Sandys refused to submit to any such wrong, and, when the matter was pressed, stoutly resisted, and by so doing, prepared trouble for himself, whenever Providence would put him in the power of the Lord President, or any whom he could influence. This Whittingham affair gave Huntington the opportunity he desired, and he did his

best to pay off the score, but could not succeed in carrying his point. The trial was adjourned at different times throughout the year, for the purpose of giving Whittingham time to collect evidence that he thought would help him. In November an account was drawn up by the Archbishop of what had been done, and signed officially, by the rest of the Commissioners, including Huntington; but this honorable gentleman, "not liking the proceedings," sent a private letter to the Lord Treasurer, to counteract them; and it is from *that* letter, that "back-stairs" communication, that some writers profess to quote "the President's decision."

The charge was, that Whittingham was legally disqualified from holding his office, being neither Priest nor Deacon, according to the laws of the realm, "but a mere layman." And the answer was: "He confesseth that he is neither Deacon nor Minister, according to the order and law of this realm; but *that he is a mere layman, he denieth.*" For, saith he: "I was Ordered in Queen Mary's time, in Geneva, according to the form there used, . . . which Orders of mine were as agreeable to the laws of this realm, as any other form, until the 8th of the Queen's Majesty's reign." To this the Archbishop's Chancellor replied: "The latter part of his reply is wholly untrue; but I impute it to his ignorance," etc.

To prove his own statement respecting his ordination, Whittingham handed in certificates which did not establish even that, and so it was decided that he had not proved that he had been "orderly made minister at Geneva." Dr. Fisher says I left out this material fact. It is not material in the present discussion, and I had elsewhere stated it fully, and dealt with it. But, pray, how does it help the cause of Dr. Cummins? In any case, the Church of Geneva was no more concerned in the matter, than the Church of England was in any ordination among the French refugees in London or Glastonbury. The Dean had received his ministerial authority, such as it was, from the other English exiles at Geneva, and not from the Swiss Church. So when Huntington made his invidious argument, the plain declaration of this fact was a fair and full reply to it.

What else could have been said? No one is required, in any discussion, to go farther than he need do to maintain his cause. It would have been very foolish, as well as very unkind, to make even an indirect assault upon the Genevan Church, when the fact that Whittingham had not been properly ordained could be proved without it. But this objection is no better than a quibble. What essential difference does it make whether or not the man was ordained



by French-speaking people in a church building, or by English-speaking people in their humble place of meeting? He had had Presbyterian ordination. No one doubted the truth of his own declaration on that point, though, technically, he had not proved the fact. He was ordained in the congregation of which John Knox was Pastor (McCrie's Knox, Amer. ed. p. 49). Thus his right to minister was, at the very least, as good as Calvin's; nevertheless, the ecclesiastical authorities proceeded against him as "a mere layman," and if he had lived, would have deprived him of the office he held in the English Church. Such, then, is the whole of that case.

In connection with Travers, Professor Fisher takes the same ground as in this last. He says Whitgift, who silenced him, "was careful not to deny the validity of Presbyterian ordination, such as was practised in the foreign Churches!" Does my respected opponent suppose we are discussing the merits of different *kinds* of Presbyterian ordination, or even that the question of the validity of Presbyterian orders is that with which he has undertaken to deal? On the theory of non-Episcopalians, Travers, having had "the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," was a fully and regularly ordained minister, quite as much so as Beza was, or Turretin. But on our principle he was not ordained at all, and so was silenced. Some years after he had thus lost his office at the Temple, Trinity College, Dublin, was founded, and he was offered a position in it, which he accepted. While he was there, there was among the students a very promising lad of about fifteen or sixteen years, called James Ussher. Civil commotion having driven Travers away, he returned to England, and remained in obscurity as "a mere layman" till his death. This is the plain history, and I repeat it for the purpose of showing the way in which it is told in all puritanical books, *inter alia*, in one of the most popular books published in this country against Episcopacy, viz., "Presbytery not Prelacy," by the Rev. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston. This gentleman mentions Travers as an instance of one who was allowed to hold preferment by virtue of his Presbyterian ordination, thus:

"In 1586, in consequence of 13th Elizabeth, there were many Scotch divines<sup>1</sup> in possession of benefices, and Mr. Travers, who had been ordained at Antwerp, was Lecturer at the Temple, and afterward Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and tutor to Archbishop Ussher!"

No word here of any process against him. The denial of his

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<sup>1</sup> Something like Falstaff's forty men in Buckram.



right to minister, and his exclusion from office in spite of his Presbyterian Orders, would be rather unfavorable facts to bring forward in Dr. Smyth's book. The truth is suppressed, and its contrary more than suggested. And such is the way that history is made tributary to party!

Now, then, I may claim that everything that pretends to have a direct bearing upon the question under consideration has been disposed of, and may devote some little time to what Professor Fisher advances in the way of argument, to show that the assertion made by himself and Dr. Cummins is *probably* true.

His main point is the friendship which existed between the English and the Continental divines at and after the Reformation. The way in which he speaks of this surprises me. He says, "Dr. Drumm *concedes that there was an ecclesiastical fellowship*," and he speaks of "certain writers who ignore or deny the fact." If Dr. Fisher means that the English Reformers had very kind feelings toward their contemporaries in the Continental Churches, and that there was much interchange of friendly correspondence, I do not remember any writer who has denied or ignored that very evident fact. But if he means something more than this (and something more certainly is implied in the expression "the Church of England was *in communion* with those other Churches"), then I do not concede it.

To be in communion, Churches must so stand with reference to each other, that lay members may pass to and fro as freely as from parish to parish, and that there is mutual recognition of the Orders of their ministers. Each may have minor regulations to which those coming from the other are required to conform, but in all essential matters the two are equal, and reordination is unheard of. Thus the Presbyterians of this country and of Scotland are in communion. Thus the Episcopalians in England and here are in communion. The State law of England would prevent an American clergyman from holding a parish there, except by special act permitting it, but the Church recognizes fully the validity of our Orders, and we recognize theirs, and their men can come here and take parishes without let or hindrance. Can it be shown that the English and Genevan or German Churches stood in any such relation to each other? If Dr. Fisher thinks I have acknowledged that there was any fellowship of that kind, he has strangely misapprehended my meaning. If *that* were granted, there would be really nothing left to discuss. Instances of admission to benefices would not be so eagerly sought for, if the principle underlying such

admission were conceded. The Doctor is therefore mistaken, and, with all due respect, I must protest against what seems to be a quiet begging of the question. There is no formal Synodical Act by which the Church of England "recognizes" the foreign Churches as having proper authority and a complete organization. There is no law recognizing their ordination, but, on the contrary, one continuous stream of enactments by which they are in effect declared to be null and void. This is the actual state of the case. The foreign Churches were regarded with interest and affection. They were regarded as Churches, but not as *complete* Churches. Their defect was attributed entirely to necessity, and such as being unavoidable ought not to be objected against them. They were considered as having sufficient warrant to send forth men to minister in word and Sacrament among themselves, where no better authority could be obtained, but where Episcopal ordination was procurable, their Orders were held to be irregular and invalid. And all the kindly words of English Bishops and other ministers prove nothing to the contrary of this. I would not, if I could, deny or erase one of the courteous or loving sentences that were written in those days, but I would not mistake their meaning and value. Even when one or two persons, who, from residence at Zurich or Geneva, had acquired what Archbishop Parker called the Germanical nature, wrote such eulogies upon the Helvetic Churches as proved that THEY considered them even better than their own, they spoke for themselves only. Their opinions had no value but as those of individuals, and individuals who were not of supreme importance as regards influence or number. The Church was no more responsible for what they did or wrote, than our American Church is responsible for the private opinions or personal acts of the gentleman who was until recently the Assistant Bishop of Kentucky.

Dr. Fisher seems to attach great importance to the fact that judgment of the Continental divines was often asked upon the points disputed between the Church and the Puritans. He thinks that fact showed a general disposition on the part of the English clergies to defer to the others. But this is a great mistake. The Puritans were the scholars of the foreign Reformers, and in spirit they were outrunning their teachers; in the wantonness of their zeal they were bent on destroying things that were innocent and profitable, along with those that were superstitious; they magnified the merest trifles into matters of conscience, and they scorned all lawful authority. What the foreign Protestants had been *obliged*

to do without, *they* wilfully rejected, and what the former set aside as unnecessary, they passionately opposed as sinful. The Church authorities could therefore, very safely and consistently in such a case, use the decision of the Swiss divines to silence and satisfy (if that were possible) their factious followers. This fully explains and justifies the appeals referred to by Dr. Fisher, and it is highly creditable to the fairness and judgment of the foreign Reformers that they all, except A'Lasco (and in some degree Calvin and Beza), counselled godly quietness and conformity.

That men of mark were respected in those days, as well as in these, I have no thought of denying; but whatever *special* regard was paid to the Swiss or German ministers was due to them, not in the character of ministers of this or that body, but as men of prominence for learning, for intellectual power, or for zeal and godliness. Bullinger, from his ability and amiability, was deservedly a favorite, more especially with those who had enjoyed the generous hospitality of Zurich. And Calvin, from his great intellectual power and force of character, would have been a leader among men, no matter in what body his lot had been cast. He did indeed (as Professor Fisher says) exercise a sort of Archi-Episcopal authority among the Swiss and French Protestants, but it was to this, or rather to the personal qualities that gained it, he owed whatever of special regard the English had for him, and not at all to the fact that he was pastor in the little town of Geneva. But it can hardly have escaped the observation of Dr. Fisher, that there is a very marked difference between the frequency and the tone of the letters addressed by English Churchmen to him and to the other Reformers. For instance, Cranmer's letters to Melancthon were four times as many as to Calvin, and were full of cordiality, while those sent to the latter were somewhat cold and formal.

As regards the divisions among the English exiles at Frankfort, Dr. Fisher says both parties, "by a common consent, appealed to Calvin for advice." This is not quite correct. If it were, it would only prove what we agree in confessing, that John Calvin had made his individuality so felt, that he had become a sort of general referee and counsellor to all the Reformed in those regions, but it is not quite correct. The party that held Calvin's doctrines and admired what we in this country would call his "platform," and desired to introduce it, would very naturally appeal to him. The others, if they had wholly refused arbitration, would have been condemned by the common voice of all the Reformed, so they consented to leave the decision of certain matters to five prominent pastors, of

whom Calvin was one. Meanwhile, their opponents made out in Latin a sort of epitome and description of the English service for Calvin to examine and condemn, and when the others heard what had been done they also wrote to prevent, if possible, the expression of any hasty or unfair decision. But Calvin, nevertheless, on the *ex parte* representation made to him, ventured to rebuke the Englishmen who remained faithful to their own Church, and to describe the Liturgy as containing some "tolerable fooleries" (see Troubles at Frankfort, pages 28 to 56). Then Dr. Cox and his associates sent him a letter, in which his presuming to judge on such grounds, and to censure them for adhering to their own forms, was kindly but decidedly condemned, and he was very politely reminded that it might be as well for him to mind his own business.

"We regard you with entire veneration and love, both by reason of your singular godliness and also of your especial preëminence in the most valuable attainments." . . . "You heard the reasons which would not allow us to depart from the received form; you heard them, indeed, but not from us, and probably not all of them, and, indeed, we have little doubt but that you would easily refute them; but we are confident that the best reasons of our conduct will stand good before the judgment seat of GOD." . . . "You object to us, lights and crosses. As to lights, we never had any: and with respect to crosses, if we ever made use of them, these friends of yours have not imposed upon you." . . . "From these words of yours it is quite evident that you are entirely ignorant of almost all the circumstances of our case." "But you are right in restraining yourself, or you would otherwise (as the Mountebanks do) fight to no purpose against things which have no existence." . . . "We earnestly entreat you no longer to mix yourselves up in so hateful a business, lest some disparagement should arise to your reputation, which we desire should at all times be most honorable and holy."

That Calvin's theological system did, during the second half of the sixteenth century, become the favorite one in England, and that it continued so for one or two generations, no one will deny; but in that respect it only took its turn with the writings of Erasmus, Melanethon, Bullinger, and Limborch, to say nothing of native divines. And that it was possible to accept Calvin's theological opinions, and yet utterly repudiate his whole system of Church Government, is shown by such instances as Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop Davenant, and Bishop Hall.

The mention of the great Genevan divine brings to mind another matter that is worthy of attention. The Rev. Dr. Thompson, in his first letter to you, said that all of the first Reformers who were clergymen were Episcopally ordained, but

among those who are popularly classed with the *first* Reformers there were two or three exceptions to this rule. Of these, Calvin unquestionably was one, and I know no good reason for doubting that Fagius was another. Now if my respected opponent were right in supposing that the circumstance of a man's having been Episcopally ordained would not have a feather's weight with the English Protestants, it would, I think, be impossible to account for the fact, that we find distinctions drawn and apologetic language used in reference to these two men, that we do not find in connection with others.

Take the case of Fagius. In his own country he was well known and greatly respected, not only as a teacher, but as a pastor, and among the English he was very highly esteemed for his attainments as a Hebrew scholar. When the dark days of the Interim came upon the German Reformers, and many of them were seeking safety in other lands, Archbishop Cranmer wrote offering them asylum in England, and hospitably received the chief among them as inmates of his own home. The leaders were all invited, but there was a difference between the manner in which Fagius was invited and that employed in the case of Bucer and Martyr. The letter in which the former was advised or urged to go to England was *not* an invitation, but a communication, telling him that if he went *uninvited*, he would be welcomed and treated well. It was written by Coverdale, not by Cranmer, and the following sentence from it proves the difference to which I refer:

"Wherefore, although our rulers *may not invite you by name*, eminent as you are among the scholars of Germany, and this probably, as I before hinted to you, *from secret motives*, yet we who know you well, entreat you most solemnly to come over to us, where you need not fear but that you will be most acceptable, and, therefore, treated with the greatest kindness."

Now what could have caused this unwillingness to take the same course with him as with others? Coverdale's letter shows that it could be no demerit in the man himself. It was no special political entanglement, for we hear of none, and we know that in *that* way Fagius was not a person of sufficient prominence to make it necessary for the English rulers in Church and State to be reserved or diplomatic in their dealings with him. Neither was it any dislike to him personally, or any want of kindly interest in him, for at that very time his son Paul, Junior, was living with Archbishop Cranmer as a *protégé*, receiving education at his expense. What, then, could have made the difference? What made it seem inexpedient to invite Fagius openly, or to put him on precisely the same



footing as others? *What*, if not that one particular in which he differed from such of them as were ministers of the Gospel, viz., lack of Episcopal ordination? For my own part, I think the good Archbishop was over scrupulous. The intention was to befriend Fagius in his time of difficulty—to give him a support as teacher of Hebrew, and that could have been done without the least reference to his being, or not being, in Holy Orders. The cautiousness of the English authorities, then, seems to have been unnecessarily great. Cranmer must have perceived this himself, for about five months afterward he empowered Peter Alexander to write to Fagius, inviting him by name. This fact, however, does not in the least degree weaken the force of what has been said. There was *some* difficulty found in dealing with the case of Fagius. There was *something* which, while it did not deprive him of the friendship and respect of the English authorities, made it appear to them unwise or improper to invite him by name, and that *something*, I believe, was his defective ordination, for that was the one point on which he was different from Martyr, Bucer, Bernardine, Ochino, and Peter Alexander.

Let us now return to Calvin. He was asked to go to England, but never as these men were asked. They were promised welcome and permanent positions; he was asked only to take part in a Conference for the purpose of promoting agreement in doctrine. This was a duty that any learned and godly man could discharge. The Augsburg Confession was agreed upon by a body of which laymen were the most important part, and the document itself was written by Philip Melancthon, who was not in Holy Orders and made no pretensions to the ministry. So, then, Calvin's being called to take part in a Conference, in England, involved no recognition whatever of ministerial character. But would he have gone without such recognition? We think not. He claimed to be a minister of Christ's Church, and was acknowledged as such by probably all the Continental Protestants; but it was notorious that he was without Episcopal ordination, which the English Church had always held to be necessary; and it was equally notorious that he had invented a scheme of polity, very different from what had ever existed before among Orthodox Christians. These things would naturally prevent the authorities of the English Church paying him any such attention, as might even seem to be a virtual acknowledgment of him as a minister of Christ, or a tacit approval of his public course in that particular. But if Dr. Fisher's theory were correct, they would have paid no heed to such things. If the question of Orders was



not considered a matter of the least importance, Archbishop Cranmer would not only have addressed Calvin as he did others, but would have given him even greater honor, and a more pressing invitation. The eminence of the Genevan divine would have required this; for except in Melancthon, he had no equal in ability and influence, so, if his defective ordination or his invention of Presbyterianism presented no bar, he would have been sought after and pressed to go to England, not only to deliberate in council on Christian doctrine, but to take the most prominent position in the Universities, and to hold the pastoral office in the Church. Such certainly would have been the case if Dr. Fisher's theory were correct. But it was *not* the case, and I leave your readers to draw the inference.

Calvin was of too much importance to be left out when the holding of a General Conference of Protestants was under consideration, but he was not addressed with such warmth and earnestness as the others were.

Melancthon was first invited, in October, 1547, a second time in February, 1548, a third time in that same year, and for the fourth time in March, 1552, in which month the invitation was extended to Calvin, and that (so far as yet appears) was the only one he ever received (see Gorham's *Reformation Gleanings*, p. 63, note). The desire for Melancthon's presence was felt and expressed in the kindest manner, in repeated letters to him during a period of five years, while Calvin was addressed once, or, possibly, twice. And the difference in frequency of the communications sent to him, and to the amiable Saxon Reformer, was not more marked than the difference in their tone and language. Indeed, as to warmth of expression, Bullinger, A'Lasco, and Hardenburg could boast of being more honored by the great Archbishop than Calvin was. And it is somewhat significant that the invitation to settle in England with promise of maintenance, which the latter never received, was given, not only to Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, Ochino, Musculus, Bibliander, and Cœlius Curio, but also to Sebastian Castalio, whom Calvin had denounced as a teacher of error, and had expelled from Geneva.

Two or three of those whose names are here given, were, so far as we know, no better off in the matter of Orders than Calvin was; but the duty they were asked to perform, the position offered to them, did not require that they should be ordained. In this respect, then, they and he stood on the same level, and whatever difference there was between the communications made to him and to them is to be accounted for on the ground that he was emphatically the representative of a system different from that which the Church of

Christ had always maintained, and which, therefore, the English Reformers had pledged themselves to uphold. The intellectual force and dominating spirit of Calvin, as well as his new "platform" of Church government, had drawn upon him the eyes of all Christendom, and had made his own defect of true ministerial authority more conspicuous; therefore it seemed desirable for the English divines to be just as little entangled with him as possible. So far as I can remember, he was the only one of the Reformers, except Farel, whose right to minister had at that time been called in question, and this made it very important for the English Church to avoid any closer relation with him than was actually necessary.

If the reader wishes proof of the fact here stated, he is referred to Beza's *Life of Calvin* (especially Sibson's translation, with footnote on p. 13), and also to Calvin's own writings, *ex gra*, his preface to the *Commentary on the Psalms*. He says :

"I discharged, first, the office of Professor, and afterward that of Pastor, in that Church, and I *CONTENT* that I *accepted of that charge having the authority of a LAWFUL VOCATION.*"

Dr. Fisher might say that this language was used to a Romanist, and would have been unnecessary if the writer had been addressing a Protestant; but would it have been used at all, if the question of Orders was regarded as not having "a feather's weight?" And is it the fact that such language would not have been employed in writing to one of the Reformed faith? It is *not* the fact, for in a letter to Lady Anne Seymour, Calvin said :

"I have been informed that you are not only adorned with a liberal education . . . but that you are so conversant, also, in the doctrine of Christ, as to afford an *easy access to His ministers, in the number of whom, IF I AM NOT MISTAKEN, YOU INCLUDE MYSELF.*"

What man, whose ministerial character had not been questioned among Protestants, would write in such a strain to a Protestant? I might be asked to show that his ordination had been condemned; but inability to quote any formal statement upon the matter, does not prove that an unfavorable opinion was not entertained. There is the evidence that the point had been mooted; that it was a sore subject with Calvin; that he stood upon his defence, and that he was glad to find in England a correspondent of rank, who would acknowledge him as a true Minister of Christ.

The absence of any denunciation, or public denial of his right to minister, is very easily explained; first, by the fact that the Church of England had neither the right nor the desire to pro-

nounce upon the qualifications of individuals who were not subject to her jurisdiction, and, secondly, by the fact, so often referred to, that the Continental Reformed Churches were regarded as acting under necessity, which obliged them to do what otherwise they would not have done.

Before taking leave of Calvin, I must devote a paragraph or two to another matter. In my former reply to Professor Fisher, I quoted some and referred to other remarkable testimonies, to the Scriptural authority and practical value of Episcopacy, given by some of the leaders in the Reformation movement on the Continent. The reverend gentleman acknowledged these testimonies, but tried to evade their force, by saying that what they commended was an Episcopacy *jure humano*, a sort of Presbytery with a permanent president, who would be *primus inter pares*, and nothing more; but the incorrectness of this representation will be made apparent as we proceed. Concerning Calvin's rather remarkable declarations, he says his principles on the subject of Episcopacy "were in harmony with those of Luther, Melancthon, and Cranmer." I thank the reverend gentleman for this admission, which is even greater than justice required him to make. I think that Calvin's view of the authority of the Episcopate did not quite come up to Luther's. Luther's certainly was not as strong as Melancthon's, nor Melancthon's as Cranmer's. But if Dr. Fisher is willing to assert that these "founders" of the Continental Reformed Churches, which were organized without the order of Bishops, held, after all, the same principles as the Primate under whom the English Church was reformed, he grants all that I have alleged on this subject. Melancthon, Luther, Prince George of Anhalt (who was himself a superintendent, or *quasi* Bishop), and Calvin, though they founded Churches which are *now* Presbyterian, yet really agreed with those who, in reforming the English Church, were careful to preserve the threefold Ministry and the Apostolical succession. Circumstances compelled them to act in opposition to their principles. Their ecclesiastical arrangements were defective, *not* from deliberate choice, but from necessity.

But notwithstanding his own admission, Professor Fisher tries to set aside the evidence I supplied of Calvin's respect for the Episcopal Order. He says:

"I am acquainted with the story of the intercepted letter which Strype has taken up in his Life of Parker; but I know of NO EVIDENCE to lead one to think that Calvin wished to have Episcopacy introduced into the REFORMED CHURCHES WHICH HAD GIVEN IT UP."

Bold as this seems, it is still a perfectly safe assertion, for *there were no such Churches!* One must possess a thing before he can give it up. But we have yet to learn that any Reformed Church possessed a true Episcopacy, and by formal act determined to abolish it. But we presume that the reverend gentleman means those Churches in which the Bishops having resisted the Reformation, the work was carried on without them; for instance, the Churches of Germany and Switzerland. Is there "no evidence," then, that Calvin wished Episcopacy established in these, or in either of them. Strype shows that there is very conclusive evidence, but Dr. Fisher denies it, and this is a noteworthy fact. Hitherto I have contended that a statement was not necessarily true because it was "taken up" by Strype. Dr. Fisher treated that view as an injustice, an ungenerous aspersion upon the character of the honest historian. Strype had "taken up" the notion that in consequence of the Act 13th Elizabeth, Presbyterian ministers, as such, were for a long time admitted to the cure of souls in the English Church. That law (as your readers now know) said nothing, directly or indirectly, about Presbyterian ministers, while all other laws, civil and ecclesiastical, required that persons who held parishes should be Episcopally ordained. Thus the error was manifest, but inasmuch as Dr. Fisher had himself "taken up" the notion, he clung to the authority of those from whom he had received it, and seemed surprised and even a little indignant that their assertions should not be regarded as equivalent to proof. Referring to me, he said, "Even Strype, he thinks, is not to be trusted!" But now comes a matter which Dr. Fisher does not like so well, and, though the good old chronicler gives in connection with it the best possible authority for his statement, the Professor himself discredits the story. He knows of "no evidence" that Calvin had the desire which he is represented as having, and so "even Strype, he thinks, is not to be trusted!" The reverend gentleman told us, in one of his letters, that in theological strife Hamlet and Laertes sometimes exchange rapiers, and now he does his best to illustrate the remark, but I prefer keeping my own weapon and my old position.

With all possible respect for Strype, and with entire confidence in his honesty, I still maintain that his "taking up" a statement or notion is not of itself sufficient to make us receive it as unquestionably true. His representation of things, that did not come within the range of his own personal knowledge, must be judged by the

nature and amount of the evidence he gives. What, then, is furnished in the present instance? Dr. Fisher says there is, in effect, none whatever. I appeal to the record, that your readers may decide for themselves.

Item No. 1. "They (the Protestant foreigners) took such great joy and satisfaction in this good King (Edward VI.) and his establishment of religion, that the heads of them, Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him *offered to make him their defender and to have BISHOPS IN THEIR CHURCHES AS THERE WERE IN ENGLAND with the tender of their service to assist and unite together.* This nettled the learned [Roman Catholics] at Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers, and they verily thought that all the heretics, as they called them, would now unite among themselves and become one body receiving the same discipline exercised in England. Which if it should happen that they should have heretical Bishops near them in those parts, they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall. Whereupon were sent two of their emissaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists and preach against the baptizing infants, and preach up rebaptizing and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And besides this, one D. G. authorized by these learned men despatched a letter written in May, 1549, from Delf, in Holland, to two Bishops, whereof Gardiner of Winchester was one, signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive them and cherish them and take their parts, telling them that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others whom they knew to be well affected to the mother Church. This letter is lately put in print. Sir Henry Sidney first met with it in Queen Elizabeth's closet, among some papers of Queen Mary's. He transcribed it into a book of his called 'The Romish Policies.' It afterwards came into the hands of Archbishop Ussher, and was transcribed thence by Sir James Ware" (Strype's *Cranmer*, Barnes's edition, vol. i. 299,300; see also a copy of D. G.'s letter, reprinted from "Foxes and Firebrands," in Ecclesiastical History Society edition of this work).

The reader will observe that in this statement, which I give at full length to prevent any misapprehension, Strype writes positively, and fortifies his statement by reference to documents and persons. It was unfortunate that he was not able to give a copy of the letter to Edward, but, however desirable, it is not actually necessary. I think no reasonable person can doubt that the purport of it is fairly given. But let us now turn to the second item of evidence, the one to which Dr. Fisher referred:

"How Calvin stood affected in the said point of Episcopacy, and how readily and gladly he and other heads of the Reformed Churches would have received it, is evident enough from his writings and epistles. In his book 'Of the Necessity of Reforming the Church,' he hath these words: 'Let them give us such an hierarchy, in which Bishops may be so above the rest as that they refuse not to be under Christ, and depend upon Him as their only Head,



that they maintain a brotherly society, etc. If there be any that do not behave themselves with all reverence and obedience towards them, **THERE IS NO ANATHEMA BUT I CONFESS THEM WORTHY OF IT.** But especially his opinion of Episcopacy is manifest from a letter *he and Bullinger and other learned men of that sort, wrote anno 1549, to King Edward VI., offering to make him their defender, and to have Bishops in their Churches, for better unity and concord among them, as may be seen in Archbishop Cranmer's Memorials; and LIKEWISE by a writing of Archbishop Abbot, found among the MSS. of Archbishop Ussher, which, for the remarkableness of it, and the mention of Archbishop Parker's papers, I shall here set down.*

“Perusing some papers of our predecessor, Matthew Parker, we find that John Calvin, and others of the Protestant Churches of Germany and elsewhere, *would have had Episcopacy, if permitted, but COULD NOT upon several accounts,* partly fearing the other princes of the Roman Catholic faith would have joined with the Emperor and the rest of the Popish Bishops to have depressed the same; partly, being newly-reformed and not settled, they had not sufficient wealth to support Episcopacy by reason of their daily persecutions. Another and a main cause was, that they would not have any Popish hands laid over their clergy. And whereas John Calvin had sent a letter in King Edward the VI.'s reign, to have conferred with the clergy of England, about some things to this effect; two Bishops, viz., Gardiner and Bonner, intercepted the same, whereby Mr. Calvin's offerture perished. And he received an answer as if it had been from the Reformed divines of those times, wherein they checked him and slighted his proposals, from which time John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance in certain points, which otherwise, through God's mercy, had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered unto the Queen's Majesty during John Calvin's life. But being not discovered until about the sixth year of her Majesty's reign, her Majesty much lamented they were not found sooner, which she expressed before the Council at the same time, in the presence of her great friends—Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William Cecil.”

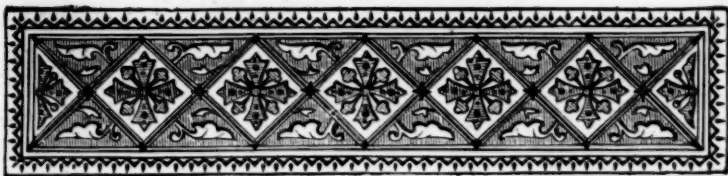
Here, then, we have testimony direct and positive in itself, and also confirming that previously given. And mark the authentication. Strype gives it from a MS. that was in the possession of that great collector of historical documents, Archbishop Ussher; it was written by Archbishop Abbot, and contained his account of what he found in the archives of his diocese, or the private memoranda of Archbishop Parker. Ussher and Abbot were contemporaries and friends, and the well-known zeal of the former for historical accuracy, and his special interest in things relating to the Church, will account for his having the document in his possession. In all probability, it was sent to him direct from Canterbury. It certainly was genuine, or he would have detected and destroyed it at once. His acceptance of it is sufficient authentication for us. So, then, we are brought down to the plain declaration of Archbishop Abbot; and I trust it will not be considered proof of Episco-



palian prejudice if I say that the statement of an honorable man concerning things wherein he could not be mistaken, ought to be believed, even though he happened to be an Archbishop! He gives what he found among papers written by his predecessor, Parker, who held the primacy and was a member of the Queen's Privy Council at the time referred to, and had, therefore, the best possible opportunity of knowing the whole matter. Moreover, Ussher and Abbot were both strong Calvinists in doctrine, and as much inclined to favor the Presbyterian mode of Church government as any conscientious Episcopalian could be; it is therefore not to be supposed for a moment that they would publish anything that could have the effect of placing Calvin in an unfavorable light, unless the interests of truth really required it, and they were positively sure of their facts. On the whole, then, I venture to say that Dr. Fisher has seldom seen an historical point more satisfactorily established than this, and yet he knows of "NO EVIDENCE to lead one to think that Calvin wished to have *Episcopacy introduced*" into the Reformed Churches on the continent!

It is agreed upon between us, that during the Reformation period there was no controversy about Episcopacy. Dr. Fisher strives to account for this by saying that Church government was not considered a matter of any great importance. On the other hand, we contend that there was no controversy, because in those days everybody knew and acknowledged that Episcopacy was the true and scriptural form of polity. Of this I gave in my former letter what I still regard as sufficient proof, although Dr. Fisher has not received it as sufficient. But it is very easy to give additional evidence. Some has now been supplied in those extracts from Strype, which show that even Calvin approved of and desired an Episcopacy, free from Romish error and lordly arrogance. I have abundance in reserve *ex gra.*

[To be continued in July.]



## BOOK NOTICES.

THE LIFE OF EMMA WILLARD. By John Lord, LL.D., Author of "The Old Roman World," "Ancient States and Empires," "Modern History for Schools," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873.

If the distinguished author of this biography had written it merely to eulogize Madam Willard, he would have performed a task most unacceptable to the subject of it, could she have been here to disclose her wishes. He evinces a true and admirable conception of her spirit, by keeping himself as a picturist out of sight, or in the background, and allowing her to be vocal in her own behalf. So his book will be far more attractive to those who knew Madam Willard intimately, and could appreciate her justly, than if it had resembled ordinary memoirs, with their ringing panegyrics. Some thought her an egotist while living, and may still think her such, because she here speaks of herself so often, and of her personal schemes, aims, and expectations. It was in childlike simplicity of heart that the good lady did so; for if she thus spoke, it was not for self's sake, but for the philanthropic objects she was always endeavoring to promote. We knew her well, and prized her, we think, in the way in which, and in which only, she cared to be prized,—as a genuine and intelligent Philanthropist; and can therefore recommend this volume as a fairer one and an honester one than it may be accounted by the lovers of adulation. To them it will be

a low-toned one. To those who understand the case, it will be like a portrait, which was not painted to flatter, but to identify.

Madam Willard deserves as much (not to say much more) of her country's reverence and gratitude as any lady who ever lived in it. She applied herself, "body, soul, and spirit," to the subject of female education, when it was so dead and buried, that it needed the energies of a resurrection to give it hopeful life. We have particular reasons for knowing that, after the American Revolution, women were almost forgotten, save as drudges or hard-working housewives; and the idea of elevating them by education, was like an echo of the change which has just been accomplished by our civil war—a war which, if terrible in itself, has achieved an immensity of good, by rendering our before nominally free land, a land of actual freedom to every class of its inhabitants. And yet it was amid such most unpropitious auspices that she came forward as the dauntless pioneer and champion of a then "forlorn hope." Nay, she had a statesman's intuitions for comprehending the times and the circumstances by which she was surrounded. She saw, at a glance, what her native land pre-eminently needed—mothers, who might mould and train the oncoming children of the new and broad republic. She could not have looked at female education from a fitter or nobler standpoint. And with such an idea as a lodestar, she began to elaborate a plan, which made her the former and fashioner of female education, with an influence which still lives, and for which generations may rise up and call her blessed.

As we verily believe, she has made more good wives and good mothers than any person born under an American sky. We say good, of special purpose; for goodness was ever her first and presiding aim, in preparing pupils for the trials of futurity. She even contemplated intelligence and intellectual acquisitions, more with reference to such an end than any other. She never forgot character and principle and piety, as always, and under every possible aspect, fundamental and essential things. And an education which did not respect such things, in a fair, open, and earnest way, she not only disapproved, but damnified. Oh, how she scorned an education which was mere varnish; like ornaments put on for garish array and gaping admiration. And, with this, she not unnaturally blended the heartiest sort of contempt for that unsexing ambition, which wants to draw—we would fain say to drag—woman out of the place which is her proper kingdom,—home; and render her a personage for everything *outside of home*, for even the arenas where politicians carry on the satanic trade of making government a machine, to

promote the most sordid interests! She responded with her fullest heart to language which Milton puts upon the lips of the father of our race—

“For nothing lovelier can be found  
In woman, than to study household good,  
And good works in her husband to promote.”

*Par. Lost, Bk. ix. 233.*

If she had been a man, she would have detested the vulgarities and immoralities of politics, as much as Gibbon did the sanctities of Christianity. Virtue was of the very texture of her being; and she could never, by any possibility, have indulged such sympathies as belonged to a man like Matthew Arnold. Of him, the “Popular Science Monthly,” quoting from the “Saturday Review,” gives coolly this most melancholy testimony. He is “the most fervid English devotee” of a German who “read backward, all the sanctities of religion, and all the commands of the moral law” (“Pop. Sci. Mo.” for Oct., 1873, p. 733). If a man is known by the company he keeps, this is an ample explanation for any anomalies which may now or hereafter be found in the votary of such a poisonous companion.

Madam Willard’s love of things truly and magnetically lovely, showed itself in her to the last. It was our duty to be with her in some of the closing scenes of her mortal existence; and, among them all, none struck us as so pertinent and so characteristic, as one on which the proud and worldly might have looked with astonishment or pity. An aged negro and his wife, in whose welfare she had long felt a peculiar interest, were admitted to her bedside, and, with cracked and trembling voices, sang some simple lyrics, expressive of earnest Christian sentiment. We would rather have heard those hymns than the diapasons of an Oratorio.

We are rejoiced to believe that the memory of Madam Willard will have a shrine in thousands of female hearts, and that tens of thousands of sons and daughters will be all the better, for themselves and for their native land, because Providence permitted her to live and to carry out her most benevolent and sagacious plans for the promotion of female education. Her pupils might erect a magnificent monument over her remains; but her truest honor will ever be (and it is an honor which will live on), that they and their offspring will have been, and will continue still to be, all the worthier, because *she* was such a benediction, as she proved, for her times and for her country.

There is only one thing about Dr. Lord’s book, which we are

inclined to lay hold of with the tooth of criticism, and that is, his imitation of Milton's 'sly hit at the forefathers of Puritanism; likening them to Satan's restive crew, for the eagerness with which they dwelt upon the profundities of Calvinistic metaphysics. The great Cromwellian had a grim humor about him, and evidently chuckled, when, depicting infernal Schoolmen, he says they

"Reasoned high  
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will and fate,  
Fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute;  
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

*Par. Lost, Bk. ii. 558.*

Now we submit, that if the venerable ancients of New England are to be abused, they are entitled to Miltonian poetry instead of misquoting prose. "They discussed 'free-will, predestination, and foreknowledge absolute'" (p. 17), is a most inaccurate representation of the lines above. Milton did not use the word *predestination*, though Dr. Lord puts it within his double commas.

A GRAMMAR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. By Alexander Buttmann. Authorized Translation, with numerous additions and corrections by the Author. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1873. Pp. xx.-469.

This work is truly an assistance in the study of the New Testament. The original publication was of very high value, but the present translation is of still greater importance in many respects, not the least of which is, that the author has furnished the translator "with two hundred and sixty-one manuscript additions and corrections for this edition—many of them of considerable length and much importance."

The translator, Prof. Thayer, of Andover, by adding this work to his already well-known translation of Winer, has justified the author's view, that the existence of that work did not supersede the necessity of his own. In fact, both the plan and the execution of the two are essentially unlike. Buttmann's grammar pre-supposes the classical grammar; and, indeed, in its original form, is really an appendix to his father's standard classical grammar. At the head of each topic, is a reference to that grammar, and then follows the treatment of the New Testament usage under this head. This method enables the author to treat the peculiarities of the New Testament language in a more sharp and consecutive way, and gives to the work much greater scientific precision than would have been otherwise possible. At the same time, the plan has certain obvious

disadvantages, especially to the student not trained in Buttmann's classical grammar. These disadvantages, it has been the aim of the translator to remove, without losing the benefit of the original plan. To this end he has added, at the head of each section, corresponding references to Hadley, Crosby, Donaldson, and Jelf, throughout, and, occasionally, also to Goodwin's Syntax of Moods and Tenses, to Winer, and to Short's Essay on the order of words in Attic Prose. He has also incorporated into the text, "so much only from Buttmann's Classical Grammar as was necessary, in every case, to render the matter under discussion intelligible to the student, without recourse to that work." The work thus becomes an appendix to classical grammars in general, rather than to that of any particular author. The additions from Buttmann are made sufficiently charily to interfere only in a very slight degree with the sharpness and scientific precision of the original work, while the gain in other respects is great.

The difference in the treatment of the subject, between Winer and Buttmann, is everywhere apparent. Winer allows reluctantly any departure in the New Testament language, from classical usage, while Buttmann not only is alive to the general tendency of language to wander from the classical standard, but also especially recognizes the influence of the Septuagint, of Hebraistic thought, and even detects traces of Latin in the New Testament Syntax. Such peculiarities, masked in the *Textus Receptus* by the corrections of the scribes, have been largely restored in the texts prepared by the various critical editors from the earlier and better authorities. It is no small merit in Prof. Thayer, that he has so largely supplemented the quotations of Buttmann by references to Tregelles, and to the last edition of Tischendorf. In some instances he has thus been able to correct the statement of his author as, *e. g.*, in regard to *βαρύνω*, which Buttmann (p. 54) states does not occur in the New Testament, while Prof. Thayer is able to cite an instance in Mark, xiv. 40, on the joint authority of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles. These references are numerous, on almost every page, and must have involved an enormous labor. The translation was already stereotyped before the appearance of Tischendorf's eighth edition. The plates were, however, revised and corrected subsequently, and to bring the work into accord with that edition, at the least cost of change in the plates, wherever Buttmann cites "Tdf.," as very frequently happens, for a reading no longer found in the eighth edition, the translator has inserted in brackets "[ed. 7.," or "[eds. 2, 7]." It is unfortunately exceedingly difficult to make corrections

ci.—10



of this kind with perfect accuracy, and we have noted a number of instances of error. On p. 44, where "Tdf." is quoted for the infinitive in—*οὖν*, the translator adds "[ed. 7]," when it is also the reading of ed. 8. The same thing occurs again on p. 46, in regard to the form *δψη*, when the reading of "[eds. 2, 7]" is applied to four instances, in the first and third of which, it is also the reading of ed. 8, but not in the other cases. Again, on p. 48, under the theme *ΙΕΩ*, we have "Tdf." quoted by the author for three references, and the translator has inserted "[eds. 2, 7];" whereas the fact is, that in ed. 8 the same reading is retained in the first instance, and altered in the other two. These notices of slips might be multiplied, so that until further corrections can be made in the plates, it will be necessary for the careful student to verify the references to Tischendorf—a result to be the more regretted, because of the evidence, everywhere, of great labor and care on the part of the translator, and resulting only from the exceeding difficulty of introducing new matter into a completed work, by the correction of the plates.

But it is ungenerous to make so small a criticism, when there is so very much to praise. Let one read the sensible explanation of the use of particles of rest with verbs of motion, and of *ἔως* in the sense of *hither*, on p. 71; of the use of *εἰς*, on p. 333; or of the causes of the variation of New Testament Syntax, from Attic usage, on p. 75, and he will appreciate the tone and breadth of the author. More extended discussions are the admirable one on the use of *ἵνα* (pp. 235–241), which will compare most favorably with the treatment of the same particle by Winer; the excellent discussion of the infinitive with *τοῦ* (pp. 266–271), in which the agreement with, and the departure from, classical usage are most happily traced; the satisfactory explanation of the use of the Aorist for the Perfect (p. 197, *sq.*), unnecessarily denied by Winer; the discussion of the use of the article (pp. 90–93), and many more. From the perusal of these, the student of the New Testament must rise thankful for discussions of difficult points, at once so clear, so just, and so abundantly illustrated by pertinent examples, and those examples cited in full consideration of the latest results of criticism.

It must be added that the volume is rich in indexes, which have been greatly improved, both in form and fulness, by the translator.

We heartily commend the book, improved as it has been in the translation, to the use of all who would thoroughly understand the language of the New Testament.

DIOCESE OF ALBANY. The Bishop's Address, A. D. 1874.

The Bishop of Albany is one who fully realizes his position as "on an hill." But he does not look off, proudly and disdainfully, as if thinking of nothing but his prerogatives. Rather he takes in the prospect, with the eye of one who dwells upon his responsibilities, far more than upon his honors. And this, we take it, is the proper way; we mean not so much for his own popularity, as for the influence which belongs to his office, and an influence which is felt tenfold more when a bishop comes down to a level with his people, and tells them what he does in the pleading style of *duty*, and not in the imperious style of *will*. Old Selden, who lived in touchy times, and who, as a profound lawyer, had studied human nature, not so much in books as in living men, understood this matter well; and this is his emphatic testimony: "Scaliger said of Erasmus, *Si minor esse voluit, major fuisset*; so we may say of the bishops, *Si minores esse voluerint, majores fuissent*."<sup>1</sup> Americans will endure almost anything from a writer or a speaker, when they see it is not his fancy, or his self-will, which is venting itself, but the convictions of bounden duty. While they will "whistle down the wind," the loftiest or most magisterial rhetoric, if they suppose it comes from one disposed to please himself, rather than help or profit those to whom he owes himself.

Bishop Doane's way of putting the worth of a cathedral, shows his full appreciation of that all-important subject, from an American point of view; and his aim to have it a working centre, and not a self-magnifying centre, will commend itself fully to the American heart; and, as we fain would hope, to the American pocket too! Let the people see plainly, and no matter how plainly, in the Saxon English, which the Bishop is trying to cultivate (Heaven help him on!), that the cathedral is the proper missionary centre, and the busy, outsending centre of a diocese, and they will begin to understand what an *American* cathedral should be, and may become. Then they will esteem it as something more than an overgrown pile

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<sup>1</sup>Tab. Talk. Bishops Before Parliament. No. 5.—We notice that the present Bishop of London, with (as he says) "the biggest diocese in the world," carefully avoids the error of "lording it over the clergy." He remembered, doubtless, the third verse of the fifth chapter of St. Peter's first epistle, and translated *μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες των κλήρων*, somewhat literally. He does not so much as say "my diocese," but "this diocese," or "our diocese," recognizing the claims of others in common with his own. Such a man will have a lordship in the affections of his brethren, which "the biggest diocese in the world" would never give him.

of architecture, and an estate for a lazy dean and his fat underlings to batten on. Let the cathedral be turned back into something like the old monasteries of England, *before* Romish monks had had the handling of them; let it become a missionary-college like St. Columba's at Iona, or St. Cuthbert's at Lindisfarne, and it will soon be prized as one of the chief wants of our vast western dioceses. A writer in our January number has caught the right temper for the study of a cathedral's uses; and we hope he will inoculate a good many others.

But we have not time to consider this address, or half its topics, with the attention they deserve; and so we ask for a special regard to the Bishop's criticisms on the new party, which seems to be seeking for itself the prominence that was once sought for by (so called) Puseyism, or Tractarianism.

"Now this is one side of the case; and it is the side whose seed has bloomed into noxious flower, and borne its unripe fruit. But there is another side of the danger, which I desire to state *as strongly* [*italics ours*], yet undeveloped into its full results. Another set of men, with the same savor of 'I am holier than thou,' have arrogated to themselves the exclusive title of *catholic*. They are as far removed from the mighty and spiritual intellect of Pusey, or the sweet and holy learning of Keble, as the modern radical from the old evangelical. And they, too, have indulged in this same sort of thing, calling bad names, attributing evil motives, denouncing with intense bitterness all who differ from them. They have not, it is true, attacked the Book of Common Prayer; but the Reformation, they condemn entirely, chiefly by the illogical absurdity of villifying the characters of its leading men. And the Protestantism of the Church<sup>1</sup>—not a good distinctive title, I grant; but an essential distinctive feature of the Church in every age—they despise and denounce in most unmeasured terms. And living in this atmosphere, they come to be infected with it, until *their* consciences become troublesome, and every little matter of taste becomes a conscience, and every personal opinion gets into their creed generally as its first article; and what can they do? [We wish that the Bishop, as the least possible penance, could make them commit to memory, Selden's short chapter on Conscience, in his Table Talk.] They must leave the Church, and join the greatest schism of history<sup>2</sup>—the Roman

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<sup>1</sup> When the Bishop means the Church of England, or the Episcopal Church in the United States, and not the Church Catholic, would it not be as well to say *our* Church? "The Church in every age" of course deserves the definite article.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop most pertinently calls Rome "the greatest schism in history." Rome is undoubtedly the greatest bar to Christian Union *now*; and has been, ever since the Patriarch of Rome set himself against his brother Patriarchs, in the early ages, and demanded their unqualified submission to himself. For one out of five equals to demand the surrender of four, is about as tall an assumption as history anywhere has developed. The profoundly learned Abbé

communion; or remaining in the Church, they must keep up an irritating resistance to all authority of Rubric, or of Bishop, or of Canon, with which they disagree; and provoke with their violent unwisdom, extreme positions in the other direction. And with them the cry is, 'What can we do?' Their conscience is the trouble with them too. And if they go to Rome, 'They could not help it'" (Pp. 36, 37).

The Bishop has hit off a main feature of this "set of men," with forcible exactness, when he compares their assumptions and intolerance to similar features in the old Evangelical school. The worst thing about the temper of that school, as well as the worst thing about the temper of the Church of Rome, and of the Puritans, is (or *was*—the Puritans are loose enough now to allow almost anything) their supreme pretentiousness and vengeful intolerance. They claimed the power to know and to preach the genuine Gospel, for themselves alone. This was also the most provoking offence of the old Puritans. This is still the most provoking offence of the Church of Rome, which does business in the same lumping way, and stigmatizes the good and the bad, the orthodox and the heretical outside of herself; Trinitarians and Unitarians, as alike, and promiscuously heretics. The Evangelical and the Puritan believed in no body's piety but their own. Their stereotyped phrase, "He has no more religion than a horse," was so dinned into our boyish ears, that we could not forget it, if we would. Rome believes in no body's Catholicism but her own; no, not if one says, till his tongue wears out, and in a solemn creed which she herself has sanctioned, "I believe in the Holy *Catholic* Church." And the new "set of men" are here imitators of Rome, not in temper only, but in terms—in feeling as well as definitions. Nobody is a Catholic, who is not a Catholic after *their* pattern.

This is the firebrand and arrow of death which they are hurling on all sides; and if there follow an occasional rebound of their own weapons, they may thank the hands which sent them forth on an errand of madness. We once heard an old sailor say, with a very significant head-shake, that throwing hot ashes to windward, was the same thing as throwing them into one's own face. If these people want peace and consideration, let them bestow what they

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Guettée showed this point up in his unanswerable book, "The Roman Schism"—a book which has been translated into English, and ought to be translated into *all* the languages of Christendom. We wish our bishops would insist that that book should be read carefully through, by every candidate for Holy Orders. They will find out, in time, that he is the safest candidate, who settles all the great questions *historically*.

demand, and their desires may be complied with. But how is it possible to hold any terms with such a temper as Rome's, which prompts her pertinaciously to insist that she, and she only—the wide world over—is entitled to the good name Catholic? This is to taunt and damnify the universe; one's precious self excepted; and the wonder is, that they who do such things, can be so much as tolerated for a day, or for an hour.

THE LIFE OF JESUS. *The Old Faith and the New.* By David Friedrich Strauss.

We had intended a special notice of our own, in reference to these two volumes. But we prefer, instead—that none may suspect, or impute, the sway of professional prejudice—to quote two newspaper slips respecting them. One will be taken from the “New York Herald,” of February 10, 1874; and the other from the “New York Times,” of the same date. By one we expect to show, the unprofessional world being judge, how the labors of Strauss, though directed against Christianity with dogged pertinacity, as if Christianity had done him a personal wrong, have really benefited and extended Christian literature. And by the other, to show the inevitable and dreary end to which such efforts as Strauss's are sure to lead.

Says the “Herald:” “Whatever his faults, Strauss, more than any man who has lived during the last half century, has made the religious world debtor to his memory. To him we owe the incomparable work of Neander—a storehouse to all future laborers in the same field. To the same source, also, we are indebted for that very fanciful ‘Life of Christ,’ by the French Renan; for ‘Ellicot’s Historical Lectures’ on the same subject, for ‘Hanna’s Life of Christ,’ for ‘Ecce Homo,’ for ‘Ecce Deus,’ and for innumerable other works, all of which have had the effect of bringing out, more distinctly, the Divine and human elements in the life and character of Him who called Himself the Son of Man.”

Some of the indebtedness the “Herald” would fain suppose Christians to have incurred, they might incline to pay in what the financiers call “irredeemable paper;” but, for our part, we are willing to endure the testimony, for the signal tribute with which it closes. “Strauss is gone; but Christianity lives, and is stronger rather than weaker, because of the labors he devoted to accomplish its destruction.” He died, it is said, of the disease under which we represented him as suffering, in our last number. Perhaps that terrible disease



may explain some of the faults of Strauss's temper, and his gloomy wish to be rid of the burden of living; but, to us, Strauss always seemed to treat Christianity as if he hated it with a personal animosity.

Let us now turn to the "Times," to see what its estimations are of the tendency and developments of such efforts as those in which Strauss fretted away a life that extended beyond sixty carking years:

"Strauss has lived long enough to show the natural tendency of purely rationalistic theology. Between 'The Life of Jesus,' and 'The Old Faith and the New,' there is a wide interval, in so far as each represents a perfectly distinct phase of unbelief. But it is an interval of development, merely. Begin by eliminating the premises of faith from religious thought, and the end must inevitably be the elimination of the supernatural. When the finite intellect starts with the assumption that nothing which does not fit into a syllogism shall be admitted into any theory of the universe, or any doctrine of man's relations to the unseen, it is not difficult to perceive that it must ultimately accept creation without God, organism without an intelligent purpose, and man without a soul. The process may result, as in John Stuart Mills's case, in a harsh and forbidding type of Atheism; or as in that of David Strauss, in something which may be called Pantheism, or simple and absolute Materialism, according to the prepossessions of the reader. But result it must in some of the many forms of negation of the spiritual element, either in the universe, or in the life of man. Throughout Strauss's latest work, there runs a vein of confident dogmatism, which had replaced the aggressive scepticism of his earlier works, as naturally as the unlovely outlines of the 'new faith' have replaced the shreds of spiritual belief, to which the young assailant of Christianity still clung. Many of the disciples of Strauss were but ill content with the testament which their master left them in his last book. The melancholy presage of approaching death—or absorption into nature, as Strauss deems it, which runs through the book—may lead posterity to deal tenderly with this last offering of a belated philosopher to his fellow-mortals. Perhaps, too, it will be clearer to posterity than to us, that the cheerless message of 'The Old Faith and the New' has borne valuable fruit, in showing the goal of all rationalistic dogma to be a scheme of the universe, more monstrous than has ever been conjured up by the wildest excesses of that speculation, which postulates, at least, Divine Intelligence and the human soul."



The writer of this last paragraph most fittingly and feelingly calls the utmost which Infidelity can say to a man, in his last extremity, a "cheerless message." The cold-blooded and assassinating cheerlessness of its blank negations, when a man, sinking helplessly into his grave, puts his arms out with the desperation of one a-drowning, to catch a straw, if nothing else presents itself, we have always considered its most repulsive feature. It drags a man to the loneliest of gravesides, and there leaves him to the death of a dog, and the burial of an ass! If he cries out with remorse, as if his heart were breaking, as Judas did, when he dashed down their blood-hire before the magnates of Judaism, all his answer is no better than the poor traitor got: What is that to us? See thou to that. How any one can help hating it for such treatment, is, to us, what Infidelity scorns—a miracle! How Gibbon could sit at his sombre study-table, and write as he did in his autobiography of "The Failure of Hope," while looking down into a sepulchre black with the glooms of a bottomless pit, and not go stark crazy, is another miracle! To lose hope, *all* hope, for the utterest nothing. Oh, if this be not the next thing to infinite evil, then what is?

GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF THE HEBREW PSALTER. By Joana Julia Græswell. Cr. 8vo. Pp. 292. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1873.

The rather dry-sounding title of this very unpretending little work hardly does justice to its actual scope, which includes a statement of the derivation and lexical meaning, as well as the grammatical form of every word occurring in the Hebrew Psalms. We find under each word the exact translation, a concise analysis of the grammatical form, and a reduction of the meaning to the primitive root, with brief explanatory notes, and references to the various ancient and modern versions, wherever needful or interesting. To avoid repetition, no word is noticed, except for special cause, after it has once been explained; but the omission is supplied by the very full and clearly-printed index, which gives the first occurrence of every word, on turning to which, a full account of it will be found. To each Psalm, the author has prefixed a short summary of its contents, with the probable occasion of its composition, where this can be inferred.

We have thus, in small compass and convenient form, all that is essential for the study of the Psalter in the original—a grammar, lexicon, and commentary in miniature. No references are made to other works beyond the list of writers given in the preface; but

nearly every line in the book exhibits a careful study of the best authorities; and we find often a condensed statement of opinions, which reflects an amount of labor by no means apparent on the surface. For example, the discussion of the difficult word rendered "they pierced," in Psalm xxii. 17, gives, in less than a dozen lines, an account of the differing interpretations, with a common-sense argument for preferring the ordinary rendering.

The author very modestly professes the intention of her work to be "to afford assistance to beginners in the study of Hebrew." We have thought that it will be found even more useful by some who are not strictly beginners,—by those, namely, of the younger parochial clergy who are desirous of preserving their knowledge of Hebrew acquired in the Seminary, but who find scanty opportunities for sitting down to consult a dictionary and grammar. We specify the younger clergy as more likely to avail themselves of Miss Greswell's labors; though even those of their elders, whose Hebrew is not gone past revival, may save themselves some labor by the use of her book. For the parish priest, with his manifold occupations and frequent interruptions, perhaps the simplest method of keeping up the knowledge of Hebrew is to make a study of the Book of Psalms. His familiarity with Coverdale's beautiful version, as preserved in the Prayer Book, lightens the labor of the study; while the new lights thrown upon the sense of words, so often in the mind and upon the lips, make it of exceeding interest. The very wide range of the Psalms in date and style, reaching as they do from the age of the Exodus to the Return, and comprehending every species of poetical composition, prophecy, narrative, instruction, meditation, supplication, praise, gives to one who is familiar with them, an acquaintance with every period of the language, and a command of words, to which the study of the other books will add less than may be supposed. We have heard it said in public, by one of the most scholarly, and not the least active, of our Bishops, that "every priest ought to be able to read the daily Psalter in the original, and to make it his habit so far as possible." A more practical method of keeping up the knowledge of Hebrew could not be devised. Let the student begin with mastering the translation of one Psalm, or part of a Psalm, daily, and the patient effort of a few months (fewer than he may think) will give him an acquaintance with the whole, that will enable him to read the daily morning and evening Psalms in the Hebrew, with ease and pleasure, no less than profit *experto crede*. The difficulty will be to get the time every day to make the first mastery. Perhaps only a few

moments can be spared, and precious time is lost in turning over the leaves of grammar and dictionary, and hunting out the particular form or meaning wanted, from the middle of a crowded column or page. Just here is where Miss Greswell's little book will be found an invaluable and long-needed help. With this in his hand, and his Hebrew Psalter open before him, the student will need no other book of reference. Special points can be examined with the aid of larger works, as time may serve; but with this alone, a few moments daily will suffice to make known the translation and derivation of every word in every Psalm.

That a work of this character should proceed from the pen of a lady, is an achievement of which the advocates of the higher education of women may fairly be proud, and an encouraging token of the benefits to be looked for from the revival of female scholarship. The extreme modesty and pains-taking accuracy which characterize Miss Greswell's little volume, are in refreshing contrast with the pretentious and slovenly work of so much that calls itself scholarship among men to-day.

THE STORY OF NASHOTAH. By the Rev. John H. Egar, D.D. Reprinted from the London Edition. 1874.

We knew that "the waves of this troublesome world" had been rolling over the Diocese of Wisconsin, and hastily presumed that they had foamed out this pamphlet, as well as others. Not unnaturally, perhaps, we concluded, as we took it from its envelope, that it was one of controversy—it might be of a controversy which would send its echoes from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic. We anticipated the host that might follow in its train, till we remembered, and were ready to apply, the lines in which Virgil describes the bursting of the cave of the old king of imprisoned winds. Ah, we said, we are going to have the experience of *Æneas*.

Una Eurusque Notusque raunt creberque procellis  
Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.  
Insequitur clamorque virum, stridorque rudentum,  
Eripiunt subito nubes cælumque, diemque,  
Teucrorum ex oculis : ponto nox incubat atra,  
Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus æther.

But, as we are positively delighted to say, we were entirely disappointed. The pamphlet is not one of controversy, but of narrative; and for one who likes to know how our Church can adapt itself to

a new country, like "The Great West," narrative of the most attractive kind.

We can easily recall times when it was said of our Church, that it had no missionary spirit, and could not find scope for such spirit, if now and then a little of it peeped up, here and there, for the simple but very sufficient reason, that it had nothing which could be compared to flying artillery with which to make a conquest; that is, that it had no missionary adaptations,—was only fit for cities and old-aged, stereotyped communities. We, ourselves, once, went a missionary round for our General Missionary Society, when it was too poor to pay an agent, and had to ask for gratuitous services. And as we surveyed the field of labor, and the almost nothing which had been done for the spiritual necessities of outlying communities, we took for a text, "No man cared for my soul" (Ps. cxlii. 4.); and said that this was what might be uttered by hundreds and by thousands, so far as we were concerned. They might convert the Psalmist's lamentation into a personal upbraiding.

But stories like those of Nashotah, redeem the unhappy and meagre past; and now, with that before us, we never expect again to hear a moan such as once seemed coming a-down the western wind, and which we converted into a sermon's theme. Dr. Eggar's tale reads like something borne along from fairyland; so that as we dwelt upon its curious and inspiring revelations, we could not help saying to ourselves, "Would that Renan had expended his imagination upon this pamphlet, rather than upon the Gospels!" What a delightful romance we might have had about Theological Seminaries! Certainly, if Chateaubriand had caught sight of it, before composing his celebrated volumes upon the Beauties of Christianity, he would have bestowed upon "The Story of Nashotah" some of his magnetic pages.

Nashotah is only an infant in years, and it had to struggle against difficulties, to cope with which required gigantic capability. But it has done, and is still doing, what any patriot should call a work nobly philanthropic; and it should have abundant and efficient aid. A few of the thousands expended—shall we say wasted?—on the wines and tobacco, the jewelry and silks, of our rich cities, would render Nashotah as strong for missionary achievements, as "rejoicing Nineveh" was for the mercantile triumphs of far-gone times. And why cannot those thousands come? We really know of no better, no more far-reaching way to do good than to endow professorships and scholarships for thorough tuition of the clergy.

Endowments for such purposes may last, humanly speaking, forever, and do good,—as Oriental rhetoric has it, “to a thousand generations.” And, really, donors for such purposes should distinctly understand that it is the clergy who make a Church what it is in the scale of efficiency and reputation. According to the old adage, it will always be, like priest, like people. If the priest’s lips are not the lips of a faithful and intelligent teacher, the people will sink *to* his level, and *below* it; and between both religion become but a routine of stale formalities. The demands of the age require in the clergy, not a little, but the utmost cultivation; and if the pulpit doles out nothing but the tamest commonplaces, worldlings will pronounce religion a dull and flat affair, and will betake themselves to science, or to politics, or to such things, even, as Mormonism. We shall never forget a sermon delivered at an institution, by that oracle of common-sense and shrewdness, the late Bishop Griswold. He labored, with a High Churchman’s best zeal, to show how the clergy should be respected in their office. And then came his corollary, delivered with a quaintness which, while it provoked a smile, commanded profound attention. “My brethren,” said he, “I have shown you how the people ought to respect us. I now proceed to the following inference, viz., that to deserve and keep this respect, we must be ourselves respectable.”

That is the truth, most emphatically. The clergy must have attainments which will claim the respect belonging to their office; and they who disparage, or will not sustain Theological Seminaries, are the poorest friends with which any Church can be afflicted.

WHAT IS DARWINISM? By Charles Hodge, Princeton, New Jersey. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.

We are unfeignedly glad that a mind like that of “Charles Hodge” has attempted a scholarly and a popular answer to the question, What is Darwinism? We say “Charles Hodge,” eschewing all titles, like the author himself. Unable to accuse him of self-sufficiency, as if his naked name were enough for the world of letters, we conclude that he avoids prefixes and suffixes for fear some squeamish sceptic will throw his book down, if there is anything on its title page which smacks of a Church or a religion.

We happen to *know* that there is a predisposition in some scientists to condemn, beforehand, anything which comes to them with aught of the drapery of piety about it. And we are not at all sur-

prised to have this book say, "There is need of an Irenicum; for there is an antagonism between scientific men as a class, and religious men as a class. Of course, this opposition is neither felt nor expressed by *all*, on either side. Nevertheless, whatever may be the cause of the antagonism, or whoever are to be blamed for it, there can be no doubt that it exists, and that it is an evil" (p. 126).

To us, this has been one of the puzzles of the times; for we are inclined to the belief, and fully, that religious men have treated Science with a consideration, which scientific men will not acknowledge, because they do not read religious books. They treat them as Mr. Hume did the New Testament. Dr. Johnson said Hume acknowledged he had never read the New Testament *with attention*. They pay little or no attention to professedly religious books; throw them carelessly or contemptuously away, and religious men have to come before them in a sort of disguise—like this book—to secure an impartial hearing. And yet, as it cautiously and carefully maintains, religious men admit *the facts* of science, as much as scientists themselves. It is only *the explanations* of these facts about which religious men are occasionally, perhaps not infrequently, somewhat shy.

A fundamental and most accurate distinction this, between facts, and the explanations of facts. For the fact may be altogether Divine, while the explanation may be altogether human. And the explanation as entirely a human affair, may be as changeable as *all* human affairs. A scientist has no right, not the slightest, to confound a fact in nature with his comment on it, and then blame a votary of religion as an unbeliever, aye, an infidel as to science, because, forsooth, he cannot accept his comments on the facts presented by it. A Roman Catholic has no right to call us heretics, because, while we receive the Scriptures as much as he does, we do not allow his construction of certain texts. Now this is exactly the behavior of some scientific men, toward those who dissent from their arbitrary explanations.

And we say arbitrary; for they do not adhere to their own explanations; and how then can they turn brusquely round, and fault religious men for treating them with no more deference? Here is Sir Charles Lyell, whom our book cordially compliments (p. 133), as "England's most distinguished geologist," coolly turning his back upon his own peerless self! He publishes *nine* editions—so goes the record—not one less than that huge number, for an elaborate scientific treatise, when (lo and behold!) he wheels squarely in the *tenth*, and abandons a position he had all along clung to with



the steadiness of gravitation! Can Sir Charles Lyell, with any sort of grace, call upon religious men to treat Science more reverentially than he himself has done?

We hope our readers will peruse this volume upon Darwin, fairly. We mean sceptical ones, if we have such; and we do hope they may occasionally squint at *us*, for we have often pondered over *them*. It tells clearly, and not censoriously, what Darwinism is *now*. It is not bound to say what, by and by, it may be. Next year, or next decade, with a Lyellian felicity, we may find it upside-down—or front made rear—or the substance gone, with the accidents alone remaining,—a sort of metamorphosis which the Romish Church calls Transubstantiation. *Trans*-substantiation, under the brisk handling of development, may in due time become *Super*-substantiation, or *Subter*-substantiation; and if so, the scientists, assuredly, will have no reason to complain, for dogmatic theologians will then have done nothing more or worse than dogmatic Scientists.

Dr. Darwin and his contemporaries, Spencer, Huxley, Tyn-dall, *et it genus omne*, take to themselves great credit for their pretendedly new notions about evolution, natural selection, causal relations, protoplasm, etc. But, to us, these things are merely old *fancies* with new *faces*. For example: in a book written by one of Dr. Darwin's ancestors, and which was so famous as to have reached a second edition in America, nearly three score and ten years ago, we think we can find, without much trouble, the originals of some of our present scientific novelties.

Our allusion is to the "Botanic Garden," published in 1807, by that venerable old church-firm, T. & J. Swords, in Pearl street, New York.

In Part I., Canto i., line 103, etc., "Evolution" seems to unroll its folds, in poetry quite as rhythmical as Pope's:

"Let there be light! proclaimed the Almighty Lord,  
Astonished Chaos heard the potent word;—  
Through all his realms the kindling Ether runs,  
And the mass starts into a million suns;  
Earths round each sun with quick explosions burst,  
And second planets issue from the first;  
Bend, as they journey with projectile force,  
In bright eclipses their reluctant course;  
Orbs wheel in orbs, round centres centres roll,  
And form, self-balanced, one revolving whole,  
—Onward they move, amid their bright abode,  
Space without bound, the bosom of their God!"

In Part I., Canto iv., line 435, etc., "Natural Selection" seems to construct a crocodile, rather more easily than it can promote a baboon into a philosopher :

"So from his shell, on Delta's showerless isle,  
Bursts into life the monster of the Nile.  
First in translucen lymph with cobweb-threads,  
The Brain's fine floating tissue swells and spreads,  
Nerve after nerve the glistening spine descends,  
The red Heart dances, the Aorta bends ;  
Through each new gland the purple torrent glides,  
New Veins meandering drink the refluxing tides,  
Edge over edge expands the hardening scale,  
And sheaths his slimy skin in silver mail.  
—Erewhile, emerging from the brooding sand,  
With Tyger-paw he prints the brineless strand,  
High on the flood with speckled bosom swims,  
Helm'd with broad tail, and oared with giant limbs,  
Rolls his fierce eye-balls, clasps his iron claws,  
And champs with gnashing teeth his massy jaws.  
Old Nilus sighs, along his cane-crowned shores,  
And swarthy Memphis trembles and adores."

After all, we think Dr. Darwin has not quite caught up with his predecessor. The gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim is better than the vintage of Abiezer.

THE ART TEACHING of the Primitive Church ; with an Index of Subjects, Historical and Emblematic. By the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt, M.A., formerly Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: Pott, Young & Co. Cloth; pp. 382.

This work is of rare value. It shows a thorough acquaintance, on the part of the author, with the history of early religious art, and what makes it yet more valuable, it abounds in wisdom. The delicate questions connected with Iconoclasm and creature worship, the nice distinctions which need to be made between pictures as symbols and teachers, and as objects of reverence, the general principles which ought to be observed in Church decorations of all kinds, are here discussed in a way so philosophical and satisfactory, that we do not hesitate to pronounce it one of the best works of the kind ever published. It is, moreover, an uncommonly suggestive book, starting many lines of thought which the author does not follow out himself. For example, there is furnished incidentally, for the point is nowhere directly made, the truth that we have in

the existing remains of primitive religious art, an important witness, not only to the historic reality of Christianity, but also to what the early faith of Christians was. Questions now in dispute among believers are, in many cases, as good as settled, by the evidence furnished by the early symbols, and the painted or sculptured emblems of the Faith. For art is in itself a language, and its testimony has, in certain directions, great weight.

We give two extracts, for the purpose of showing how thoughtfully the author writes, and indicating the richness of the entire volume, both in facts and in suggestions.

In the chapter on Symbolism, which is admirable for its clearness and philosophical method, he says:

"There is no doubt that to the educated Priesthood, and perhaps laity, of the Roman Catholic Church, the distinctions of worship, service, and devotion are intelligible enough. They are probably an afterthought, a series of differences set up to explain or palliate an evidently indefensible state of things. There is no particular comment to make on them, except that worship, or appeal of prayer for help in need, can only be made by the soul to one object at a time, and that, consequently, to entreat a saint or saints to mediate for us with Christ the Lord, is to refuse worship or personal appeal to him. Well-trained and thoughtful Priests or laity may possibly be able to maintain such distinctions and to keep the unseen beings of the spiritual world in some right relation to each other in their Creed. It may have been so under the hieratic despotism of Egypt, possibly afterward, with the higher and better spirit of the sophist or philosophical teaching of ancient Greece. All these alike, on close examination as to what the idol or image was, before which they knelt, might have answered that to them, the idol was nothing at all. Nothing Divine, no Hearer of Prayer to whom all flesh should come. Yet there can be no doubt of the absolute and degrading idolatry of the mass of the lower population of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, or that the personified and representative image did really receive worship and aspiration due to God, and debase the minds of the worshippers.

In the following passage, the author brings out a fact well worth remembering. If the same principle were observed now, it would save us from the meaningless frescos and polychrome with which men adorn houses of worship, having no higher motive than that of making them pretty:

"The principle of early Christian art was instruction rather than emotion; commentless statements of the facts of the faith and pictorial repetition of the Lord's words, furnish between them the whole original stock of Christian subjects for artistic representation. Beauty is faintly attempted; the workman does as well as he can for the work's sake, but his motive is plain narrative. Such a parable the Lord spoke about Himself, and it is painted; such a miracle of mercy He wrought, and it is carved in bas-relief."

# REPORT

## OF THE SOCIETY FOR

### Promoting Life Insurance among Clergymen,

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FOR TWO YEARS ENDING APRIL 27, 1874.

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IN presenting this Report, it is proper to observe that no Annual Report was made last year, for reasons which it is not necessary, perhaps, to state, so that the present one will cover a period of two years. A brief statement is all that is deemed necessary at the present time.

We have to record with sincere regret the death, since our last annual meeting, of one of our earliest friends, and a Corporate Trustee of the Society, the Rev. ISAAC FERRIS, D.D.

#### Progress of the Society.

During these two years the Society has studiously aimed to promote the one object of its organization. It has moved on quietly in its appropriate sphere, maintaining an extensive correspondence, putting in circulation its permanent documents, and using the press, as far as practicable, in the prosecution of its work. And if no marked results have followed; if we have no rapid growth to chronicle; if we have had, on the contrary, much to discourage and try our faith, there has still been decided *advancement*—all, perhaps, that could reasonably have been expected from the outlay of means and efforts to promote it. Besides the valuable and increased service rendered in connection with our First plan in the way of ordinary life insurance, we have nearly trebled the number of members in connection with our "Parish" plan. The aggregate provision made for the families of the clergymen who have availed themselves of our services, has increased from \$332,000 to \$1,500,000.

From our point of view it may seem strange and a discouraging fact, that so few, comparatively, of our ministers and churches have shown

any practical interest in our efforts. But it must be borne in mind that very few of our clergy can spare from their scanty incomes even the moderate sum needed to maintain a membership in our Parish Association, and that it will require years of persistent enlightenment and denominational discipline to educate our parishes and bring them up to this work. It must also be remembered that we have not had a solitary agent at work. We have had no denominational coöperation either in the form of money or of influence. And the cause is not sufficiently advanced to command the voluntary and essential aid of our pastors and church judicatories. There has existed, also, in the public mind, not a little misapprehension and prejudice, if not active hostility, on the part of interested parties. And even the Press we have been able to use only to a limited extent, as the immense advertising patronage which it receives from our insurance companies makes it difficult to get a hearing for a Society which does not advertise, and which presents to the Church a plan persistently and bitterly denounced by many professional experts and insurance men. The land swarms with insurance agents who have a personal interest in decrying a Society whose services are free, and whose methods it is claimed have a manifest advantage over their own. Our life insurance papers have devoted not a little space to the most extravagant and reckless statements and calculations designed to prove the utter worthlessness of all "coöperative" and "mutual" forms of life insurance. And lecturers and agents have taken up the cry and repeated it everywhere.

What we have gained has been gained mainly by the still small voice of reason and of facts, speaking through the 150,000 documents which we have put into the hands of the ministry and leading laymen in our churches, and by a laborious and pains-taking system of personal correspondence.

The growth of most institutions is slow in the beginning, and it is well that it is so, that they may have time to take root. Our life insurance system met with but little favor for the first fifteen years. Its wonderful growth is but of recent date.

This Society has made for itself a record during the four years of its existence, at a very small outlay of money and time, which eclipses any existing organization for a similar object in the extent of its work, though several of them are over a century old, and hold large accumulations.

Nothing has transpired in our experience or observation to impair in the least our confidence in the wisdom and feasibility of our plans.

*We did not adopt and put them before the public until quite sure of the ground upon which we stood.* The criticisms recently made against our Parish plan do not in the least disturb us. They were all anticipated by us, and duly considered before it was adopted. We are intelligently and thoroughly satisfied of the "entire safety" of the plan, and this opinion is affirmed in the written endorsement of the eminent "consulting" actuary to which it was submitted. (See Permanent Document No. 1, page 28.)

### Number of Ministers Aided.

The total number of ministers provided for through the Society's agency is about four hundred and sixty. A considerable number of these have preferred the "ordinary insurance" form, and we have effected insurance for them in several of our best companies at a material saving to them. The majority, however, with both plans before them, have made choice of the Parish plan. The average provision made by these four hundred and sixty ministers, or by their parishes for them, is near \$3,500, and the aggregate amount \$1,500,000. This is not a large sum, but it is sufficient to afford great relief and aid to their families in the day of bereavement. We have the means of knowing that in several instances the provision made by means of this Society has been and is now the chief reliance of the households which have been visited by bereavement.

### Parish Mutual Association.

There have been admitted in all to membership 360 persons and parishes. Of this number seven in all have died; three have relinquished their membership because of inability to meet their assessments; nine have been "suspended," and a few are a little behind in their payments, who intend to continue. Total number at the present date, including lay members, 368. Twenty-three of these are *half* members only.

### Deaths.

During the two years covered by the present report *four* members in all have died, one of which was but a half member, viz.: Rev. HENRY L. HITCHCOCK, D.D., Rev. MELANCTHON HUGHES, Rev. SAMUEL G. APPLETON, and Rev. WILLIAM SPARROW, D.D. The assessments for the benefit of the families of the first three have been mostly collected and paid to them. We have but just received the legal proof of



the death of the last one named above, and hence have not yet made our call upon the class.

As showing the growth of the Society and the increasing value of a membership in our "Parish" plan, we subjoin the following figures, premising that the class numbered less than one hundred at the time of the death of the first two named :

Paid to the family of Rev. Horatio T. Wells, LL.D.,	\$1,000.
" " " Frederick T. Goodwin, D.D.,	1,000.
" " " Benjamin R. Allen,	1,150.
" " " Henry L. Hitchcock, D.D.,	2,000.
" " " Melancthon Hughes (half),	1,200.
" " " Samuel G. Appleton,	2,400.

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Appleton died in November last, since which time there has been a large accession to the class.

The cost of membership in the Parish Association, it will be seen, has been moderate, much less thus far than our original estimate. Including the assessment not yet made upon the class for the seventh death, the whole expense has been to those who have been members from the first but \$65, or an average of \$16.25 a year. Averaging the rate to the membership from the beginning, it has been considerably less than \$10 to each \$1,000 per year of provision made. Assuming the average age of the class to be 45 years (which is not far from the fact), the cost per \$1,000 in the "ordinary insurance" method at this age, is \$37.97. So that, after making all proper allowance for increased mortality, the saving by the Parish plan is very great. It would be strange if it were not so. For, aside from the small initiatory fee, the members are not taxed a cent for "expenses" of any kind. And their "superior longevity," as a class, avails them by this method, and by no other that has yet been put in operation.

### Receipts and Expenditures.

The report of the Treasurer will exhibit the financial condition of the Society. A liberal sum has been donated to it by a few generous friends for the special purpose of paying the membership fees on certain conditions specified. Sixty-five thus far have availed themselves of this offer, and been received into membership without paying the usual fee. Besides this there has been received for initiatory fees since our last report, the sum of \$1,344. The expenses of the Society have been as follows : Salary of the Secretary, for six months

ending October, 1, 1872, (since which time his services have been free,) \$900. Paid for paper, binding, stamps, mailing documents, rent of office, printing, clerk hire, stationery, and incidentals, \$1,699.74. Total for the two years, \$2,599.74.

It is noteworthy as indicating the extent to which our principles and methods have found favor in the public mind, that the Committee appointed by the last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to devise and submit a Plan for Ministerial Life Assurance to the next Assembly, soon to convene, have reported a plan which is nearly identical with the Parish plan of our Society, not being "able to devise anything better." What action the Assembly will take on the subject it is impossible, of course, to foretell. But whether that plan or any other be adopted by that body or not, the discussion of the subject cannot fail to bring our plans into more general notice, and give a new impetus to our operations. As a society we shall rejoice to see the work undertaken by so large a denomination in any form which, in its wisdom, may be preferred. We are willing to relinquish the field, if necessary, in favor of denominational modes and agencies whenever they are matured and ready for action. Until that time has arrived we shall, with God's blessing, continue our work, and use our utmost endeavors to promote it.

### A New Feature in our Parish Plan.

A new element has been introduced into our Parish plan, and one which we think cannot fail to find favor with the members of it and add to its prosperity. *Laymen are now admitted to membership for the benefit of the clerical members.* They are assessed whenever a death occurs the same as the clerical, but in the event of their own death their families receive no benefit. The practical effect of this feature is to add to the membership without any increase of expense. Suppose Division A contains 400 clerical and parish members, and 100 lay members. The "risks" are on the 400 only, while the "benefit" is from the entire class. The cost is thus reduced *one-fifth* to the clerical members.

This plan was adopted many years ago by the *oldest* organization for Ministerial Relief in this country—one that has existed for 120 years and been eminently successful; and not a little of its success is attributed by its managers to the adoption of this feature. It affords to our laymen an admirable opportunity to testify to their appreciation of the Christian Ministry, and in a systematic and sure method afford them aid at a

time when it is most needed. A layman is at liberty to represent *one or any number of members*.

We hope this plan will find favor with our laymen. We believe it will commend itself to many of them on a careful study and comprehension of the subject. It has been but just adopted by the Society, and already several laymen have responded to the extent of twenty memberships.

In behalf of the Society,

J. M. SHERWOOD, Sec.

JAMES BROWN, Pres.

Let it be remembered that the Society is the accredited agent of our best Insurance Companies, such as the "Equitable" and "Mutual Life" of New York, and the Connecticut Mutual" of Hartford, and can effect insurance in any of them for clergymen at a considerable reduction from the ordinary cost.

For documents, blanks, or information, address J. M. Sherwood, Secretary, 38 John Street (P. O. box 2,783), New York.

## CRITICISMS AND REPLIES.

SOME sweeping criticisms on our Parish plan in *The Evangelist*, of which HENRY M. FIELD, D.D., is editor, drew forth the following letters—one from the Treasurer, and the other from the Secretary of the Society, in explanation and defence of it, which were, through the great courtesy of Dr. Field, published in his paper in the issues of May 7th and 14th, 1874. As most of the objections which are or may be urged against this plan are here considered, we reproduce the letters. Mr. Potter's is introduced in the following.

### Editorial Note.

"We invite the attention of our readers to the letter of Mr. Howard Potter on our first page, in explanation and support of the plan of the Parish Mutual Association for insuring the lives of ministers. There is no one whose views are more entitled to respect, both from his high position as a business man, and from the kind and generous interest which he has taken in a scheme which he believes will lighten the burdens of our hardily-worked and poorly-paid ministers. As another letter is to follow, giving more details in regard to the plan here recommended, we reserve till another week what we have to say on the subject."

### Life Insurance for Ministers.

(*Letter from Mr. Howard Potter.*)

*My Dear Doctor Field:* The references lately made in your columns to one of the plans of our Society for Promoting Life Insurance among Clergymen, and the great importance, in my judgment, of calling attention to the need which it attempts to supply, lead me to ask space in your columns for a few words on the subject. The following are the facts established by statistics, which our secretary has collected or verified.

There are in the United States, at present, about 65,000 clergymen belonging to the various denominations of the Protestant Church. Their average annual salaries are from \$600 to \$650 only, the highest average in any one denomination being in the Methodist Church, but \$700. Of these clergymen only about one in nine, so far as we can learn, has attempted provision by life insurance for his family, and including clergymen's leagues, and our "Parish" plan, and other organizations for affording similar relief or protection, only about one clergyman's family in eight, all told, is so cared for. Further, of clergymen attempting, by life insurance, such provision for their families, but about half succeed; fifty per cent. of the policies taken out upon the lives of our ministers lapsing from failure to pay premiums.

These are *facts* in regard to a service the most vital of any to the real

prosperity of our country and the highest interests of our people, affording painful proofs of the insufficiency and uncertainty of the salaries paid our clergymen, of the absolute want of provision for the future of their families, to which most of them are condemned, and of the struggles, too often ineffectual, at the cost of which such provision is made by the few who do make it. When it is also observed that marriage is almost obligatory upon our Protestant ministers, as a condition of unembarrassed usefulness, the hardships of their calling as contrasted with that of men of family in other employments is still more painfully emphasized. And if the number and average quality of the recruits to the ranks of our religious teachers have declined of late years, as we have sometimes heard, no one, in view of such facts, can greatly wonder at it.

So much in justification of the attempt which the Society for Promoting Life Insurance among Clergymen is making to incite the church to the performance of a duty which seems plainly incumbent upon it, which would appear likely to do more to increase pastoral efficiency, by putting heart and hope into our ministers, and more to invite to their ranks young men of promise than anything else that can be done.!

Now as to the means. It should be observed that we do not restrict our offers of service to clergymen to the "Parish plan," which you criticise. On the contrary, if a clergyman desires to make his provision on a purely business footing, we do it for him without charge, if he will use us, in our best companies, and procure for him a larger allowance of commission than used to be allowed before we represented in this matter the claims of his class. If, on the other hand, he prefers a plan in which, with every element of security which we can obtain for him, he may have the further benefit of Christian sympathy and fraternal regard, as far as we can evoke it for his benefit, we offer him in the Parish plan advantages which are not within the reach of any plan of provision on a purely business footing. As to "cohesion," the want of which has been referred to as a principal defect of such a plan, we hope that enough of it may be found in the Christian Church to answer our purpose, if only attention is aroused to the hardships of the case of ministers as it now stands. What is requisite is membership by parishes for the benefit of their ministers, and membership by laymen for the benefit of the class. The latter plan has worked most successfully in the "Clergy Society," as it is popularly called in the Episcopal Church of South Carolina, for over one hundred years, and though the losses its funds sustained by the war were great, it is still flourishing at the *age of one hundred and twenty years*. Such an example seems to show that the thing we have attempted is practicable. For our own justification I will only now further say that we did not inaugurate it without submitting our plans to several actuaries, all of whom approved them as practicable and safe, and the certificate of one of them occupying not only a leading but an entirely independent position, we have published, in our document No. 1, which I send you herewith.

As I have attempted nothing but a very general statement of our case in this letter, and as in some particulars, and especially in speaking of our Parish plan as "co-operative" in the sense in which that term is generally used, the criticisms in your paper have somewhat misapprehended and so misrepresented us, I venture to hope that you will allow us a further hearing, in which we may more fully describe and vindicate our work. In any event I beg you to accept our thanks for your courtesy in the matter thus far, and remain, faithfully yours,

HOWARD POTTER.

### Life Insurance for Ministers.

(Letter from Rev. J. M. Sherwood.)

*Dear Doctor Field:* The letter of Howard Potter, Esq., in your last issue, gave a general statement of the position and plans of the Society for Promoting Life Insurance among Clergymen. In my attempt to explain them more fully, and meet the objections urged against them, I will seek to avoid repetition.

It is assumed by many that we have started an enterprise *novel* in principle and form, and unwarranted by precedent and sound business considerations. But this is not so. The main principles and features which we have embodied, and are aiming to put into practical force, were adopted *more than a century ago* by the founders of both the Presbyterian and Episcopal branches of the Christian Church in America, and they have been in living force to the present time. Our present denominational mode of "ministerial relief," and our "ordinary insurance" societies, are *modern* institutions in comparison. Our time-honored "Presbyterian Annuity Co.," and similar corporations in the Episcopal Church of nearly equal age, adopted life insurance as the principle, and applied it both in a strict "business" and "benevolent" form for ministerial relief. The "benevolent funds" of the former were lost in the Revolutionary war, and we have been so unwise as not to replace them. But the latter have kept their "funds" intact, and made additions to them in various ways, till they now aggregate nearly a million of dollars. There must be some "cohesion" in a system that has outlived three generations! These corporate agencies are sound to-day to the core, and bid fair to live and prosper for ages to come. In the face of such a history, it is scarcely modest to assume that there are safety and permanence only in a strictly "business" and "scientific" form of insurance.

The basis of the Society whose plans have been so sharply criticised in *The Evangelist*, is essentially the same as that of these venerable corporations. The principle in all is the same—life insurance. In the application of this principle we seek to use our best existing societies, both secular and ecclesiastical, as far as practicable. Our *first* plan is constructed with entire reference to this end, and we have worked it faithfully, and propose to continue to do so. This plan we have "supplemented" by another, which brings in the ele-



ments of Christian benevolence and Church co-operation. All there is *new* in our society is its catholic character, and the mode by which the action of the church is evoked. Our chief object is to incite the Church, as Mr. Potter stated, to make provision for her ministry in the form of life insurance, and to make it an established attendant on pastoral settlement. We are not so anxious about the mode or the agency as about the thing itself. We urge the matter as a Christian duty, demanded by the honor of religion and the exigencies of the times, and insist upon it that ministerial relief shall be put on a "business" footing, and be no longer prosecuted by the church as a "charity."

We are therefore in favor of "ordinary life insurance." We have established a free and trustworthy agency, covering the whole field, and made the best terms we could with reliable companies in behalf of ministers. But a thorough study of the subject, and the experience of the past, have satisfied us that it is *not practicable to make provision for the greater part of our clergymen by this method*, excellent though it be. A few facts will make this clear.

1. Little can be done by it for our foreign missionaries, or for a large portion of our Southern brethren, and those on our Western frontier; they are absolutely excluded, for the most part; and where not, the "extra rate" makes it quite too costly.

2. At least one-third of the ministry are *uninsurable* in first-class companies, as the profession is peculiarly subject to various nervous diseases. While as a class they *live the longest* they stand the poorest chance in the hands of medical examiners.

3. Again, the high rates, large payments, and the necessity of meeting them promptly under penalty of "forfeiture," put this plan above the reach of full three-fourths of our ministers. Now can nothing be done "to put heart and hope" into all these Christian workers? Has it come to this that the Church of Christ can devise no method of relief save the uncertain and degrading "charity" collection? Is she afraid to move in the matter unless our professional experts shall first certify to the "business" and "scientific" certainty of any proposed measure? Could one of all her missionary enterprises have obtained such an endorsement?

"When we desire to get our life insured we go straight to the office of some strong company." Thank God, dear brother, that you have the money and health, and "family record" which insures your acceptance. I have tried the same course and failed, and so have hundreds of my brethren; and thousands more long to do as you have done, but necessity forbids. With the average American clergyman life is a continuous struggle to keep want from his door. He cannot command a *large sum* of money at any time (as his salary is small and usually paid in dribbles), or spare it if he could. Suppose he thinks of a \$5,000 insurance, a moderate provision surely. He runs his eye down the insurance table to 45, denoting his age, and finds that the pre-

mium on this sum is \$189.85. And this in one payment, on a fixed day each year. His heart fails him, he cannot think of it. He must try some other plan, or leave his dependent ones uncared for.

To meet all such cases our "Parish" plan was devised. Those of abundant means do not need it, nor need life insurance at all. But to the majority of ministers it offers the only practicable plan we know of. And it was not put before the church till every detail of it had been subjected to a most rigid scrutiny on the part of gentlemen as competent to judge as any that can be named. The criticisms of Mr. Homans do not apply to this plan. It is not rightly classed with "co-operative insurance." It is not a scheme devised for money-making on the part of a company or designing individuals, to act as a "snare and a delusion," but purely in the interest of its members, and is managed by those who take deep interest in the Ministry, and are willing to use at their own cost the best means which study and experience may suggest.

What *is* the "Parish" plan? Simply a number of churches and ministers associated together for mutual protection. Each member pays a small initiatory fee and \$10 for each death which occurs. Every dollar thus assessed and collected is paid to the family of the deceased member. The Society is responsible simply for the collection and payment of the money. It assumes no risks. The members have all an equal interest in maintaining it. Each contributes a definite sum, in a business way, to the bereaved household, with the assurance that the same aid will be extended to his loved ones at his death. There is the same motive to keep good one's membership as to keep alive a policy in some insurance company. The cost is certainly the *minimum* one, as there is not a cent taxed for "expenses" of any kind. The payments are made in small sums, and never in advance. And it has one advantage certainly over ordinary insurance—the minister gets the benefit of his "superior longevity."

"The mortality which prevails among the clergy," says an eminent English actuary, in a recent official report, "may safely be stated to be 20 per cent. less than that of the general community." "Out of 100 of each of the following classes the number of those who attain their 70th year is: clergymen, 42; farmers, 40; traders and manufacturers, 33; soldiers and clerks, 32; lawyers, 29; artists, 28; professors, 27; physicians, 24."—*Insurance Times* (New York), Feb., 1870.

Such a purely mutual plan, under the corporate control of gentlemen eminent for practical wisdom and Christian philanthropy, is not likely to prove a "snare and a delusion." The principle has been fairly tested under less favorable auspices, and proved a success. The physicians of this city have one of this character, which has been in successful operation for *thirty years*. The "police" have one embracing nearly the entire force of the city, and each family now receives over \$2,300 on the death of its head. So have the firemen, merchants' clerks, and other classes. And why should not the ministry? And why should it not be a success? The plan has a corporate exist-

tence, and is so wisely framed that no "legislation" can interfere with it. It is catholic, and embraces in its scope the entire American clergy. Its estimate of mortality is based on the "experience tables" of the "Clerical Society" (English), which is much older than our oldest insurance company, and of the actual mortality rate of American clergymen for the last thirty years, which we have ascertained by investigation.

The reasoning of those who criticise the plan is fallacious, and their conclusions extravagant. There can be no such excessive mortality as is charged. If the membership were a *fixed, changeless* element it would be so; but it is not. Probably nearly half of all the policies issued by our insurance companies are suffered to lapse, and so a change of risks is made; and the result is that the rate of mortality in some of our oldest societies is even less than in some of the new ones. And the same will be true in the Parish plan. Many members will drop out each year, and new ones take their places. And especially will this be the case as it relates to parishes. The risks are continually changed. Pastors come and go. They are protected while they remain; and if they die in the service of one of these associated churches, their families are cared for. This continual changing of members will keep down the average age of the class, and consequently the mortality, to something like our estimate.

"But what guarantee that the class will be kept up?" And what certainty that your chosen insurance company will be in existence a generation hence? Not a few have already wound up. Thousands of policy-holders have found themselves "sold out." And we are far from having reached the end of the chapter. We can only reason from *probabilities* here; and when we look at the object, the motive, the agency, and the multitude of ministers, the chances are quite as good for the Parish plan as for other modes.—But how about "security?" There *is* something assuring in immense "reserves." But alas for human virtue and expectation! In this day of wide-spread corruption and dishonesty, who can tell what moneyed institutions are absolutely safe? What securities and investments, and "reserves" are beyond the reach of possible loss? May it not prove in the long run that the promise of 500 ministers and churches to pay each \$10 to my family when I die, is as safe a reliance as the average insurance policy?—"It lacks 'cohesion'; there is no 'business' or 'scientific' assurance about the scheme." The same may be said of our entire Church operations. Our vast missionary work, and every other form of benevolent enterprise, is prosecuted in the same way. But does the missionary hesitate to go to his distant field, or our Boards and Societies withhold or hesitate because there is no scientific or business basis on which to rest a demonstration of the certainty of the means? There is something higher and better even than a legal bond, and business obligation, and scientific demonstration. And the experience of the Church proves it. Without these she moves grandly on in her Christian work, planning and accomplishing, sending out an army of missionaries into all parts

of the world, and sustaining her various enterprises at an annual cost of tens of millions of dollars. And the credit of these numerous "benevolent" institutions, without a dollar of "reserve," or "capital," and with no "business" or "scientific" basis whatever, stands as high to-day throughout the commercial world as any of our banking or insurance institutions.

Here we are willing to rest the case. We do not shrink from just criticism, but invite a thorough scrutiny of our principles, methods, and practical operations, assured that they will command the respect and confidence, and we hope the sympathy and co-operation, of the ministers and churches of our land.

In behalf of the Society,

J. M. SHERWOOD, Sec.

### INCORPORATED IN 1870.

The Society was incorporated by the Legislature of the State of New York, April 11, 1870, and the following persons appointed in the act trustees of the corporation, viz.:

JAMES BROWN, Esq.,	New York.
WILLIAM H. ASPINWALL, Esq.,	"
MORRIS K. JESUP, Esq.,	"
NATHAN BISHOP, LL.D.,	"
RT. REV. HORATIO POTTER, D.D.,	"
REV. WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D., LL.D.,	"
E. L. FANCHER, Esq., LL.D.,	"
REV. ISAAC FERRIS, D.D.,	"
JOHN D. SHERWOOD, Esq.,	"
HOWARD POTTER, Esq.,	"
ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Esq.,	"
J. W. WEIR, Esq.,	Harrisburg, Pa.
REV. RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D.,	Boston, Mass.
Hon. JOHN V. FARWELL,	Chicago, Ill.
Major-Gen. O. O. HOWARD,	Washington, D. C.

On the 27th of the same month and year, the Society was organized under this act of incorporation, and the following constitution and by-laws adopted as the basis of its action.

## CONSTITUTION.

### *Art. I.—Name.*

This Society shall be called "*The Society for Promoting Life Insurance among Clergymen.*"

### *Art. II.—Object.*

The OBJECT of this Society shall be to promote among and to secure to clergymen of all religious denominations, professors, teachers in colleges, theological schools and other seminaries of learning, and to secretaries and agents of charitable and other benevolent institutions, the benefits of life insurance in all its various forms; to stimulate, aid and coöperate with ecclesiastical bodies, churches and individuals in making provision for this end; to receive, hold, invest and apply to these purposes funds intrusted to it, and thus to help, by lightening the temporal burdens and diminishing the just apprehensions of those engaged in these callings, the efficiency and success of their work.

### *Art. III.—Officers and Managers.*

The OFFICERS of the Society shall be a PRESIDENT, a FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT, a SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT, SECRETARY and TREASURER, each of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees at its general annual meeting.

There shall be a BOARD OF TRUSTEES, composed of fifteen members, consisting of the persons named in the first section of the act creating this Society and their successors.

There shall also be an EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, consisting of the officers of the Society, together with two others, said two to be elected at said annual meeting by and from said Board of Trustees.

A FINANCE COMMITTEE and an INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE, each composed of three persons, and an AUDIT COMMITTEE, of two persons, shall, also, at said annual meeting, be appointed by said Board, which said Board may also appoint at any meeting thereof, or may authorize said Executive Committee to appoint, such agents as the work of the Society may require.

VACANCIES arising in said offices, or in said Board, may be filled by the Board at any meeting thereof of which five days previous notice has been given to all the members of said Board. Vacancies in either of the committees may be filled by the re-election of the remaining members of the committees.

A majority of said Board shall constitute a quorum, and may elect or appoint.

Each of said officers and committeemen shall hold his office until the annual meeting succeeding his election or appointment, or until the election or appointment of his successor.

Any three members of said Executive Committee and a majority of said

Finance and Investigation Committees, respectively, shall constitute a QUORUM therein for the transaction of business.

The DUTIES and POWERS of the respective officers and committees, named in this article, are prescribed in the by-laws.

*Art. IV.—Meetings.*

The ANNUAL MEETINGS of the Board of Trustees shall be held at the rooms of the Society, in the city of New York, on the second Thursday of January, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

SPECIAL MEETINGS of said Board may be held at such times as it may designate, or it may be called together at the request of five members thereof.

The various COMMITTEES may meet at such times as they shall appoint. The Finance and Executive Committees shall meet at the request of two members thereof respectively, and the Executive Committee at the request of three of its members.

*Art. V.—By-Laws.*

By-laws may be made or altered by the Board at any meeting thereof. In case of any addition or alteration, notice of the same, five days previous to the action of the Board thereon, shall be given to said Board.

*Art. VI.—Members.*

Clergymen, on contributing to the Society fifty dollars annually, or one hundred dollars in one sum, and other persons by contributing one hundred dollars annually, or two hundred and fifty dollars in one sum, shall be honorary members thereof.

*Art. VII.—Amendments.*

The constitution may be amended by a majority of the Board of Trustees at any meeting of which ten days previous notice has been given, and a like notice of the proposed amendment to each member of said Board.

**BY-LAWS.**

I. The officers of the Society shall hold office till re-elected at some annual meeting.

II. As the Society is purely a benevolent one, the entire discount or commissions allowed to it by the insurance companies shall be given to the parties insuring in connection with it.

III. All clergymen in good health, and in the active service of the church, and under sixty years of age at the time of applying, and all professors in colleges and theological seminaries, and secretaries and agents connected with the benevolent work of the church, meeting the same conditions, are eligible to membership in our Parish Mutual Association.

IV. There shall be required of each member, at the time of joining, the



payment of the sum of \$10, as an initiation fee, and the additional sum of \$10 on the death of any of the members of the division to which he belongs, due notice of which shall be sent to him by the secretary.

V. The mortuary dues are payable *within thirty days* after notice of the death of a member has been received. If not then paid, a *second* notice shall be sent by the secretary, and *thirty days'* grace allowed, at the expiration of which time (sixty days in all), if still unpaid, the defaulting member shall be "suspended," not cut off; and if *within a year* from the date of his default he shall pay all assessments, he shall be reinstated in all the privileges and benefits of the Association. If his death occur during the period of "suspension," no benefit will accrue to his family.

VI. The privilege of a *half membership* shall be conceded, where preferred, in which case the membership fee will be \$5, and each assessment \$5, and the benefit to the family in the event of death will be half that of a full member.

VII. Satisfactory legal proof of the death of any member must be furnished the secretary before any call can be made upon the class for payment.

VIII. The Society will use its best endeavors to collect the mortuary dues and pay over to the proper person or persons the entire amount received in sixty days after satisfactory evidence of the death of a member shall have been received.

IX. No membership shall be forfeited for any reason so long as the mortuary dues are promptly paid.

X. A full membership may be exchanged for a half membership at any time, if desired, on application to the secretary,



# AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

July 1874

## ON THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

(Concluded.)

LUTHER and his associates said, in the Augsburg Confession,—

Here again we desire to testify it to the world, that we will willingly conserve the *ecclesiastical and canonical government*, if only the Bishops will cease to exercise cruelty upon our Churches. *This, our will, SHALL EXCUSE US BEFORE GOD and before all the world, unto all posterity*, that it may not be justly imputed unto us, that the authority of Bishops is impaired among us.

This is the formal and public declaration of the great body of "Protestants," and I leave your readers to judge whether it is not as strong an endorsement of Episcopacy as any Churchman could desire, and whether it does not treat Episcopacy as a *divine* institution. Why make that solemn protest and appeal if it were *not* a divine institution? Why desire to stand excused before God for being without it, if God had not ordained it? Why desire "all the world" to understand the reason of their defect in regard to the Episcopate, if all the Christian world were not satisfied of its Scriptural character? Mark how it was with an office that all acknowledge to be of mere ecclesiastical origin. Archdeacons had no Scriptural or Apostolic warrant. Their function ceased in Protestant Germany, but the Reformers made no apology for doing away with the office. Why was this? Was it not simply because man had a

right to abolish what man had originated? Is it possible in any way to account for the silence of the Reformers when they abolished one office, and for their earnest protests against being regarded as having wilfully abolished another, except on the ground that one was known to be *human*, and the other was known to be *DIVINE*. In connection with the former, Luther and his associates exercised their own judgment, and did not condescend to offer any explanation or defence of their act; but as regards the latter, they solemnly declared that they yielded to *NECESSITY*. And that is precisely what I assert, and what Dr. Fisher denies.

MELANCTHON was said to have held the pen of the Reformation. Layman though he was, he was the acknowledged theologian of the movement. He wrote the Confession from which I have just quoted, and the Defence of it, and may, therefore, fairly stand as a representative of the whole body of Protestants. It will be remarked that, in the extract given above, he speaks of Episcopal government as "*THE Ecclesiastical and canonical government*," as if there were no other to be thought of,—"*nisi coegerit dura necessitas*;" and to show that this was not an unguarded expression, I add here one or two sentences which will prove that point, and so substantiate my assertion:

I would render to the Bishops *entire jurisdiction* and the accustomed honor, although this may offend some *who cannot bear to lose the liberty they have gotten*. . . . Certain persons are grievously offended that I would restore *Episcopal jurisdiction*, or, in other words, *ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY*, which they call restoration of Papal domination; but I am not ignorant why they have so great abhorrence of this advice. They cannot bear the idea of bringing the *cities* to the domination of Bishops, and they have some reason. *But with what reason can we cast them off, if they will allow us to retain our doctrine?* . . . Oh, *that I could confirm*, not the domination, but the *administration*, of the Bishops, for I can see what sort of a Church we are going to have when *THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY* is utterly dissolved!

Who desires more explicit or stronger testimony than this? Add it to that already given from Calvin (whose right to represent the French and Swiss Churches will not be denied), and my statement is fully vindicated. There was no controversy about Episcopacy, because all were agreed that it was the true Scriptural mode of Church government!

Some may claim that this view was not entertained in Scotland and elsewhere, so I give one or two sentences that will settle that point.

Knox, in Scotland, had it declared (A. D. 1560) that "no Bishop or other prelate should use any jurisdiction in time to come, *by the*

*Bishop of Rome's authority."* That was the only restriction placed upon the Order, and in the Church of Scotland, as then reformed, bishops or superintendents were continued as a separate class, superior to presbyters in dignity and authority. They were not canonically ordained to their office, for the simple reason that there was no one to consecrate them. The protest offered to the Scotch Government in 1571, by Erskine, of Dun, declared the identity of bishops and superintendents, and says that, "to take away the office of a Bishop, so that no Bishop be in the Kirk, were to alter and abolish the Order that God has appointed in His Kirk" (see Lawson's History; also, Stephens's, vol. i. p. 223, etc.).

FREGEVILLE (quoted by Bishop Hall) said, with reference to France, "*It was NOT THE DEGREES OF THE CLERGY which the Reformers excepted against, but the superstition.*"

The CONFESSION of the French Church says:

We would not have the authority of the Church, or of those pastors or superintendents to whom the charge of governing the Church is committed, taken away. We confess, therefore, that these bishops or pastors are reverently to be heard, so far forth as, according to their function, they teach the Word of God.

Surely, then, this will suffice. Henceforth we may admire the courage, but not the candor, of the person who will deny that Episcopacy was recognized by all the first Reformers as the proper mode of Church government, or who will contend that those of them who organized Churches without bishops, did not do so *ex necessitate*.

Dr. Fisher seems to think it was almost a conceded matter that the German or Swiss Churches had attained to perfection in reformation on Scriptural principles, and that they were models to which the English Church should work up. Doubtless there were a few who thought so; but, strange to say, they were chiefly Germanized Englishmen and Scotchmen. Some others thought that, in one point or another, the Continental Churches had some advantage over the Anglican; but the majority, including the best and wisest men of the age, looked upon the English Church as the most complete and Scriptural of all. To use the language of good Bishop Hall:

All the world of men judicious and not prejudiced with their own interests, BOTH DO AND MUST CONFESS, with the learned Casaubon, Fregeville, and Saravia, that no Church in the world comes so near the Apostolic form as the Church of England.

And this was plainly declared by the venerable Bishop Cooper, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, and in his "Admonition," A. D. 1589.

Such, then, was the acknowledged character of that Church which was called the "Bulwark of the Reformation." It made no appeal to the charitable consideration of the Continental Churches, it pleaded no stress of circumstances compelling it to be what it was. Out of regard for them, it refrained from passing any censure upon their irregularities or defects, so long as they were confessed to be irregularities and defects; but when they came to be justified, as not only allowable but *necessary*, then English Churchmen spoke in plain language; and even those who were most inclined to favor the Churches of Germany, Holland, or Switzerland, bore a faithful testimony in behalf of that system which the foreigners had begun to deery. For instance, at the Synod of Dort, Bishop Carleton made his famous defence of Episcopacy, and told the divines of Holland that much of the evil they were then suffering from would have been prevented if they had had among them bishops exercising a proper authority. To this the President, Bogerman, replied, "My Lord, we are not so happy!" and Bishop Hall testifies that this was pronounced "in a sad gravity and conscionable profession of a known truth."

Neither would he, being the mouth of that select assembly, have thought it safe to pass those words before the deputies of the States and so many venerable divines of foreign parts (besides their own), if *he had not supposed this so clear a truth as that Synod would neither disrelish nor contradict.*

And now I will give another brief extract from Bishop Hall, whose authority my learned opponent is willing to maintain. He will show whether Dr. Fisher or I make the most correct representation as to the origin of the non-Episcopal Churches on the Continent. Addressing an apostate bishop (Grahame, of Orkney, who had surrendered his jurisdiction and office, and put himself under the presbytery), Bishop Hall said:

Let me advise you and your now master, the faction, not to deceive yourselves vainly with the hope of hiding your heads under the skirt of the authority of the divines and Churches abroad, which retain that form of government whereto you have submitted; for, know that their case and yours is far enough different. *THEY PLEAD to be, by a kind of NECESSITY, cast upon that condition which you have willingly chosen. They were not, THEY COULD NOT BE, what you were, and might still have been.*

So much, then, on the one side; and what is there on the other? Is there anything of similar character, anything of equal force? Dr. Fisher may find many severe reflections upon the errors and "the practice of prelates;" that is to say, of bishops who opposed the Reformation. He will find their false doctrine, their supersti-

tious usages, their pride and their cruelty, freely condemned, and he will also find, in Puritanical writers, objections against the power and the wealth of Protestant bishops; but he will not find open denunciation of *the Order*, as anti-Christian in character and origin; he will not find any claim that Presbyterianism or Congregationalism is the true and Scriptural mode of Church government, until he has got away from the men of the true Reformation period.<sup>1</sup> He may quote some sayings or sentences from Luther or Melancthon or Calvin, that seem inconsistent with what I have shown that they openly professed; but, giving all possible weight to such sentences, they would prove only that these men were inconsistent,—not that Dr. Fisher is right. In Calvin's case, the fact that he had invented the Presbyterian system is surely enough to explain his saying everything that he *could* say in its defence; and the same fact gives greater force to his admissions concerning Episcopacy. But can Professor Fisher produce a single declaration from the English Church, or from any leading divine thereof, apologizing for the threefold ministry, or declaring that, against their judgment and wish, they were compelled to adopt the Episcopal Order?

Let us look at the matter in another point of view. Some writer on the anti-Episcopalian side has argued thus: If the Continental Churches were thought by English Churchmen to have been reformed on wrong principles, if their being without the Apostolical Succession perpetuated through the Order of Bishops were considered a defect great enough to make it doubtful whether they could be recognized as true Churches, and whether their ministers had any lawful calling, is it conceivable that the English would not have spoken out honestly upon the subject, and out of regard for the Church in general, and for those mistaken members of it, have taught them their error and pointed out a remedy? This question is an argument well devised *ad captandum*. Of course it has great weight with some people, who do not think for themselves, or who forget that it has been answered a dozen times already. The Reformers of the English Church knew well enough that the Continental Churches had been reorganized on wrong principles, or in defective form,—the fact was acknowledged (as we have seen) by the very leaders of the movement; but as it was also claimed that *nothing better could be done under the circumstances*, there was no occasion for warning and no room for censure. Let your readers con-

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, I will be understood as speaking of *leading* men, not of comparative nobodies.



sider these maxims: "*Quod non est licitum in lege, necessitas facit licitum.*" "*Quae propter necessitatem introducta sunt non debent in argumentum trahi!*" These sentences (quoted from the body of ecclesiastical laws drawn up in England during the period in question) explain satisfactorily the absence of any denunciation or protest from the Anglican Reformers.

But now let me turn the adversaries' weapon against themselves. It is very clear that there is a greater resemblance and closer relation between the Unreformed Church and ours in the matter of government, than between the Presbyterian and ours. As regards polity, the Romish Church differs from ours in little more than one point, viz., the supremacy of the Pope. If then the threefold ministry were not known and acknowledged to be of divine institution, is it to be supposed that men who in every country were protesting against, and so far as they could, were casting off, even the most trivial thing that seemed to them to have anything of what they called the "mark of the Beast," would not have raised their voice against a ministry of divers Orders as a mere popish institution, a thing human in origin and sinful in tendency? Would they not, wherever it was practicable, have deposed the bishops and declared their office wholly unlawful. Such *was* the course pursued by Melville and his followers in Scotland after 1575, and by the Puritans of the Revolution in England sixty or seventy years later; but for about *two* generations after Luther nailed his Protestant theses on the church door at Wittenberg, no such policy was adopted or suggested. On the contrary, every man of note in the Reformed Churches during all that period confessed that the Episcopal Order ought to be retained wherever it could be retained—every man of note testified to the excellence of the English Church, and expressed desire for its continuance and prosperity. The inference is obvious.

Dr. Fisher makes what I think is a singular mistake, when he speaks of the English Reformers as "perpetually turning to the foreign divines for advice." In support of this general assertion, he offers just two facts which we have already examined: (1) The correspondence with Calvin in connection with the trouble at Frankfort. (2) The communications addressed to Beza, Gualter, and others, in connection with the Puritan controversy. As to the former, I have shown that the true Anglican party did *not* appeal to Calvin for advice, and did not give up their own opinion nor change their practice, even though he made haste to condemn them; and as to the other, I have shown that as the Puritans professed to be followers of the Continental Reformers, and as they had far out-run their teachers,

the English authorities could safely and consistently appeal to the latter against them. And this is all the evidence of what Dr. Fisher calls a perpetual turning to Switzerland and Germany for advice!

It was under Cranmer that the Church of England was reformed. His primacy lasted twenty-three years. There are about three hundred and twenty of his letters extant. Of these, fifteen at most are addressed to Continental divines, and not one of them contains evidence of any such leaning upon them for help or counsel as Dr. Fisher speaks of. In one he asks for the opinion of Bucer on the vestment question, not at all that Bucer should instruct him or pass any authoritative judgment upon it, but that his opinion might be used to corroborate that which Ridley had already set before Hooper. And this is, I think, the *only* letter in which Cranmer uses any such style or makes any such request.

Matthew Parker was made chaplain to King Henry VIII. in 1537, and he died in 1575. He was therefore among the most important divines in the English Church during the whole Reformation period. He was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559, and in that capacity governed the Church for nearly twenty years. Of his letters there are about three hundred and seventy yet remaining, and of these *there is not one in which Parker asks for such counsel and sympathy* as Dr. Fisher supposes to have been constantly sought.

Probably the reverend gentleman was inclined to this opinion from the fact of the English authorities having given prominent places at the Universities to those good men whose names we have so often mentioned. But let it be understood that they were among the most eminent scholars of the day. In Rabbinical literature, Fagius, and in ordinary theological learning, Martyr and Bucer were excelled by none. Thus they were eminently qualified for the discharge of the duties assigned to them, and the Primate and Court did a noble work of charity in receiving and honoring them as they did. But he who would conclude from their appointment that the English Universities were destitute of learned men, or even that those of Germany were superior, and that *therefore* the English Reformers sought counsel from the Continental Reformers, as the weak would from the strong, makes a total and very strange mistake.

If the schools of Germany and Switzerland were superior to those of England, the natural result would be a flowing of students from England to Wittemberg, to Strasburg, to Zurich and Geneva; but except in time of persecution, we read of no such thing.

Whereas, on the contrary, we find at Canterbury, Oxford, and Cambridge numbers of German and Swiss students. Justus Jonas, Junior, John Sturm, Paul Fagius, Junior, Christopher Froschover, Rodolph Gualter, Junior, John ab Ulmis, Conrad ab Ulmis, Alexander Schmutz, and others, who certainly would not have left their own country to seek the position of stipendiary clients of English bishops and noblemen if they could have received as good an education at home. Neither Fagius, Jonas, nor Gualter would have sent his son on what was then a long and expensive journey to get what might have been had with less risk and outlay, in their own country, unless the English schools had an acknowledged superiority. John ab Ulmis, writing from Oxford A. D. 1548, says:

I have nothing to write about this University . . . except that it *everywhere abounds with excellent and most agreeable writers, and is adorned with great numbers of men who are most distinguished in every kind of learning*; and as to myself, that I can enjoy in this place to my heart's content both sacred and profane studies with the entire liberty of a most delightful and honorable leisure; and indeed with the hope and opinion that the heads of my family will some time acknowledge that I have not left Germany without reason.

Two years later, describing to Gualter the studies at the University, he gives a scheme of daily employment, showing that from six in the morning until eleven they were exercised in various works of Galen and Aristotle, and with an expository lecture from Peter Martyr on the Epistle to the Romans. Then questions in Moral and Natural Philosophy were discussed until dinner-time, and the rest of the day was devoted to private study, or attendance at the public disputations in Law, Physics, and Divinity.

All their disputations take place in public, and may be attended by any one. The private, or as they call them, extraordinary lectures, are very numerous. There are I think sixteen Colleges [in Oxford] which are distinguished by various studies and pursuits. Greek is taught in one, Hebrew in another. Here the mathematics flourish, there the poets. Here divines and physicians, there students of music and civilians. In all of them however the elements and rules of rhetoric and logic are impressed with especial diligence and accuracy upon the minds of the scholars. You will readily consider with your usual discernment, from the above facts, *what will be most expedient for your kinsman, I mean that excellent young man, Cellarius*; for my own part, *when I bear in mind the advantages of the place, the nature of the climate, and the distinguished character of our learned men*, I cannot but most earnestly recommend him to come over as soon as possible.

Froschover, the learned printer, who studied at the same University, writing to Gualter, expresses the hope that Bibliander, Musculus, and Melancthon would not accept the invitations sent to

them from England. He considered that they were more needed at home.

In this respect the English are in my opinion justly worthy of censure, that they are endeavoring to draw away from Germany its men of learning, that they may be able in the meantime to live at ease themselves; for if we diligently look into the facts we shall find that *they have men of higher talent for the most part than the Germans.*

These testimonies suffice to show that whatever in the letters from English to German or Swiss divines seemed to indicate a disposition to look up to them as teachers or guides, is to be attributed partly of course to the personal merits of those to whom such things were said, and partly to the complimentary style of that age. Thus Cox, Bishop of Ely, and tutor to King Edward VI., writing to Cassander, says:

As I have always deferred very much to your judgment, I earnestly request you to be so kind as briefly to let me know your opinion upon the subject.

To which Cassander replies:

I acknowledge your modesty in requesting my opinion upon this matter, for when you abound in so many copious fountains yourselves, why should you drink water from so insignificant and turbid a streamlet? . . . You will, I doubt not, receive this, my rude and unpolished writing, with the same modesty and courtesy with which you have written to me.

No amount of courteous expressions bandied about in this way should lead the reader to think that there was anything more really desired than a free interchange of opinion except when the English knew well that the Swiss would condemn disorderly and factious courses. The sentences that may have led Dr. Fisher to suppose that the English resorted habitually to the others for counsel and deferred to them as to superiors, would in truth prove only that they were the more polite, not the weaker party.

I cannot help expressing surprise at some things which Dr. Fisher has written in connection with this matter of intercourse between the English and Continental Reformers; *ex gra.*: "The personal influence of Calvin and Bullinger in England, especially after Ridley and Cranmer adopted the Swiss doctrine of the sacraments, was for a long time wellnigh authoritative. Their treatises were the text-books in Theology, recommended to the clergy and everywhere in their hands." There is error in every clause of this. Bullinger's *personal* influence in England was vastly greater than Calvin's, yet it never came to have even the least approach to anything

like an authoritative character. Calvin undoubtedly would have been proud to have such influence, but it was beyond his power. His letters to King Edward VI. and to Cecil show how glad he would have been to fill the office of Ruler of Reforms in England, as his other letters to the contending parties at Frankfort show his readiness to give magisterial decisions and rebukes. But his "personal influence" in England was very limited except among extreme Puritans.

But Dr. Fisher says the influence of Bullinger and Calvin increased after "Ridley and Cranmer had adopted the Swiss doctrine of the Sacraments." I beg leave to assure Professor Fisher that Ridley and Cranmer *never* "adopted the Swiss doctrine of the Sacraments." If he means no more than that they adopted opinions which some of the Swiss also adopted, he is right; but if he means that they took them from the Swiss, he is totally wrong. Moreover, there is no one thing that can be properly called "*the* Swiss doctrine of the Sacrament." I need not touch upon the question whether Zuinglian was indeed a Zuinglian, but the doctrine that is attributed to and called after him (that which makes Sacraments bare signs) is very distinct from that taught by Martyr, and Bucer, and Calvin, and Bullinger, and yet all these differed more or less between themselves. Bucer's whole life seems to have been spent in trying to effect a concordat between Wittemberg and Zurich, chiefly by the use of ambiguous language, or midway terms. Calvin tried the same task, so far that he had some difficulty in persuading the other Swiss divines that he was not a Lutheran. He succeeded at last in getting a consensus with the ministers of Zurich, but his copy of it sent to Bucer did not reach England till about the middle of July, 1549. And a month later Bullinger sent a copy to Hooper. But previous to that time, viz., in June, formal public disputations were held both at Oxford and Cambridge, in which disputations the doctrine of the Church of England as it stands to-day was clearly set forth and maintained. So the Zurich consent had nothing to do with the forming or fixing of that doctrine. But it is notorious that in 1546 (or 1547 at the latest) Cranmer, who, up to that time, had held the Lutheran opinion (*i. e.*, consubstantiation) was convinced of its error by conference with Ridley and reading the Book of Bertram, the Monk. Cranmer in his anxiety to learn the truth carefully examined the Holy Scriptures and the whole series of Christian Fathers once more, and was obliged to confess that the little book of Bertram taught the very truth. In 1549 he caused an edition of it to be published. The doctrine it contains is pre-



cisely that which in articles and offices the Reformed Church of England has from the first professed. But it is *not* what is commonly known as the Swiss doctrine; *that* is Zuinglianism, against which the Church of England has always in the plainest terms entered her protest thus :

Sacraments ordained of Christ be *not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession*, but rather they be certain *sure witnesses and EFFECTUAL SIGNS of grace and of God's good will towards us*, BY THE WHICH HE DOTHTH WORK IN-VISIBLY IN US, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him.

It might be supposed that, as at Oxford, Peter Martyr was allowed to conduct the defence of this doctrine against the believers in the real (or corporal) presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the Church of England had learned it from him; but in his tract on the subject published a few months later, after a high eulogy on Archbishop Cranmer, Martyr says :

Wherefore there was no need that I should present my little book to you, as if with the design that you should learn from it anything new, *since I rather have drawn from YOUR LABORS the greater part of my doctrine* ;

and so he goes on to submit the whole of his judgment. Let it be also borne in mind that it was in the very year of this disputation that Calvin first freed himself from the suspicion of being a Lutheran in the doctrine of the Eucharist (see Laurence's "Bampton Lectures," p. 237 ; also, Beza's Life of Calvin), and it will be seen at once that the Genevan Reformer can have no share in the merit of bringing Cranmer to orthodox views. It would, in fact, be more correct to say "Calvin adopted the English doctrine," than that "Cranmer adopted the Swiss."

And to show how little Bullinger had to do with the opinions set forth in the first Common Prayer Book (1549), I need do no more than quote a letter from Hooper to him, dated 31st May, in that year :

When I gave your letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, *he did not vouchsafe a single word respecting either yourself or your most Godly Church*. Bucer has very great influence with him.

Again, in 1550, he writes :

The Archbishop of Canterbury, to say the truth, neither took much notice of your letter nor of your learned present.

And this took place after Hooper himself had testified, not only to the orthodoxy of Cranmer on the Sacramental question, but to



his having a confession drawn up in which Scriptural views were maintained :

He has some Articles of Religion to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a license for teaching is not granted to them; and in these his sentiments respecting the Eucharist are pure and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland.

How are we to account, then, for Cranmer's coldness to Bullinger, at that time? It was not that the former had not yet embraced the doctrine which is set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, but that the latter had not yet entirely cleared himself of the odium of holding "the Swiss doctrine"—that is, of being a Zuinglian.

But Dr. Fisher is not much happier in his remark about the "treatises" of Calvin and Bullinger. The Decades of the latter were ordered to be read and noted by the more "unlearned sort of Ministers," as a help to preaching. This, however, is hardly the same as being a "text-book in Theology." The Homilies were prepared for ministers of the same class, not merely as helps and models, but to be actually read to the people; there would seem then to be implied in the order to read them from the pulpit a complete acceptance of everything they teach; but this is not the fact. The declaration in the Article respecting them is simply that they "*contain* a godly and wholesome doctrine." The assent given to them is only general; no member or minister of the Church is bound to all the opinions that are expressed or implied in them. This is even more manifestly true of Bullinger's Decades. They were to be studied by the minister—but not to be preached to the people. Agreement with them was not insisted upon. A man might, therefore, read and annotate them controversially if he chose. There was nothing to forbid it. Still, I am quite willing to confess that their being made the subject of such an injunction implied approval of, at least, their main doctrine, and that it was a very high compliment.

But while this honorable commendation was given to the work of the Zurich Minister, nothing of the kind was bestowed upon the far more able work of Calvin. His "Institutes" were never formally approved by the English Church. They were never recommended to the clergy. They became very popular in the course of time; and for two or three generations they moulded the opinions of a majority of the clergy; but this was not at all the result of any order or official endorsement.

The doctrine of the Anglican Church upon the Ministry and the Sacraments was fixed by the Book of Common Prayer. The Ordi-

nal and the Articles of Religion. These were all prepared during the period when, according to Dr. Fisher, "the personal influence of Calvin and Bullinger was almost authoritative in England;" yet neither one nor the other of these men had the least share in framing them; neither was asked a question concerning them while they were being prepared, nor even furnished with a copy when the work was done! And yet, forsooth, the English Reformers "PERPETUALLY turned to the foreign divines for advice!"

The only foreigners who had the least share in drawing up or revising any of the formularies, were Bucer and Martyr, who, being Theological Professors at the great English Universities, were naturally and properly asked to make suggestions for the contemplated revision of the Prayer Book. To enable them to do this, a Latin translation was furnished to them; but the actual effect of their censures and recommendations was far from great. Most of the changes they suggested had already been determined on, and others that they proposed were not made. Their own letters show how they stood with reference to this matter. Martyr, writing to Bucer (January 10, 1551), says:

It has now been decided in their Conference, as the Most Reverend [Cranmer] informs me, that many things shall be changed, *but what corrections they have decided upon he did not explain, nor was I so bold as to ask him.*

This indicates clearly enough the amount of "authoritative influence" that even the most highly respected of the foreign divines possessed in England. On this subject, Professor Fisher seems to be under a complete misapprehension, more especially as regards Calvin. I humbly hope that this letter may help to correct his mistake; and for anything more that may be needed, I take the liberty of referring him to Laurence's Bampton Lectures.

And now let us glance briefly at some other matters in which the reverend gentleman is not more correct than in those with which I have already dealt. He says:

For a long period the advocates of the Anglican policy acted on the defensive. This was not from any spirit of forbearance, much less of condescension, toward the Foreign Churches, but because they had *no thought of claiming for their polity a jure divino sanction*, and never dreamed that the Foreign Churches were under any obligation to adopt it.

I confess that I cannot discover the reverend gentleman's meaning in the first clause of this sentence. If it is only that the English Reformers were not *aggressive* advocates of Episcopacy, it is just what I have again and again asserted. If he means that the Conti-

mental Reformers assailed what he calls the "Anglican polity," and were but feebly resisted, he errs egregiously. He is hardly less mistaken if he supposes that the *first* generation of English Reformers "*acted on the defensive.*" They certainly did not, and that for the simple reason that there was no attack. After the lapse of more than twenty years, the Puritans began their open assaults; but *not* against Episcopacy. They objected to dresses, ceremonies, liturgies, and such ecclesiastical officers as Metropolitans, Archdeacons, and Deans. Against objections of this kind, it was sufficient to say that there was no evil in what was assailed, and, *that* being so, it was the duty of all persons to be obedient to the lawful authority. When the Puritans began by degrees to make some features of the Episcopal office as it then existed in England, the object of attack, the defence was still of the same kind. When they insisted that their own system of "discipline," which they had learned from Calvin, was prescribed in Scripture, and binding upon all Christians, the reply was: "It is *not* prescribed in Scripture." When, at last, they went the full length and denounced Episcopacy as popish and unscriptural, the reply was: "It is *not* popish, and it *is* Scriptural." The ground thus taken by the writers on the Church's side I hold to have been quite sufficient for the occasion. It is true that when the Order of Bishops was denounced, it might have been said, "We have Scriptural warrant for retaining that Order; and it is so necessary to the completeness of Church organization, that those bodies that have it not cannot vindicate their right to be called *true* or *perfect* Churches." But this would have been (as I have frequently said) a gratuitous and unkind arraignment of the Churches on the Continent; therefore, this ground was not taken. The defenders of Episcopacy satisfied themselves with proving that it was Scriptural. Dr. Fisher says their taking this course was not due to "a spirit of forbearance;" but the men themselves said the contrary when they alleged that they had kept silent under many and great provocations. One would suppose they were the best authorities on the matter; but my respected opponent is not willing to grant that they are. He himself is better. He can tell us what they had in their hearts and minds. But how has he gained such knowledge? I am so old-fashioned as to believe that the best way to ascertain the thoughts and purposes of the English divines is to read their works, and give due heed to what they said and did. In the very first year of their freedom, those men prepared the Ordinal, in which the power of ordaining was given to bishops exclusively; and in the preface to that Ordinal, they declared that the threefold ministry was of divine

institution (being testified to, not only in "Ancient Authors," but in "Holy Scripture"); and that, therefore, no man who was not then in one or other of the "Orders which Almighty God, by His divine providence, had appointed in the Church," should be accounted a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon, or suffered to execute any of the functions thereof unless he was ordained by the form that followed. This preface was both a deliberate declaration and a law, and I regard it as a very good index to what was in the mind of him who wrote it and of those who gave it legal force. In short, sir, I am bold enough to believe that those men had some thought of doing—what they actually did. As to what they "never dreamed of," I cannot presume to speak *pro* or *con*. Doubtless, Dr. Fisher has some means of knowing all about it, but I confess that I have not.

The reverend gentleman makes the very extraordinary assertion that the English Reformers regarded "Episcopacy as a thing indifferent, which a Church might adopt or reject at its will." I have tried to acquaint myself with all they have written on the subject of polity; and while I have never seen any authority for such an assertion, I have seen a great deal that refutes it. But I am always willing to get information, and will, therefore, thank Dr. Fisher if he will point out the passages in which the English Reformers say that Episcopacy is a thing indifferent which "any Church is at liberty to adopt or reject at its will." He will find sentences like one that Whitgift quoted from Calvin, to the effect that in ceremonies and discipline God hath left power to the Church to make or abrogate, to retain or to amend them as occasion may require; but Episcopacy is not a ceremony, nor is it discipline, but rather that by which all discipline is regulated. Besides, in all such sentences, there is always, either expressed or understood, the salvo, "so that nothing be done contrary to the Word of God!" But he who finds Episcopacy taught in Holy Scripture would necessarily regard the rejection of it as contrary thereto, and consequently that proviso shows that the Church writers, when they speak of things that may be "adopted or rejected at will," did not class Episcopacy among them. If Dr. Fisher thinks they did, let him produce the passage in which they say so. Let him give his warrant for asserting that they regarded it "among things indifferent."

Another thing that surprises me is the reverend gentleman's speaking of "the *recognition* of the Foreign Reformed Churches, and of their ministry by the bishops and divines of the Church of England." Does he not perceive that in this he begs the whole question? I do not mean the original question, concerning which he

came forward to testify, but the one he has almost succeeded in substituting for it. He is laboring to prove that the Church of England recognized the Foreign Churches, and in the course of his argument quietly takes it for granted. And yet the reverend gentleman knows that there was never any Synodical Act of recognition, and that nothing but such an act could warrant his expression. If he meant to speak of the opinions of individuals, he should have said, "by *some* bishops and divines." In place of that he said, "by *the* bishops and divines of the Church of England." This means a great deal more than the other—and a great deal more than the Professor can justify. But, taking it only as claiming "recognition" by individuals, I beg leave to remind Dr. Fisher and your readers that *that*, if proved, would amount to just nothing at all. For example, a few months ago, we had among us, and even in the Episcopal office, a gentleman who it now appears "recognized," so far as his own opinions and feelings were concerned, anybody and everybody that claimed to be a minister of Christ; but does that prove that the Protestant Episcopal Church recognized any but Episcopally-ordained ministers? Of course not! The gentleman in question had his own theory; but as soon as he put it in practice, he found that he was not the Church, and not even a consistent member of it. Doubtless, Grindal, Parkhurst, and Pilkington (though they would never have gone the lengths of the late Assistant Bishop of Kentucky), did admire the Foreign Churches, and would gladly have accepted men ordained in those Churches, but unfortunately for them—for Dr. Cummins and Dr. Fisher—the law prevented the practical recognition.

And yet, probably, I may be granting too much, even in the case of Grindal and others. In their writings, the words "Church" and "Minister" are frequently applied to the societies and persons in question, and associated with these terms are many kind or laudatory expressions; but, after all, this only proves what has so often been granted, viz., that the *de facto* organization and ministry were recognized as allowable where nothing better could be had.

But Dr. Fisher refers to Hooker and writers of his class as having "recognized" the non-Episcopal Churches, and admitted that their ministers were lawfully ordained.

They do nothing of the sort, except on the charitable ground of regard for the special circumstances of the case. They confess that a man may be held as having a lawful vocation, who, when it was totally impossible to get any better ordination, was set apart to the ministry by the laying on of the hands of Presbyters; but there



their acknowledgments stop. Hooker speaks of the Foreign Churches as having been "*DRIVEN to want that kind of polity which is best, and to content themselves with that which the irremediable error of former times, or the NECESSITY of the present, hath cast upon them.*"

I think the reverend gentleman has been led into this mistake concerning their judgment of the Foreign Churches by failing to see or to give due attention to the qualifying clauses that accompany the sayings to which he refers, *ex gra*, in such a sentence as this:

If all the bishops in a nation were dead, the Christian prince of that nation might appoint other bishops and priests to succeed them.

This, which is very much the same as some of the replies given to the questions of Henry VIII., would seem to be—in Dr. Fisher's judgment—a very valuable admission; but he forgets the "*if!*" So is it with what he reads in Dean Field's "*Book of the Church.*" He claims Dr. Field as "*defending the Foreign Churches, and maintaining the sufficiency of their Orders.*" But this is the way in which he maintains it:

If they [the bishops] become enemies to God and true religion, *in case of SUCH NECESSITY*, as the care and government of the Church is devolved to the Presbyters remaining Catholic, and being of a better spirit, so the duty of ordaining such as are to assist or succeed them in the work of the ministry pertains to them likewise. . . . There is no reason to be given, but *that in case of NECESSITY wherein all bishops were extinguished by death, or being fallen into heresie, should refuse to ordain any to serve God in His true worship, but that Presbyters, as they may do all other acts, . . . might do this also.* Who, then, dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were ordained by Presbyters in sundry Churches of the world, *at such time as bishops in those parts where they lived opposed themselves against the truth of God, and persecuted such as professed it?*

Here again the Professor overlooks the *ifs* and the justifying circumstances. In short, Field says exactly what every Churchman willingly grants, viz., that necessity excuses every irregularity which it occasions; that people must be allowed to do the best they can under their circumstances. But that is very different from saying that what they do under duress or difficulty is quite as good and lawful as what others do when perfectly free, and resolved on obeying fully the letter and the spirit of the law!

I shall be profoundly astonished if Dr. Fisher can produce from the writings of any prominent English divine of that period a single defence of the constitution and ministry of the Foreign Reformed Churches, apart from the peculiar circumstances, that interfered with



their freedom of action—a single recognition of non-Episcopal Orders on their own merits. Those few whose “Germanical natures” have been already referred to, may possibly have written something of the kind; but I cannot at this moment recollect a sentence of the sort, even from them. From those whose right to represent the English Church is far better, I am convinced that nothing of the kind can be drawn.

But my respected opponent has raised a question as to the time when the *jure divino* theory of Episcopacy began to be promulgated in England. He says I “seem to differ” from him in relation to the date. The difference is not in seeming, but in fact, if Dr. Fisher supposes that that theory was *first* promulgated at ANY date subsequent to the Reformation. It was introduced with Episcopacy itself, and that with Christianity. There never was a time when the English Church separated one from the other. If Dr. Fisher thinks there was, he may present his proofs. But it is acknowledged that the strongest ground was not taken by those who defended ecclesiastical polity against the assaults and innovations of the Puritans. In other words, the English Church writers did not so present their own case as to condemn the Foreign Churches, for the Foreign Churches had not taken part directly in the controversy, but were, or appeared to be, acting under duress, and desirous of retaining the good will of the English. But, though there was no presenting of the Church’s claims in this aggressive manner, there was (as I stated in a previous letter) nothing advanced that was inconsistent with the very strongest view of the necessity of Episcopacy in a free Church.

If the *jure divino* theory was not presented *controversially* at an earlier date than that of Whitgift’s answer to the Admonition, it was simply because there had been no attack upon it.

But, before going farther, let us ask what *is* the *jure divino* theory? Sometimes Professor Fisher writes as if he fully understood the distinction between it and the other, and at other times he so represents it as to show that he has no definite and correct understanding of the matter. Here is his best approach to a definition:

By the *jure divino* doctrine is meant, not simply that Episcopacy existed in the Apostolic age under the sanction of the Apostles, but that it is a perpetual and indispensable form of polity.

If the reader will bear in mind that the word “indispensable” is not to be understood as meaning *absolutely* indispensable, there can be no objection to this statement. But the want of definiteness on this point spoils it; for the Professor immediately argues that if any

one allows that, under any variety of circumstances, Episcopacy may be dispensed with, he and the Church to which he belonged did not hold the *jure divino* theory!

But he is not satisfied even with this representation of the doctrine, for he afterward says:

Another element was requisite to constitute the *full-blown doctrine of jure divino* Episcopacy. This was the Sacerdotal theory—the doctrine of a continued particular *priesthood*.

This is a very different definition from the other. He has given us a new, but not a better, explanation. He confounds things that have no necessary connection or likeness. No particular doctrine of the *priesthood* can be a necessary part of the doctrine of the *Episcopate*, and the reverend gentleman's own knowledge of the pre-Reformation times should have prevented his hazarding such an assertion. It was by those who wished to elevate the *priesthood*, as well as to flatter the Pope, that the Episcopate was first denied its ancient and Scriptural character. The Reverend Dr. Thompson reminded Professor Fisher of this, and he replied that he had himself drawn attention to the fact, and he seemed disposed to claim some credit for the discovery of its importance in this controversy. But if he will look at pages 117–122 of "*Vox Ecclesiae*" (published in 1836), he will find it stated and explained in full. There it is plainly shown that the "Sacerdotal theory" was, in effect, antagonistic to the *jure divino* theory of Episcopacy, though Dr. Fisher thinks it an element of it. I do not say that the two cannot be held by the same person, for many thousands have held, and do hold, both; but the lower office can never be inordinately magnified without encroaching upon the prerogatives of the other.

As regards persons in the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church, who hold what is really "the Sacerdotal theory" (the doctrine of a *sacrificing* priesthood), it may be safely asserted that they are very few. The opinion is that of a class aggressive, indeed, but neither numerous nor influential; while the *jure divino* theory of Episcopacy is that of the whole Church, except the few who, like the late Assistant Bishop of Kentucky, are willing to hold office among Episcopalians while they are Presbyterians at heart.

Let us try to get a clear understanding of the opposite doctrines of Episcopacy. The *jure humano* view is, that it was not established by Christ or His Apostles, but grew up in the Church. Some say it was a convenience—a good thing, and therefore allowable. Others say it originated in ambition, and is to be credited only to the work-

ings of the mystery of iniquity. Persons who hold this latter view would properly find their place among High Church Presbyterians, especially the signers of the "Solemn League and Covenant," who pledged themselves to extirpate "prelacy" as well as "popery." The other view might be held by moderate Presbyterians, and by such Episcopalians as Archbishop Whately, Dean Goode, and Dr. Cummins.

The *jure divino* doctrine, on the other hand, is, that the three-fold ministry was divinely instituted (some say by our Lord Himself); that the Episcopal Order was established by the Apostles, and that, when *they* had finished their course, the bishops succeeded them in the possession and exercise of all the powers necessary for the government and perpetuation of the Church; and, also, that among the rights belonging exclusively to the Episcopal Order is that of ordination to the ministry. This, and neither more nor less than this, is the doctrine of "divine right Episcopacy." It is what we maintain as a law of God's house. Yet it, like every law, may be interfered with, by persecution or other untoward circumstances. Where this is the case, the circumstances excuse the defect or wrong that they really cause; but when the Church is free, the law must be observed (See "*Vox Ecclesiae*," pp. 46-50).

Now, then, we may understand each other better; and so if Dr. Fisher asks me when the *jure divino* theory of Episcopacy was first broached in the English Church, I reply, just as soon as there was any English Church! If he denies that the English divines of the sixteenth century taught it, I refer him, as in my former letter, to Whitgift and Cranmer, to Sutcliffe, Bridges, Bancroft, and Hooker, as well as to Bishop Bilson, Dr. Saravia, and that very Dean Field whom he quotes on the other side.

The Doctor gives his own view of this point in these words: "The *jure divino* theory dates from the era of Laud." Whether this is correct or not can be easily ascertained. Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. If it is said his personal influence was felt before then, and so his "era" must be dated farther back, I have no objection. Let us say it began in 1621, when he was consecrated Bishop of St. David's. But *thirty-three* years before that, viz., on 12th of January, 1588, Dr. Bancroft (at that time chaplain to Whitgift, and afterward his successor as Archbishop of Canterbury) preached, at Paul's Cross, his famous sermon in defence of the Church against the attacks of the Puritans. Concerning this sermon, Dr. Fisher says, "It is a controverted point whether he broached the *jure divino* theory in it or not. Hallam maintains

that he did not!" Mr. Hallam's opinion, as I have said before, deserves respectful consideration, but it will not satisfy any sensible person who has the means of judging for himself. Reading the sermon gives me a very different impression of it. But let us see how it was regarded by others. Is it not notorious that Knollys (who was, at Court, the Attorney-General for the Puritans, as Leicester was their Lord Chancellor) made complaint of that sermon, on the very ground that it *did* openly defend the order and office of bishops *jure divino*, and was, therefore, an injury to the Queen's supremacy! Knollys said that Dr. Bancroft "avouched the superiority of bishops over the clergy to be of God's own ordinance, though not by express words, yet by necessary consequence," and that "he affirmed their opinion to be *heresy*, who impugned that superiority." In furtherance of the Jesuitical design to bring the ecclesiastical authorities in conflict with the Crown, a "Tract with a Syllogism," against this sermon, was drawn up by some members of the faction, and introduced at Court by Knollys. Of the syllogism, the minor proposition was to the effect that the preacher had maintained "that the bishops had superiority over the inferior clergy otherwise than by and from Her Majesty's authority,—*namely*, *JURE DIVINO*."

But it may be said this was the representation of an enemy who had an object to serve in making it. Well, then, let us look at Bancroft's reply :

I deny the major, and GRANT THE MINOR. For they (the Bishops) may well hold in some superiority, both *jure divino* and *jure humano*. . . . in some things, as in superiority of ordaining and consecrating ministers, and excommunicating *jue humanum*, and her Majesty's supremacy do *approve*, *maintain*, and *corroborate* *JUS DIVINUM*.

Probably, then, with the testimony of his opponents, and with his own profession of the fact, we may venture to hold that Bancroft did on that occasion broach the doctrine of Episcopacy by *divine right*, even though the great Mr. Hallam maintains that he did not!

Thus we trace the open defence of this doctrine to a date forty-five years before that at which Laud became Archbishop, and thirty-three years before he was advanced to the Episcopal Order. Dr. Fisher's chronology, then, must be, so far, amended. But that which we have reached is only the starting-point. Strype says :

For the preaching of this sermon, I am apt to believe he had the instructions of the Archbishop.

If Strype's *opinion*, then, would prove the fact, I might claim

the full sanction of Whitgift for the doctrine his chaplain had proclaimed in the great pulpit of England. But though there can be little doubt of the correctness of the opinion, I prefer dealing with facts, and shall take another mode of connecting him with the doctrine.

In 1570, the Puritan leaders, having gained great boldness, Cartwright began at the University of Cambridge (where he held a Fellowship of Trinity College, and was Lecturer in Divinity) to infect the younger students with dislike to the Episcopal Government and the Liturgy. For these offences he was (after due remonstrance) tried and expelled. Whitgift, then Master of Trinity College, had to exercise this discipline and to maintain the controversy with him. In 1572, he and the rest of the faction, having gone so far as to organize one or two presbyteries, ventured to challenge the whole Church. They issued an "Admonition" to Parliament, in which it was maintained that in the Church of England there was "neither right ministry nor right government of the Church; that the pre-script form of service maintained *an unlawful ministry*," etc. This libel had to be answered, and was answered, clearly and boldly, by Dr. Whitgift. Cartwright defended the Admonition, and Whitgift defended his reply. And the controversy, as summed up by Whitgift, having received the approbation of the authorities, has ever since been regarded in the light almost of a Standard. Strype says that in it

May be seen all the arguments and pleas used in those times for laying Episcopacy and the Liturgy aside, and all the exceptions to them, drawn up to the best advantage; and herein, also, are subjoined a full and particular answer and refutation of the one and vindication of the other, together with the favorable sense of the learned men in the Reformed Churches abroad, as Peter Martyr, Bucer, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, and Gualter, comprised in their letters or other of their writings, and THEIR APPROBATION of *this Church's form and discipline and the government of it by Bishops*. So that this book may be justly esteemed and applied to as one of the *public* books of the Church of England containing her profession and principles, and being of the like authority in respect to its worship and government in opposition to the Disciplinaryans as Bishop Jewel's Apology and Defence in respect of the Reformation and doctrine of it, in opposition to the Papists.

What, then, is the teaching of this great work on the constitution of the Church? Cartwright attacked Episcopacy as merely a human institution. Is it supposed by any one that Whitgift maintained the same opinion? Is not the contrary evident to all who examined the book? Cartwright having said:

If you will restore the Church to its ancient officers, this you must do—



instead of an Archbishop or Lord Bishop, you must make equality of ministers;

Whitgift replies that he has already proved the name and office most ancient and most necessary in the Church of Christ, and "that *this equality of ministers which you require is both* FLATLY AGAINST THE SCRIPTURES, and all ancient authority of councils and learned men, and the example of all Churches, even from Christ's time. He then quotes Bucer thus:

We see by the perpetual observation of the Churches, even from the Apostles themselves, *that it hath pleased the HOLY GHOST that among ministers, to whom the government of the Church especially is committed, one should have the chief care, both of the Churches and of the whole ministry*, and that he should go before all others in that care and diligence; for the which cause the name of a Bishop (overseer) is given to such chief governors of Churches.

This (and I can give scores of such extracts) shows plainly enough whether Whitgift held Episcopacy to be *jure divino* or not, and it gives the equally clear and positive opinion of Bucer on the same subject.

Cartwright having objected that when he produced arguments out of Scripture, his antagonist met him with "men's authority," Whitgift replied thus:

I oppose them to *your* authority, and to your reasons, who spurn against THAT ORDER WHICH THE HOLY GHOST hath placed in the Church, and most shamefully abuse the Scripture to maintain your errors (Vol. ii. page 405, Parker Soc. Ed.).

From pages 427 to 433, inclusive, the reader will find a long array of testimonies to the universality, antiquity, and apostolic authority of the Episcopal Order, which Whitgift winds up by asserting that "there is not one writer of credit that denieth this superiority to have been always among the clergy." In vol. ii. (page 355) we read as follows:

That Bishops do succeed the Apostles in this function of government may appear by sundry learned writers. Cyprian (Lib. iii. Epist. 9) writeth thus: "But Deacons must remember that the Lord hath chosen Apostles—that is to say, Bishops and chief governors. . . . And Ambrose saith *Apostoli Episcopi sunt*. ZUINGLIUS, also, in his Ecclesiastes, saith that the Apostles, when they left off going from place to place, and remained in one Church, were no more called Apostles, but Bishops, as James at Jerusalem, and John at Ephesus." Whereby it may appear that it seemeth strange, neither to the old writers nor to the new, to say that *Bishops succeed the Apostles, and come in place of them*.

I have copied these extracts for the purpose of vindicating the



account given of Whitgift's defence by the venerable Bishop Cooper (1589):

*He is persuaded that there ought to be, BY THE WORD OF GOD, a superiority among the ministers of the Church, which is sufficiently proved in his book against T. C., and in Dr. Bridge's book likewise, and he is at all times ready to justify it by the Holy Scriptures, and by the testimony of all antiquity.*

Dr. Fisher having said that my former citations "would stand in flagrant contradiction to the whole tenor of Whitgift's writings," I have judged it necessary to trouble him and our readers with these proofs to the contrary.

But it is not hard to discover the source of the reverend gentleman's mistake. He finds words of general or ambiguous meaning, and translates them into the sense they bear in the controversies of this age. Such a word is "Government;" and he quotes this passage:

That any one kind of government is so necessary, that without it the Church cannot be saved, or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient I utterly deny.

The ordinary or superficial reader would be very apt to regard this as referring to what we now call "Church Government;" but Dr. Fisher is not a superficial reader, and so should not have made the mistake. The word "Government" is used in this and all such passages (by Bishop Cooper in *his* Admonition, as well as by Whitgift) as equivalent of the general term "regimen," or "discipline," or "*œconomia ecclesiæ*." If the reader will look at page 420, vol. iii., of Whitgift's works, he will find the following specified and included in the term—"civil magistrates," "civil and politic laws," "external discipline," and "outward ceremonies and orders." And at page 554, Whitgift distinguishes between the *essential* points of ecclesiastical government and the *accidental*, "which may be varied according to time, place, and persons." If Dr. Fisher's understanding of the passage he quotes were correct, there would be no such discrimination, or the Orders of the ministry would be classed among the things indifferent and variable according to pleasure or convenience. But the distinction is made, and Whitgift's own enumeration of things indifferent, and therefore mutable, are "the *manner of electing* ministers, the kind of discipline, accidental ceremonies, and such other rights and ceremonies." The organization of the Church on the divine model then was, in his view of the matter, *not* accidental and variable, but *essential*.

Now, this work of Whitgift from which I have quoted, and

which ranks among the secondary Standards of the English Church, was written at the suggestion and *with the help* of ARCHBISHOP PARKER. It was read and reviewed by him as it was written, and other learned Bishops and divines (Bishop Cooper among the rest) were consulted. Moreover, it contained the last paper that came from the hand of the eminent BISHOP JEWEL, in which, in answer to Cartwright, he gives the authority for Bishops and Archbishops in the Church, calls the Puritans "novices," and Cartwright's arguments "wantonness" and "folly" (see Strype's Whitgift, fol. ed. appendix, page 14). Consequently, the attempt made by Dr. Fisher to have Jewel classed among the believers in a *jure humano* Episcopacy fails completely, and the existence of the *jure divino* theory is traced back from the date of Whitgift's defence to that of Parker's elevation to the Primacy. I claim Parker thus, because no man pretends to say that his opinion on this matter ever underwent any change. If, then, in 1571, he engaged Whitgift to write that book, aided him in it, revised and approved it, I have the right to claim him as having always held the doctrine it maintains. I might go even farther back, viz., to the time when Parker became chaplain to Henry VIII., and thus show that the doctrine on this subject, which was held before the Reformation, had not been abandoned or materially altered. But it is sufficient for my purpose to trace that doctrine back to the consecration of the second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, and there remains only one other to be spoken of—

THOMAS CRANMER.

I would pass him by with a single reference to what has already been quoted from him, if Dr. Fisher had not *most singularly* assailed it. He evidently alluded to the Ordinal Preface when he spoke of "*a few old phrases left standing in the Prayer Book*," from which he thinks it is not fair to gather the opinions of the English Reformers. I have not the least objection to judge the Reformers by any "old phrases" that they left standing in the Prayer Book, especially as revised in 1552; but surely Dr. Fisher knows that the Ordinal Preface was not among such things. *It is the composition of Cranmer himself.* And, let me add, it is a far better index to the real opinions of the Martyr Primate than anything Dr. Fisher has ventured to quote from him. He says:

Cranmer and other leaders of the English Reformation have left on record direct and conclusive evidence of their opinions on this subject.

So they have; but the reverend gentleman does not produce that evidence. Up to this time he has not given any quotation from the

writings of Archbishop Cranmer, except from that one paper of questions and replies which he found in Burnet's History, and which Burnet candidly and properly described as containing singular opinions that were afterward abandoned. Allow me to ask whether this is fair to Cranmer, or to the reader of Dr. Fisher's letters? Is it fair, when one professes to quote from what a man "has left on record, as direct and conclusive evidence of his opinions," to leave his published writings, and turn to a single MS. which was never meant to be published? Is it fair to turn away from his writings, official and unofficial, composed at various times, through a long life, and under circumstances that afforded him full liberty of thought and language, and to quote from a single document, written in the hour of persecution, after his best and most powerful friend had been put to death, and when the gaols were filled with those that favored the Reformation, or opposed the will of the ferocious King—a document written only for the private eye of Henry himself? Did not Dr. Fisher see the significant sentence placed by the Archbishop before his signature to that paper?

This is mine opinion and sentence AT THIS PRESENT, which, nevertheless, I DO NOT TEMERARIOUSLY DEFINE, *but refer the judgment thereof* WHOLLY UNTO YOUR MAJESTY.—T. Cantuarien.

Is that a paper which it is reasonable or fair to quote as giving the deliberate and settled opinions of Archbishop Cranmer?

But quoting it for this purpose is not the only wrong use made of the document by Dr. Fisher. He refers to it as the work of "Cranmer and other leaders of the English Reformation," and does this although he had been reminded that the persons who gave the replies in that document *were not the "leaders of the English Reformation."* Archbishop Lee, of York, was not a Reformer. Thirlby, of Westminster, was not, and *surely* Bloody BONNER was not. Dean Goode, to serve his purpose as a controversial writer, gave to the paper in question the same character that Dr. Fisher gives; but I would expect better things from the impartial Professor of Ecclesiastical History than from the champion of an extreme party. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, treats it in the same way, but in all probability he knew no better. He speaks with the usual amount of contempt or condemnation of "Bloody Bonner," and on the same leaf quotes complacently the Bishop of London! I would rather attribute this to ignorance than to dishonesty.

But to return to Cranmer. He drew up, in 1538, a paper that was proposed as the basis of union with the German Protestants.

Some of the articles were rejected by the German divines, and nothing came of the conference. Of those that were rejected, one was "De Ordine et Ministerio Sacerdotum et Episcoporum." It was believed that that article condemned too strongly (though by inference only) the German Episcopacy *jure humano*. Here is a sentence from it:

The Scripture openly teaches that the order and ministry of priests and bishops were *instituted by DIVINE and NOT BY HUMAN AUTHORITY*; that their power, function, and administration are NECESSARY to the Church, so long as here on earth we contend with the world, the flesh, and the devil. Nor ought THEY (the Orders mentioned) to be, on any account, abolished.

Twelve years after the date of this article, Cranmer wrote the Ordinal Preface, in which the lofty ground is taken that it is "EVIDENT unto all men diligently reading HOLY SCRIPTURES and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." Verily, then, Cranmer *has* left on record direct and conclusive evidence of his opinions on this subject; and those opinions of his, being the same that the Church of Christ had always held, were woven into the very warp and woof of all our formularies and other Standards. They cannot be eliminated by any amount of confident assertion or logical ingenuity.

I have thus traced the doctrine of Episcopacy *jure divino* back from the time at which Dr. Fisher says it was first promulgated in England, to and through the Reformation period, so making it clear that *it was not at any time an unknown or even a suppressed doctrine*. It always had its place in the formularies, in the canons, and in the actual practice of the Church, though, in tenderness to those whose lot was less fortunate than theirs, the English divines at first contented themselves with the most moderate statement of the doctrine that they could make without sacrificing truth.

That this was the exact state of the case, and that the difference in the tone of English divines was attributable solely to the fact that not only the Puritans, but some of the Swiss ministers, had begun to teach that their new "platform or discipline" ought to be established everywhere, is proved by abundant testimony. For instance, Whitgift's letter to Beza, which brought him to his senses; Hooker's Preface to his great work, Bishop Hall's "Episcopacy by Divine Right," etc. Probably, Beza has to bear more of the guilt of the great schism between the Protestant Churches than any one else. I know no one whose share in it was so great, except, probably, Calvin himself. These men urged their own system upon

Christians in all lands; and they (especially Beza) held correspondence with the most disorderly and factious of English Protestants, encouraging them to strive for the introduction of the discipline, though that would involve the overthrow of the existing polity, which all true Churchmen held to be sacred. Not meeting, at first, the success they hoped for, the English admirers of the Genevan system organized separate congregations, and thus denominational Churches or sects arose in place of national branches of the one Church of Christ. The ministers of the Reformed Churches in other countries, after a time, learned to agree with Beza, to defend that parity of ministers which their fathers had deplored, and then also, as the result of this, to give at least tacit sanction to the English sectaries.<sup>1</sup> What cause for wonder was there, then, that the English divines should give up their policy of forbearance, and adopt a plainer style of dealing with the question of the ministry? He must be little acquainted with the history of the period who does not know how grievous the provocation was, and little disposed to candor, who does not see in the course pursued by the Puritan party and their continental advisers a full justification of that which the Church writers found it necessary to adopt.

On this matter, a word or two may be heard from Bishop Hall:

This strange bird [the Presbyterian polity], hatched by Farel and Viret, was afterward brooded by two more famous successors [Calvin and Beza], and all this within the compass of this present age. Now, had this form, *being at first devised only out of need for a present shift*, contained itself within the compass of the banks of Leman Lake, it might have been retained, *with either the connivance or the pity of the rest of the Christian world*; but now, finding itself to grow in some places, through the fame of the abettors, into request and good success, it hath taken the boldness to put itself forth to the notice and approbation of some neighboring Churches.

This is part of the excuse Hall offers for sending forth his own treatise. And now let the reader observe this fact: Hall is one of those from whom Dr. Fisher quotes language that he wishes to be understood as containing recognition of the non-Episcopal Churches, and consequently opposed to the *jure divino* doctrine of Episcopacy, and yet Hall wrote for the purpose of maintaining that very doctrine. He wrote at the instigation of Laud himself, and amended his work from Laud's suggestions. So that what Professor Fisher regards as the opposite poles of Churchmanship, were found not

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<sup>1</sup> We are not to marvel greatly if they which have all done the same thing, do easily embrace the same opinion concerning their own doings.—*Hooker's Preface.*



only near each other, but united! And this is the actual state of the case during the whole history of the Reformed Church. Some may have dealt with the matter more sternly than others. There is a difference, for instance, between Bishop Cooper's treatment of it and Bishop Bilson's or Saravia's; between Hooker's and Bishop Williams's, Leslie's, Dodwell's, or Jaques's; yet, nevertheless, there is a substantial agreement that is as decided as could be maintained by any equally large body of men for the same length of time. They all hold and teach the *jure divino* theory. Some of the highest Churchmen make as much charitable allowance for, and speak as kind words of the Foreign Churches as the lowest Churchmen have done. For instance, Cosin (in his unquestionable writings) goes just as far in the way of charity as Field. Andrews speaks as kindly as Hall. And on the other hand, the lowest Churchmen have been just as strenuous in maintaining the Scriptural authority of the threefold ministry, and the necessity for Episcopal ordination (where it could be had) as the highest. Among the most decided maintainers of Episcopacy and Apostolical Succession that England has had within a century are William Romaine, George Stanley Faber, Joseph Jones, Leigh Richmond, Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, Professor Archer Butler, and Dr. Hugh McNeile, the present Dean of Ripon. The "Christian Observer," which was established about seventy years ago to be the organ of the Evangelical party, gave for about half a century, strong and unwavering support to those doctrines, but changed its tone under the editorship of the Rev. Mr. Goode. In this country, the same doctrines have had the support of the very best men that the Low Church party can claim. They have been set forth clearly and forcibly by Bishop White,<sup>1</sup> Bishop Chase, of Ohio and Illinois; Bishop Griswold, Bishop Henshaw, Bishop McIlvaine, and Bishop Burgess, also by Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, the present Primus; Rev. Dr. Tyng, Bishop Alfred Lee and Bishop Bedell. In short, these are matters upon which there is a surprising unanimity; for, as Sanderson said long ago, they have "been constantly and uniformly maintained by our best writers, and by ALL the sober, orderly, and orthodox sons of this Church." They are things which, as Dr. Tyng said, "Episcopalians cannot surrender with a clear conscience!"

But to return to Professor Fisher. Hoping to make capital

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<sup>1</sup> In putting Bishop White's name here, I do not mean to say that he was in any sense a party man. I mention him merely because he is claimed by some as a Low Churchman, and the omission of his name would look like a confession that he did not hold the doctrines in question.



out of the employment in England of Bucer and Martyr, he says:

If Bishop Potter now held in his diocese the station which Cranmer held in England, and if he were to invite the Rev. Dr. Schaff, and the Rev. Dr. William Adams, or two Presbyterian ministers of equal distinction, from Europe, to take chairs in the General Theological Seminary where Episcopal clergymen are trained; if he were also to request them, as Cranmer requested Bucer and Fagius, to translate the Bible into Latin, etc.; if Bishop Potter were to do all this, he would surely be judged not to have any decided repugnance to Presbyterian ordination.

The case is very ingeniously put, but it will not pass examination. Cranmer did *not* invite any two Presbyterian Ministers from the continent to hold such positions or do such work, for the simple reason that there were *no* "Presbyterian Ministers" at that time. Denominational Churches had not (except probably in the case of the Anabaptists) begun their career. Martyr and Bucer never styled themselves Presbyterian Ministers, and were never so styled by their contemporaries. They were simply Ministers of Christ's Church, and Ministers of unquestionable authority, inasmuch as they were both Episcopally ordained! And though Fagius was not ordained, he held no office and did no work that implied that he was, or that required him to be in Holy Orders. So then the Professor's point is lost. Of course he could not overcome the difficulty presented by the great changes of 300 years; still, when imagining a case, he might have done better. The idea of representing any Presbyterian Ministers of these days, as parallels for Bucer and Martyr, is almost too much for one's gravity.

If the present Governor of New York had as much power as Henry VIII. possessed in his kingdom, and in the matter of Church and University appointments, would leave as much in the hands of Bishop Potter as Henry did in Cranmer's; and if it were the habit of this country and age to assign chairs in colleges and seminaries to worthy foreigners, almost or quite as freely as to natives, and to allow laymen to hold professorships of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in theological seminaries, the case would be so similar to what it was in England in the beginning and middle of the sixteenth century, that, imagining it to exist, we may go on to the next step. If then there were two or three vacancies existing in the Faculty of a New York College, or the General Theological Seminary, and Bishop Potter, hearing that among the Alt-Catholics of Germany, there was some fear that persecution would drive them from their homes, should write to them, saying: "Come to us, and we will shelter and main-

tain you." If he should appoint to divinity lectureship, two of the most eminent and learned men among these strangers—men that had been duly ordained; who held the truth as he holds it; who had never signed a Westminster Confession, nor a Saybrook Platform, nor a "Solemn League and Covenant;" who had never written a word against the Church, but defended or praised it; who had always used a Prayer Book in their public worship, and were, in every way possible, willing to conform to the laws and usages of the Church; or if he should give a Greek Professorship to another of the party, who had not been Episcopally ordained, but would have no clerical duties to perform—a man eminent for his attainments, and willing to submit himself in every respect to the government of the Episcopal Church, would any sensible or fair-minded person say that Bishop Potter had shown favor to *Presbyterianism*, or that he had done anything inconsistent with the doctrine of Episcopacy by divine right? Most certainly not! Yet, in such supposed case, he would be imitating as closely as possible, the course pursued by Archbishop Cranmer. And it gives me pleasure to say that if, in the matter of Ordination, doctrine, and good will, Dr. Fisher and Dr. Schaff occupied the same relation to us that Bucer and Martyr did to the Church of England, I should rejoice to see them both installed in some of our theological seminaries. But are they willing to stand in that relation? Are they qualified to do so, if they were willing? In the points above mentioned, do they not differ radically from the men to whose appointment they refer as proving recognition of Presbyterian Orders?

I think that I have, in this long communication, gone over the whole subject, as presented in Dr. Fisher's letters. Nothing deemed of any consequence has been passed over. I have endeavored to follow my respected opponent fairly through his argument, and to show how completely it fails to prove that non-Episcopal Ordination was ever approved or tolerated by the English Church, and so that it can give no support to the statement made by him and Dr. Cummins, that for 100 years, Presbyterian Ministers, as such, were allowed to hold parishes in England.

As to direct evidence for that statement, there is NONE, and the probabilities have been discussed "*usque ad nauseam*." Against it, are the law of the Ordinal, the whole Canon law, the law of the land, and the judicial decision in every instance wherein the right was claimed. I submit then that Dr. Fisher has no case; and that, in fairness to us, as well as out of regard to historic truth, he ought to retract, or at least to omit from the next edition of his book, the

confident statement that helped to mislead poor Dr. Cummins. And I now freely offer and promise, that if he can produce such direct and unquestionable evidence as ought to be presented in proof of an assertion so important in itself, and so positively made; if he can adduce *any* such evidence, I will confess that I have been in error, and that the Episcopal Church has not always been distinctively Episcopal. But although I have a very high opinion of Dr. Fisher's knowledge, and of his skill in prosecuting historical research, I am persuaded that I shall die with my present belief.

Earnestly praying that, in this and in every other matter, the TRUTH may prevail; and that until it does—until through its triumph, Christians now so unhappily divided, are brought to agreement in the Faith, they may cultivate mutual respect and a true charity, I am, sir,

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN H. DRUMM.



## THE GENESIS OF THE CHURCH.

THE GENESIS OF THE CHURCH. By the Right Rev. Henry Cotterill, D.D.,  
Bishop Coadjutor of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Black-  
wood & Sons. 1872.

ATTENTION has been directed, of late, to the fact that the New Testament is not merely a collection of independent texts or treatises upon the general subject of religion, but that there is an apparent providence in its arrangement, and that the Divine superintendence which inspired the writers of each several portion in the composition of Gospel or Epistle, has guided the instinct of the Church in their collocation; so as to provide a definite order, a continuous progression, and a systematic development of the Revelation contained in the sacred Canon. The Bampton Lectures of Mr. Bernard and Dr. Irons—the one series on the Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament, and the other supplemented by an exposition of the “continuous sense” of St. Paul’s Epistles—are valuable treatises in this direction, and cannot be read without recognizing the importance of the fact that the coherent completeness of the New Testament as a whole, is a necessary element in the study of the great doctrines it sets forth.

The work, of which we have placed the title at the head of this article, applies the same argument in another direction. It aims to deduce, from a continuous examination of the New Testament,

the progressive development of the Church, and the final form in which it was left by its inspired founders and teachers. Its object is to discover, by a complete induction, whether there really is that uncertainty as to the form and organization of the Church, which seems to be indicated by the multitude of theories concerning it current at the present day. It seeks to answer the question, What are the facts of Church organization and Church life which appear in the New Testament, taken as a whole? When we remember that a period of sixty or seventy years intervened between the composition of the first and the last treatise comprised in the New Testament, and that during this period the Church was in a formative state—the publication of Gospel and Epistle proceeding concurrently with the labors of the Apostles in building up and perfecting its organization—it is evident that we cannot assume the whole Revelation concerning the Church to be contained in anything less than the entire New Testament; and that a study of its development, from the beginning of our Lord's teaching to the completion of the inspired volume, is necessary to give us a full view of its structure. In working out this idea, Bishop Cotterill has produced a valuable treatise, and one which, in spite of a certain dryness of style, will well repay a careful study.

A brief discussion of the subject thus brought to our notice may be interesting to our readers, and will place before them some of the results arrived at in the volume before us.

Beginning with a statement of the question, and proposing to apply to the New Testament the inductive method for its solution, our author first notices the primitive religious organization set forth in the Old Testament—a priesthood of family relationship and natural descent—and points out the evidence of its imperfection in the fact that it needed to be modified and supplemented from time to time; the law of primogeniture being occasionally set aside, the prophetic office being placed in apposition with it, and the kingly office finally overshadowing it in spiritual import. As the Jewish nation was not fitted to be the Universal Church, so neither was the Jewish priesthood fitted to be its administrator; and therefore the New Testament, at its very beginning, confirms the Abrahamic covenant, in the Kingdom of David revived in the person of our blessed Lord; and substitutes another order of ideas for the Law of Moses, and another principle of succession for the Levitical priesthood. The mission of John the Baptist has this significance. He came as the forerunner of our Lord, preaching the baptism of

repentance for the remission of sins, proclaiming "the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," and pointing to "one among you, whom ye know not," who shall baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and who shall be in His own proper person the reconstitutor of the kingdom in its spiritual and universal aspect.

It is noticeable, also, that when our Lord began to preach, His message was, "the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand;" and when He sent forth His twelve Apostles, and, after them, his seventy disciples, His command was still, "As ye go, preach, saying, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Now, when we analyze the metaphor under which the coming dispensation is thus announced—"a kingdom"—it is found to yield these two fundamental ideas: first, a national or social life, binding a community, through the consilience of individual wills, principles, and habits, into a homogeneous mass; and, secondly, a personal authority, leading, governing, and ordering the activity of the common life, through the powerful affection of loyalty to the ruler. The "Kingdom of Heaven," therefore, in whatever external form or manifestation it was about to present itself, might *a priori* be inferred to be an organization in which a spiritual life, diffused through the multitude of its subjects or citizens, and possessed by them both individually and in common, would acknowledge an authority from above, administered in the name of its Head, and depending upon loyalty, or faith in and fidelity to the Head, both on the part of those who govern, and those who are governed. Or, to anticipate the course of the argument: In the very first words of the Gospel—in the very first message of the forerunner of our Lord—are contained the two principles of the Church, the spiritual, sacramental life of the community, and the Apostolic succession of the government derived from Christ the King, the Son of David.

Now, as regards the first of these principles, all living organisms observe this law: That development is from the general to the special; and that, the higher the organization, the more numerous are its specialized functions, and the more extended is the differentiation of its organs or members. The germ which commences a dependent existence within the body of its parent is a simple cell, as nearly homogeneous in its structure as it is possible for a thing to be; but with powers of fissure and cohesion and arrangement and assimilation which lead on to the full development of maturity. Its simplicity—its lack of differentiation and specialized functions—is its first characteristic; and its growth consists in specialization, quite as much as in aggregation and assimilation.



Conformable to this law, the earlier teachings of the New Testament are remarkable for their presentation of the principles of the spiritual life, rather than their draught of the Church's organization. The Church develops from the general to the special; and therefore the Sermon on the Mount, the first extended example of our Lord's teaching, declares the spirit of the kingdom,—the vital principles of its corporate existence, as yet homogeneous and undeveloped, and giving no hint of the complex system of ministries and members and functions by which it was, in due time, to realize that life. It may well be granted that the law of life and duty, individual and corporate, contained in that wonderful sermon, would suit equally well, *a priori*, with a hundred different forms of social organization; since the order of the Church's development required that it should exist, at this stage of its being, with no more indication of its ultimate form than is contained in the prophecy set forth under the metaphor by which it was announced—*the Kingdom of Heaven*.

No sooner, however, is the life-law given, than the second principle inherent in the idea of the kingdom is shown in operation, through our Lord's appointment of the Twelve Apostles to functions of teaching first, as preparatory to government in the future. And here, again, the germ is homogeneous. The *office* is not as yet erected into an *order*; and yet when differentiation occurs, we find that it is the most general and inclusive order which has been already established. Whatever theories may be advanced respecting the final constitution of the ministry, one fact is clear: That the origin of the Church's organism was in our Lord's association with Himself of those disciples who were from the first, what they were always known to be, the Twelve Apostles,—the channels of all ministerial authority, and of all sacramental unity in the body. Before the distinction of clergy and laity was developed, the Church possessed its clergy; and before the different degrees or orders which are historic as well as Scriptural were distinguished, the Church was organized in the highest order; the Apostolate was both clergy and laity; and it is undeniable that the process of development was by the differentiation of laity from clergy, and not of clergy from laity,—of the lower orders of the ministry from the higher, and not *vice versa*. The Church is one, and the life is one; the germ is homogeneous, and yet from the beginning the growth is from within—the organism possesses potentially all the elements of specialization; and as the tree is in the seed, so was the visible Church, with all its members and orders and ministries, potentially

and actively in the company of the Twelve who were the companions of our Lord during His earthly ministry.

Summarizing rapidly the other conclusions relating to the Church drawn from the Gospel History, and referring to our author for the full discussion of them, we may note, as belonging to the synoptic Gospels, the revelation of the Church's law of growth, in that fruitful series of related parables which follows in St. Matthew so soon after the call of the Apostles: The various reception of the seed of the word as it is sown broadcast; the presence of tares with the wheat; the growth of the rooted seed, with increase like the mustard tree, to shelter even where it does not assimilate; its blessings realized by objective possession, as when the field containing the hidden treasure is purchased, and by subjective experience, as when the value is perceived and the purchase effected of the pearl of great price; and finally, the gathering of all, as of the fish in the net, for the final award. As we read on, the Church gains definiteness, and consistency, so to speak. St. Peter's confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," is pointed out as the Rock on which the Church is built, the centre of the Sacramental life, for "the just shall live by faith;" and, concurrently with this, the principle of order and authority, the "power of the keys," and of binding and loosing, is granted first to St. Peter, and afterward to all the Apostles; the appointment of the Seventy indicates the future differentiation of orders in the ministry; and teaching of various kinds, especially in the latter half of St. Luke's Gospel, relates to the exercise of discipline, the responsibilities of office, the Christian law of precedence, the power of united prayer, and the promise of Christ's presence with His Church, where two or three are gathered together in His name.

The Gospel of St. John introduces us to another order of ideas, showing forth the spiritual and internal relations of the Church, as the synoptical Gospels dealt chiefly with its moral and external functions. The kingdom now appears as a family of the sons of God; power to become such being given, we are told at the outset, to them that believe on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and their initiation into the family being by a new birth of "water and the Holy Ghost." And here we must quote Bishop Cotterill's remarks on the nature of the faith which is made so prominent in this Gospel, and its connection with the new birth described in our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus:

We have already seen that the growth of this family of God on earth, as described by St. John from its first beginnings, was through the actual separa-

tion of men from the world to be followers of Christ, that a secret belief in Him was not sufficient; that the birth into the family was by water as well as by the Spirit, and that the outward and visible rite of baptism was the act by which men were made disciples. But it is evident also that the real meaning of St. John's definition of the family must depend very much on the sense which we must attach to these words, "believing on His name." The word "believe" is indeed a key-note of the Gospel of St. John. It occurs nearly eighty times in that Gospel, and not more than fifteen times in any one of the others. . . . It is evident that the words "believing on Christ" do not, in St. John's Gospel, necessarily involve the idea of a completed and matured principle, by which the conscience is delivered from the bondage of sin, and all the blessings of the family are enjoyed, in which sense St. Paul generally uses the word faith; but it may be that faith, in its most rudimentary and imperfect germ, which through God's grace may, or through the power of evil may not, become in time developed into an active spiritual power. . . . So that, whilst St. John's Gospel undoubtedly does affirm and expound the truth, that the new family of God is the fellowship of those who believe on the name of Christ, and that only those who believe are born of the Spirit; or, in the words of the same Apostle in his first Epistle, that whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God, yet, when we come to examine what belief is, we find it traced up to its very first beginnings, its feeblest action in the mind, in a form so elementary that none but He, who knows all that is in man, and can see the end from the beginning, can discern whereunto it shall grow. . . . We find, therefore, that the idea of the Church in St. John's Gospel, is essentially the same as is elsewhere given, although certain aspects of the truth are more fully expounded by him. Indeed, St. John supplies a very necessary link between the objective and subjective constitution of the Church, by teaching us that the most rudimentary faith, expressed in the symbolical acts by which the Church is visibly constituted, is a reality recognized by Christ Himself. He thus suggests a more complete and exact answer than any we have obtained elsewhere, to a question as to the limits of the family or Church of Christ, in its manifestation on earth. . . . In this Gospel we learn, both from the teachings and the acts of Jesus Christ, that baptism by water, of those who profess faith in Christ, and who are judged, by those who are authorized to administer it, qualified for this elementary rite, is the sign and the seal of the new birth into the kingdom, the Spirit being the inward power of this new birth, and the water the outward instrument and witness. They who are thus baptized, are really grafted into Christ, and made branches of the true vine, either by abiding in His word, to bring forth fruit unto eternal life, or by being barren branches, to be fit only for everlasting destruction.

The relation of the inward Christian consciousness to its sacramental seal, thus brought out in the connection of the initial, imperfect faith of the Christian beginner with the sacrament of the new birth, runs through St. John's Gospel, and finds a still clearer revelation in the sublime discourse which the Evangelist records as delivered at the institution of the Holy Eucharist. It is a conse-

quence of this correlation that the unity of the Church appears in this Gospel as a truth of the deepest spiritual import. It finds expression in the parable in which our Lord likens Himself to the vine, of which His disciples are the branches; and again, in that of the Good Shepherd, in which the unity is that of the flock, rather than of a fold—a figure, the deep meaning of which is strangely lost in our translation by the unfortunate substitution of the word “fold” for “flock;” the latter most accurately describing both the coherent visible unity, and its root in the sacramental communion with one another, and with the Head. “The unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,” the visible cohesion of will and affection and faith and faithfulness, sealed in the Holy Eucharist, is that which especially distinguishes the “flock” of Christ from the “fold” of Judaism, the latter being held together by external fences and guards of an elaborately minute ritual and ceremonial law, to which there was no such promise of sacramental grace annexed, as is vouchsafed in the Christian dispensation. And so we find in St. John the fullest revelation of the office of the Holy Spirit, as the vivifying and unifying Power in the Church, in that wonderful discourse of the night of the betrayal, when the Holy Eucharist was instituted, the discourse leading up to the solemn sacrificial prayer, of which the central petition for Christ’s loved ones is: “That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given them, that they may be one even as We are one: I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved Them, as Thou hast loved Me.” How wretched and guilty, in the light of this sacrificial intercession, are the schisms and heresies which rend the visible unity of the Body for which it was offered, and how poor and mean the folly that seeks to delude itself with the notion that this prayer is fulfilled by the phantom unreality of an invisible Church, bearing no witness, and therefore appealing to no faith.

Passing over the great Forty Days, and waiving the discussion of the Apostolic Commission, so obviously conveying not only authority, but perpetuity to the Apostolate, we pass on to the Acts of the Apostles, and find the promised kingdom, so far as it is contained in the Church Militant, descending from above, and taking up its abode among men on the Day of Pentecost. The Spirit vivifies the Church, and immediately the efficacy of Apostolic Ministry and regenerating grace is experienced by three thousand souls, who

thenceforth "continue steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers." The Church now enters upon its first historic period, in which it grows and develops under the law of its life and organization, and after the analogy of all God's living creatures, not merely by increase, but also by specialization of office and function. The differentiation of a clergy and a laity is made apparent in the solemn vindication of Apostolic authority by the judgment upon Ananias and Sapphira, closely followed by the statement that "by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people, and of the rest durst no man join himself to them; but the people magnified them, and believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women." The next step shows a further specialization in the establishment of another order of the ministry by the ordination of the Seven, respecting whom we cannot agree with Bishop Cotterill, that they were presbyters, but must adhere to the traditional view, that they were the originals of the Diaconate, it being quite admissible to consider the Seventy as selected and trained through their mission, of which we read in St. Luke, for the office of the Presbyterate. And here, also, we may place the selection of "James, the Lord's Brother," for that relation to the local Church of Jerusalem, which is so unaccountable a phenomenon in the history of the Apostolic period, unless we recognize the fact of a Diocesan Episcopacy in that first fully organized Church, of which, by all testimony and tradition, he was the first Bishop.

The preaching of Philip in Samaria, and the sending of St. Peter and St. John, by the Apostolic Council, to confirm the disciples, exemplify the principles that the fulness of ministerial power resides in the Apostles, and that the individual Apostle is subject to the collective body—principles which appear at every stage of the Church's subsequent history, as does also the "laying on of hands," which was one of their functions.

With the conversion of Cornelius, and the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles at Antioch, the Church enters upon another phase, and the principles which are to govern and guide her, unfold with increasing rapidity. Hitherto she had grown up under shelter, both from Jewish intolerance and from Roman jealousy, in the bosom of Judaism itself, scarcely distinguishable, by the casual observer, from a Jewish sect. The disciples at Jerusalem assembled in the Synagogue and in the Temple, as well as in the Christian congregation. They were all "zealous for the law," and surrendered none of their rights in the traditional establishment, so long as the Divine Provi-



dence permitted the Temple to stand, and the sacrifices to be offered. But with the reception of the Gentiles, the Church must assume an independent position, and adjust its principles to conditions of society which knew nothing of the Mosaic Law. It is at Antioch, then—that Greek outpost on the confines of the Orient—that we find Christianity preparing itself for its world-wide career. Here the disciples receive their distinctive name of Christians; here the place of the Christian assembly is first called “the Church;” here the contest commences between the exclusiveness of Judaism and the expansiveness of the Gospel; here, in connection with this Church, the Council of Jerusalem emancipates the Gentiles from the law of Moses; here, in the contribution for the saints at Jerusalem, universal charity appears as the grand function of the Church’s earthly life; and from this, as the point of departure, the Apostles Barnabas and Paul set forth, under Divine guidance, on the first of those missionary journeys by which, in all ages, the Church has labored to fulfil the Apostolic commission to “teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

It is the opinion of the present writer, that the act of the “prophets and teachers” at Antioch, laying hands upon SS. Paul and Barnabas, preparatory to their departure on their mission, was not their ordination or consecration to the Apostleship. St. Paul tells us expressly, that he received this office “not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father.” But if not, what, it may be asked, was the import of the act? The answer is that it was, in accordance with the whole system of God’s dealings in the spiritual life, the external correlative to that inward call which marked out for them, not their office, but their sphere of work. It was something more than such a solemn service as might be held in New York or Philadelphia, to take farewell of a Missionary Bishop, just about to sail for Africa or China; but it interfered no more with a previous setting apart to office or orders than would such a service, and it was an important witness to the fact that the inward impulse needs to be confirmed by the outward authorization, when an individual member or minister of the Church projects any great movement. Bishop Cotterill brings this out very clearly:

If this act of this mission of Barnabas and Saul from the Church in Antioch, be regarded merely as a rule or precedent in Church action, it presents difficulties and exceptional circumstances which must prevent it from fitting into any conceivable theory of Church organization. But if the principles involved in it be considered, it is a most pregnant instance, full of instruction



as to the true organization of Christ's Church. It is difficult to imagine a stronger proof; first, that no spiritual qualifications, desires, impulses, or circumstances, pointing ever so distinctly in one direction, whatever in fact may be included in an inward call or vocation, are of themselves sufficient for a true mission in the Church of God. Secondly, that to the complete appointment to an office or mission, the interposition of men having authority for the purpose is necessary in the Church. Thirdly, that this act, being performed by those who have authority, is not a mere form or ceremony, suited to impress the mind with a sense of the responsibility of the work, or useful as a testimony to the fact of such a person being called of the Spirit, or expedient for other purposes, but it is an actual separation of the Man for the Holy Ghost, a consecration more real than any of holy vessels, places, or persons under the law, for then "the Spirit was not given because that Jesus was not yet glorified." Lastly, that a mission thus received, is a real mission by the Holy Ghost.

We need not follow St. Paul and his associates in their various missionary journeys. We must, however, remark upon what seems to us an injudicious management of the argument for Episcopacy from the supposed constitution of the Churches founded by the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Our controversialists seem to us too anxious to prove that these Churches were organized immediately upon their foundation, upon the model of the Church of Jerusalem, each with a resident bishop at its head. The Scriptural proof of the Apostolic succession comes out much stronger if we admit, what must be evident upon examination, that St. Paul himself exercised, till a late period of his life, the Episcopal supervision over his entire missionary field. To have placed bishops under himself in each city would have been to have constituted a *fourth* Order in the ministry. Nor would it agree with the conditions of the Church's existence at that time, that the chief oversight of such immature congregations should be committed to persons from among themselves. Christianity was not old enough in any locality to have become traditional; the customs of the Church were not fixed; the New Testament did not exist as a code of reference; many of the Epistles, and two at least of the Gospels, were not yet written; there was no settled canon or ecclesiastical rule to guide people, priest, or bishop; and therefore it was necessary that St. Paul himself should be in constant communication with his converts, and particularly with their teachers. The natural order of development was that St. Paul should associate with himself, as assistants in the Apostolic office, one and another of the more promising disciples, to attend upon his person, and act as his legates on special missions, alternating with himself in visits to the different sections of his vast jurisdiction, exercising Apostolic authority in the Churches where they

were present, and returning to him at intervals for instruction and conference. And this is what we find was actually done. Timothy, Titus, Tychicus, Silas, Epaphroditus, and others, were in this way under the personal training of the Apostle, to become diocesans upon his departure, but without any fixed jurisdiction during his life. The distinction, then, between the different orders of the ministry in this field was one suited to an inchoate and imperfect condition of the Church; but it was not the less clear, and it passed naturally into the permanent constitution of Diocesan Episcopacy. The presbyters and deacons of the various Churches were resident and fixed to the locality, as was necessary; but, besides and above them, there was another order, distinctly marked by the fact that they were *not resident*, but transient or itinerant, as was the Apostle himself.<sup>1</sup> And the superiority of the itinerant order is manifest in that wherever they were present they assumed the chief authority in the local Church. On this view it is immaterial whether St. Timothy, at the time St. Paul's Epistles to him were written, was permanently established as Diocesan at Ephesus, or not; if he were not, the case is all the stronger; since on that hypothesis it remains for the advocates of "parity" to explain how a stranger presbyter could step in and supersede the settled ministry, could exercise authority over them, administer discipline upon them, and take order for the settlement of all those matters about which St. Paul writes. Whereas if we admit his participation in the Apostolic office all is congruous; those who were hereafter to be diocesans had the advantage of a preparatory training under the eye of the Apostle himself, they were the witnesses of his walk and conversation, the repositories of his instructions, his familiar companions at recurrent periods; they had access to the fountain of inspiration through association with him, and were therefore in every way better fitted to stand alone when the time arrived that the living voice of the great teacher should be silenced. While St. Paul lived, the Churches of the Gentiles were administered by a collective, undivided Episcopate, of which he was *primus inter pares*; after his decease the members of the collective body became fixed, each in his own Church, with jurisdiction over that limited locality which we now call a Diocese.

Other questions of a very different order also found their solution in the planting of the Church among the Gentiles, and fur-

<sup>1</sup> An able article on "The Church of Alexandria," by T. W. C., in *The Churchman* of November 23, 1873, shows that this was the general constitution of missionary Churches in the earliest ages.

nished matter for the Epistles written from time to time to the Churches. The most important of these was: What was the relation of the Gentiles to the Jewish law?—of the New Dispensation to the Old? The mental and moral training and habits of thought of the Jew would naturally be averse from a surrender of that which had been their distinctive privilege as the peculiar people of God, the possession of the Divinely-revealed Law. The theoretical admission that it was some time to pass away, or disappear in a more glorious system, might, through the inconsistency of human nature, very well coexist with a denial of its being superseded by any particular dispensation at any particular time. The Jew, when he became a Christian, could not at once shake off the traditions of his forefathers, and St. James told St. Paul at a late period of the Apostolic History, that the members of the Church of Jerusalem were all “zealous for the law.” No wonder, then, that Jews who came to Antioch and other Gentile cities, “taught the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, ye cannot be saved.” This affirmation of necessity precipitated the controversy which was inevitable, sooner or later, between the Law of the Old, and the Life of the New Dispensation. Nor was the operation of the Judaizing Christian without great plausibility when the moral condition of heathenism was considered. Nowhere outside the race to whom the Old Testament was committed—neither among Greeks nor Barbarians—was there any certain affirmation of the moral value of any action, or certain criterion of the guilt of any crime. The Law, then, seemed to be the anchor of morality as well as the sanction of religion, and we may fairly concede to the honest Judaizer a moral purpose in his demand of conformity to the institutions of his forefathers on the part of the Gentile converts. It was reserved for Inspiration to draw the necessary distinctions which secured to the Christian believer “the liberty wherewith Christ had made him free,” and led him to realize his emancipation in Christ, both from sin and from the law.

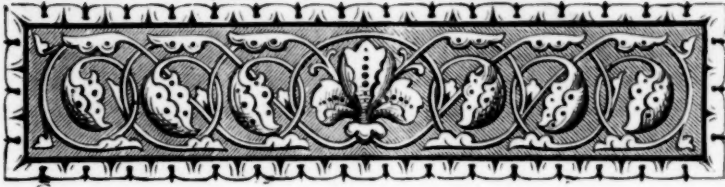
The instinct of the Church, arranging the Epistles of St. Paul according to their ethical and spiritual relations, rather than according to their chronological succession, gives us the practical theology of the Church in its logical order, as it was wrought out under the pressure of this controversy. The Council at Jerusalem upon the affairs of Antioch had given Apostolic sanction to the decrees which regulated the practice of the Gentile Churches; but the doctrinal basis of the whole subject needed to be wrought out, and this

gave to St. Paul the occasion for his magnificent discussion of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. The implanted Divine Life—that spiritual gift by which the believer can say with St. Paul, “I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me, and the life that I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God”—the Life of the Regeneration, working out the obedience of faith, and so, through the grace of the Spirit, renewing the heart, and making legible there the palimpsest of the Divine Law, obscured, though not effaced by original sin—a transcript agreeing with the eternal moral truth enshrined in the Mosaic Revelation—that Life enables the man who so walks by faith to stand as accounted just before God, in Christ, without the ritual and ceremonial “works of the Law” of Moses. This is, in brief, the Apostles’ solution of the double question, involved in the Judaistic controversy,—of the obligation of the old dispensation on the one hand, and of the guarantee, on the other, of a Christian morality among the Gentile Christians.

This great subject elucidated, other subordinate developments of Church activity and means of training the believer to perfection in Christ are treated of in the following Epistles. In those to the Corinthians, the reality of Church membership, even when not realized by the individual himself; the relation of Church authority to the member who does not realize it; the principles of judicial action, and the object of excluding the fallen member from the communion of the faithful; the unity of the faithful in the communion and fellowship of “the body;” the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, the special instrument and sacrament of that communion; the mutual dependence of the members on one another, and therefore the powers and responsibilities of discipline; the relation of supernatural gifts to spiritual graces, leading to the sublime exposition of Christian perfection in which the faith of our justification becomes the “charity” of our sanctification; and so, passing on to the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, to the doctrine of the unity of the Church in Christ, the Head; and, through the Pastoral Epistles, which treat more fully of the special organization of “the body,” to the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the great High Priest, who has entered within the veil, is revealed as ministering for and in His Church, the root of its existence as the once promised and now realized “Kingdom of Heaven.”

Into the discussion of the many and interesting subjects brought up in an examination of the Epistles, which is intended to be exhaustive so far as relates to the Church, we cannot follow Bishop

Cotterill, and, indeed, we have not bound ourselves closely to his method of treatment in what we have written, having rather pursued our own train of thought, under the stimulus of his interesting volume. Recommending it to the perusal of those who may desire to acquaint themselves with the results of a careful examination of the structure and functions of the Church, as set forth in the New Testament, we may thank him, in conclusion, for pointing out, from the Apocalypse, the obvious, but often overlooked fact, that the unit of Church organization is not the Diocese, but the Province—the latter and not the former containing in itself the means of propagating the Apostolic succession from age to age.



## UNREALITY IN HYMNS.

THE object of the present article is to give expression to some thoughts on certain hymns in ordinary use, in which the writers pursue a line of thought so peculiar, and so dependent on incidental states of mind, or on existing or non-existing relations to "the household of faith," as to render impracticable the concurrence of any large body of Christian people in their use, except in an unreal sense, and by temporarily assuming for themselves a position, false in their own case, but identical with that presented in any such hymn.

In our view, reality and truthfulness lie at the basis of all Church teaching, Church usage, and Churchly piety. Faith deals with the real, not the unreal; it excludes opinion which is variable, and grounds itself upon facts and inspired truths, which are objective and unchangeable. Christian symbolism, ceremonial and worship, also spring from the real, not the imaginary; and, therefore, truthfulness is the measure of their perfection, and the essence of their derivation and being. All Christian piety and holiness of spirit must also be the outgrowth of a real Divine principle, without which, all religion runs into externalism, affectation, hypocrisy, or the acrimony of a morbid mis-culture of the emotions and the conscience.

The Prayer Book is everywhere profoundly real. In Confession, Prayer, Adoration, and Sacramental Offices, it never loses consciousness of its own truthful nature, or of its obligations as the exponent



of those verities which transcend all human wisdom, and are not subject to the variations of human thought. Unreality is, therefore, an element which the Church nowhere recognizes or provides for in Divine worship. It is foreign to her whole system, antagonistic to all her exhortations, and subversive of all her lessons of duty to God and man. Whatever, under such a system, may be the failings of the worshipper, either in praise or prayer, the Church has not, *by her own words*, led him into those failings, or lent herself to the cultivation of the unreal, by the utterance of words not likely to bear correspondence with the inward feelings of those who use them.

Much has been written, and ably written, concerning both the faults and the merits of the new collection of hymns called the "Hymnal." But the point we now have in mind, does not appear to have attracted the attention it deserves; and for this reason—disclaiming, at the same time, all disrespect to the compilers of the Hymnal, or to the work itself—we have felt induced to put into form some criticisms and suggestions supplementary to those already before the Church, in the hope that abler minds may consider them, and judge of their validity.

The name "Hymn" is applied throughout the work—as in many similar books—to poetical or rhythmical compositions of great variety, both in material and design. Many of these are properly so called, being songs of praise, or involving, more or less, the idea of Divine worship; while others are simply metrical essays, or dissertations on certain points of religion (Nos. 48, 404, and 445); paraphrases, or ornamental expansions of portions of Holy Scripture (34, 38, 95, and many others); rhetorical appeals, persuasive, deprecatory, or minatory, as the case may be (58, 378, and 386); brief lectures, or chapters of instruction (379, 382, and 501); soliloquies, or meditations on various topics (61, 161, 401, 467, and 478), with other miscellaneous matters, in such variety as to meet every ordinary want in this relation, both in the Church and at home.

On further examining these hymns, we find a large number well adapted in doctrine, sentiment, tone, and form, for use in the public services of the Church. These, of course, are beyond our present line of remark; and we only observe that ample provision has been made for all the festivals, holy seasons, sacraments, and occasional offices. There are other hymns, however, which seem to us unfitted to meet the requirements of *congregational* worship, by having special reference to certain conditions, not general, but strictly personal—conditions which are only occasional, accidental, sporadic,

and out of the usual course of things in an assembly of Christian worshippers.

Hymns of this anomalous kind may be classed under four or five heads, for greater convenience of remark, thus :

1. Those which no actual member of the Church of Christ can sing with any sort of consistency, without mentally transferring himself into the position of some one *outside* of that Church, and anxious, perhaps, to get into it. This is the more remarkable, as the Hymnal professes to be for the use of "the Protestant Episcopal Church;" while the hymns alluded to are appropriate only to the *unbaptized*, or those who have not "come to Christ," and who do not belong to that, or any other branch of the Church. In this class we have one hymn of great beauty, tenderness of thought and expression, and not a little popularity, which, after all, no baptized person can sing, except as representing, for the time, the feelings, desires, and experiences of another, whose *position* is entirely *exterior to the Church*, and, therefore, radically different from his own. The hymn, "Like Noah's weary dove," etc., was doubtless written by our beloved and venerated friend, Dr. Muhlenberg, in the person of an adult, who, after long and tiresome wandering about, in search of a home for his soul, has at last discovered the Ark or Church of God, and is now in the act of seeking an early admission into it. The hymn is, therefore, truly and properly, a song for *an adult desirous of Baptism*; and it becomes unreal, and simply dramatic, when sung by any other. Our Church, however, having made no provision for the singing of hymns by unbaptized people, either on presenting themselves at the font, or on any other occasion, there arises a difficulty in reference to the time and place appropriate to such exercises; and we do not see very plainly how the hymn in question can become available (except for private reading) by the person whose ideas it so pertinently and happily expresses. Its proper place would be in an appendix, which our Church might provide for the accommodation of those who are "without," but still "not far from the kingdom of God."

Notwithstanding the obvious drift and sense of the hymn, it has long been in use by whole congregations, embracing, not merely the baptized, but communicants of every age and grade, not one in a thousand of whom probably ever thought of the false position he was assuming, or of the unreality of the words as descriptive of *his own* feelings, hopes, and purposes.

In saying all this, we still retain the kindest regard for the hymn, which is an old favorite; and when we hear it sung at con-

ventions (as it sometimes is) by clergy and laity, with all relish and fervor, we have felt grieved that the whole body of those thus engaged, including the Bishop, with his priests and deacons, should not be baptized on the spot, and thus *taken into the Ark*, in compliance with the earnest desires which they have just expressed in the hymn.

In the same class we place several other hymns, far less Churchly in tone and doctrine, which, by a certain ambiguity, are likely to mislead, by encouraging the belief that certain mental acts, popularly called "Coming to Christ," are the very sum of religion, irrespective of sacraments, and of union with the visible Church. We are not unaware that such hymns may possibly have reference to those among the baptized who have wandered away from the path of duty, and been ensnared by the enemies whom they once renounced. To exhort these to return to "the Bishop and Shepherd of their souls," is certainly a pious and laudable office; though it may be doubted whether a wiser mode of reaching the issue might not be devised, than that of singing these hortatory hymns in church, while the backsliders themselves are, in all probability, far off among the runagates.

But the hymns themselves seem to us to have an entirely different aspect. Their whole spirit, structure, and material, remind us of camp-meeting theology,—of forgiveness without the laver, holiness without the altar, piety with half a creed, and heaven itself by a sudden leap into glory. It is easy to talk, and sweetly "sing in Lydian measure," about "Coming to Christ" (No. 381), and of "Escape to the Mountain" (No. 384), and of offering ourselves to the Redeemer, with the quaint formula, "Just as I am" (No. 392). But—*What next?* is the very serious question. What are we, miserable sinners, to *do*, when we *have* come, "just as we are," to Christ? On that question, so grandly awful in its consequences, the hymns have little but vague platitudes to offer,—little or nothing of toil and discipline, or of battles to fight with the world, the devil, and our own rebellious hearts; little or nothing of such a life of struggle as even Bunyan accords to his Pilgrim; but instead of this, a religion all sentiment,—a religion of mere thought, emotion, fancy, and spiritual imagery, with the vision of the Celestial City always inviting us to take flight "on faith's sublimest wing," and leave the dull realities and duties of this world to the care of those who are content to plod by slow transit to the kingdom above. St. Peter, we are much inclined to think, would have answered the question otherwise; and would have said to those who sing about "coming to

Christ, just as they are,"—"Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Instead of pointing them to some ideal church of the invisible, he would have shown them "a more excellent way" of coming to Christ, by thus adding them to the body, of which Christ is the head; to the fold, of which Christ is the shepherd; to the army, of which Christ is the captain; and to the kingdom, of which Christ is the sovereign. He would have brought down their soaring imaginations to the sober level of the Church Militant, and set them on hard labor in "working out their own salvation with fear and trembling," under the discipline of a visible "household of faith;" and taught them to be thankful if, at last, they should gain even the lowest place among the blessed company of the faithful. This, at least, is our impression, after carrying the appeal to the Bible and Prayer Book. And we have some reason, therefore, to doubt whether the Gospel of these hymns is precisely the Gospel of "Peter, and the rest of the Apostles," or even of the Thirty-nine Articles.

2. There are several hymns to be noted under this head (as Nos. 57, 61, and 387), which are chiefly poetical sketches of certain despondent, cloudy, and slightly unamiable states of mind, into which, through constitutional infirmity, nervous irritability, a sceptical temperament, or a disposition rather to yield under temptation than to fight the enemy vigorously, individuals sometimes fall, like the unfortunate and afflicted writers of many such hymns; men who certainly deserve all our sympathy.

Such persons, doubtless, find comfort in singing (or getting others to sing for them) a vivid description of spiritual maladies, or of their own despondent feelings. A hymn of this kind may, on occasion, serve as a desirable outlet to private griefs; and it may give temporary refreshment—as groans and sighs often do—to those who cannot soar into a more comfortable region of thought. And if the insertion in the Hymnal of several such woful poems was with a view only to their *private* use, by those who could safely be trusted not to make a luxury of spiritual anatomy, there could be little objection made to their adoption; though, even then, one might regret that such a destination was not indicated by some typographical mark, which would warn the clergyman not to impose on a whole congregation the purely theatrical exercise of singing what they may well thank God they do not feel, and trust they never will. For, it is surely an ungracious thing to be asked to sing a song about somebody else's morbid symptoms, in the midst of

Morning or Evening Prayer, when Christian people are supposed to be otherwise and far better engaged. The church, in which we come together to "fall down and worship the Lord, our Maker," seems hardly the place for the display, in music and poetry, of those inward disquietudes which often beset certain classes of minds, and are strictly special and personal. These are hard enough to bear in private,—within the limits of one's own consciousness, and under the eye of One who best knows what kind and stress of discipline will be most for our benefit. And for this reason, if for no other, it seems neither just nor Church-like that a whole Christian congregation should be required, or even requested, at any time, to give utterance to several verses, descriptive of mental conditions not in harmony with their own; and which, on that account, become untruthful, and can only be interpreted as a reflex of the experience of others, whose very persons are probably unknown. Though we are commanded to "bear one another's burdens," yet we are not instructed to make poems about them, and sing those poems in God's holy temple.<sup>1</sup>

3. The hymns just noted, although too personal for general use, are yet fairly expressive of certain gloomy states of feeling, from which many of the most holy men have not been exempt. But there are one or two hymns of which we cannot honestly speak in the same terms—hymns in which the dark side of humanity, painted in words of intense self-denunciation, becomes the theme of song from Christian lips—as if the revelation of entire failure in keeping one's baptismal vows were a fit thing for public commemoration. Such compositions seem to be a corrupt and misshapen imitation of the genuine penitential strains, so familiar and dear to the Church; the difference being that, to the latter, every pious heart may freely respond; while the former makes such response difficult, except by those who recognize in themselves the special evils, ugly traits, and deficiencies, of which the poet, with wonderful candor, accuses himself.

A man professing to be a Christian—one who has received the grace of baptism, and is a partaker at the altar of God—should, at the least, be conscious of the possession of *some* holy traits, pious affections and habits, together with enough of manly virtue and

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<sup>1</sup> "Private meditations, which express the circumstances, experiences, or emotions of particular persons, in a way distinctively applicable to those individuals, are (of course) not appropriate for public use."—*Sir Roundell Palmer, at the Church Congress at York, 1866.*



sobriety, to bear a reasonable correspondence with his position in the Church of Christ. A godly man should surely have something both godly and manly in his character; at least, we do not expect him to say plainly that he is both *ungodly* and *unmanly*. But how does this theory comport with hymns which oblige all who sing them—say hundreds and thousands of devout Christians—to accuse themselves, in the most public manner, of failings which, by God's grace, they have overcome; of infirmities, which they do not recognize; and of habits, which they have long outgrown? Imagine the case, which may any day occur, of a congregation, embracing a large number of those who, from their youth up, have endeavored to serve God faithfully, and been diligently trained "to set forth His most worthy praise,"—imagine these rising up and deliberately asserting or implying, each one for himself (as in Hymn 434), that he does not possess "a sober mind," nor "a self-renouncing will;" that he still wants "a godly fear," and a soul ready to take up and bear the cross; that he has not "a true regard" for God's glory, and "a steady aim" in promoting it; that his spirit is not "armed" as it should be, "with jealous care;" that he, in short, needs even "a heart to pray," and "a quick discerning eye," to look up to heaven for help against sin.<sup>1</sup>

Now, if all this were felt and *known to be true*, and not the veriest unreality, cant, and verbiage, such persons should, on no pretence whatever, be allowed to approach the Holy Communion, without earnest repentance and a visible amendment of life. More than this, it may be doubted whether, even under the most charitable judgment, such persons would be received by any Bishop as fit subjects for confirmation. And we are strongly inclined to believe that such a confession of the low condition of all real religious life and sensibility in a man's soul, would be regarded by any prudent priest as a sufficient disqualification even for Christian baptism.

But the most singular phase of the matter is, that hymns of this sort are often sung, not only by those whose sterility of soul they depict, but also by persons of vigorous faith and piety—the very life, strength, and beauty of the congregations in which they are numbered—men and women who, though sensible enough of "their

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<sup>1</sup> The hymn, as it stands in the Prayer Book Collection (still used in many parishes), reads: "*I want* a sober mind;" and the three following verses begin with the same form in the Hymnal. The compilers have charitably reduced the number of "*wants*," and also substituted the words "Give me," for "*I want*,"—by which means we simply *ask* for the things in question, without asserting in a downright honest way that we are *destitute* of them.



own unworthiness," in the sight of Infinite Purity, are not the less sensible that the love of God pervades their hearts, and that the power of the Divine Spirit has renovated their natures. And we know of no better illustration of the strange force of habit than this constant utterance, by noble-hearted men, of words which, in growing familiar to the ear, have brought on an entire obliviousness concerning their simple meaning. Such persons would, most likely, be much surprised and mortified, should their pastors take them at their word, and apply to them a few spiritual stripes and godly admonitions, by way of equivalent for the short-comings revealed by their own confessions.<sup>1</sup>

4. There are three other hymns (occupying a conspicuous place in the Lenten department of the Hymnal), which are more properly short metrical sermons, containing remonstrances, arguments, warnings, and notes of alarm, to men of a certain class, with the view of moving them to speedy repentance. These hymns are those beginning with the lines: "Sinners! turn, why will ye die?" (No. 54); "Hasten, sinner! to be wise" (No. 58); and, "Sinner, rouse thee from thy sleep" (No. 59); and the objection that we make to their use in public worship is, that they are out of place, and too special and directly personal to rise above mere formality and sentimentalism, *when so used*. Such hymns are not acts of praise, thanksgiving, supplication, or personal devotion; but intensely earnest and pointed appeals to a certain class expressly named as "sinners," and these rather hardened and thoughtless ones. Now it is a first requisite that those sinners should be present in the congregation, if they are to be influenced for good by what we sing in their behalf. And even *if* present, we are not quite sure that the weighty office of calling them to repentance should be imposed chiefly on the laity, including the choir, and that too in the form of a rhythmical song, with organ accompaniment; of which the *music* would probably be the only element affecting the consciousness of the persons chiefly concerned.

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<sup>1</sup>The objection that we may cite from the Psalms many humiliating confessions analogous to those of these hymns, is not a valid one. The book of Psalms is interpreted and applied by the Church, under the full influence of Christian ideas, and with a constant adaptation of its sentiments and language to the new order of things consequent upon the redemption of the world by our blessed Saviour. Besides, the Church reads and sings the Psalms as portions of inspired Scripture (which our hymns are not); trusting that her members will discriminate between passages appropriate to their own experience, and others referring to the Psalmist's personal history, or prophetic of the Messiah, and of His peculiar sufferings and glory.

Ordinarily, we believe, these hymns are sung without any prevision of the circumstances which are essential to their reality, and the probability of an effectual issue.

The only theory by which we can account for the popularity of hymns of this class among really devout people, is that of reflex effects produced by contemplating *themselves* as once in the position of those thus addressed,—thereby exalting their feelings of gratitude for the unspeakable mercy and grace, by which they have been redeemed from the hand of the enemy, and “translated into the kingdom of God’s dear Son.” For the stirring up of such thoughts, there are, however, numerous and excellent hymns, directly touching the point,—hymns which do not carry us back, in a roundabout way, to years of former darkness, in search of motives for present gratitude; but rather incline us to “forget the things which are behind,” and sing aloud as Christian men now rallied in force under the victorious banner of the King of Saints.

If we had our wish, these hymns (and sundry others, of which we have spoken) would go into an appendix, for the use of missionaries and lay-readers, among people not yet repentant or baptized. For this purpose, a translation of them into plain prose might be recommended, to avoid the danger of provoking irreverence under the hearing of metrical homilies, and exhortations in rhyme.

We have felt the more inclined to offer these strictures, from observing that several familiar hymns, open to the same course of objection, have been wisely excluded from the new Hymnal by its compilers. There may have been reasons for their rejection, of which we know nothing; but we take leave to conjecture that the glaring unreality of such hymns as expressive of the grade of religious life in any considerable body of Christian worshippers, was distinctly present to the minds of the compilers, and had its influence on their action. While, then, they have judiciously applied, in several cases, the principle which lies at the root of all hymnological science in its congregational aspect (*viz.*, the subjection of the particular to the universal), we only regret that, by any restraint or outward pressure, they were held back from a more vigorous use of the pruning-knife. We are heartily glad, however, that we shall hear no more that “the *great transaction’s* done,” when the Bishop confirms the young soldiers of Christ; and that a couple of most melancholy verses from the broodings of poor Cowper (Hy. 435), are no longer destined by Church usage to a sad immortality. We are content also to part with the eulogistic oration concerning Faith (Hy. 140, P. B.), which has often raised the question whether a

similar panegyric, about saint or angel, would not be classed among the germs of Romanism. There is also much comfort in the assurance of relief from the task of lecturing the "Deluded souls, who dream of heaven,"—a hymn which, however, by a natural reaction, inspires a delightful consciousness of one's own vital piety. For similar reasons we would have cheerfully surrendered Hys. 387 and 487, or put them into a corner of the appendix, for the use of those who are under suspension from the Holy Communion.

But the good judgment of the compilers is specially shown in the omission of two other hymns which have long retained place in the old collection, notwithstanding their demerit, doctrinally and otherwise. The first of these is that offensive and flaunting piece of Pharisaism, commencing thus :

Let worldly minds the world pursue,  
It has no charms for me

—a composition which looks to us very much like a five-verse lesson in spiritual arrogance and self-admiration, couched in such words as have made it, we fear, in many cases, a formula and vehicle for unveracity on a very serious subject, and in very serious relations.

Next to this, we are to be saved from the shame and dishonor of singing, or hearing others sing, those lines of wailing imbecility and desolation :

\* Lord, my God, I long to know,  
Oft it causes anxious thought;  
Do I love Thee, Lord, or no?  
Am I thine, or am I not? etc.

It is a sad thing, at any time, to hear a baptized man of average understanding and truthfulness, declare that he really *does not know* whether he is "a child of God" or not; and that he is so puzzled as to be at his wits' end in trying to find out whether or not he *has any love* for that great and gracious Being, who has redeemed him from the pit of destruction, and crowned him with such blessings as might well make even an angel grateful. Still more sad is it to know that several hundreds of Christian men and women might (before the Hymnal came out) be called upon in God's house, on any occasion of Divine worship, to make this same declaration of spiritual doubt and sheer bewilderment, thus making it all their own, right or wrong. Moreover, these dreary words were not merely to be spoken, but *sung*, although as unfit for musical treatment as the terms of an indictment, or of a coroner's verdict.

In commenting, as we have done, with some freedom on these

hymns, we beg the reader to bear in mind, for our vindication, that several of them are merely "allowed" to be sung in the Church, and that even the Hymnal itself is in process of trial on its merits. The hymns, even the best, do not share the sacredness of Holy Scripture, nor do they stand on the same plane with our Liturgical Offices. Though a few are venerable for their derivation from Catholic antiquity, yet our reception of them is grounded solely on the recognition of their merits by the acts of our General Convention, and the consequent sanction of their use. While many other hymns are the productions of holy men in full communion and sympathy with our own and the mother Church of England, yet a large number are gathered from Protestant sources external to us, and retain, in several instances, the hue and gait of a foreign parentage. For these reasons, some latitude may be allowed for the expression even of unfavorable opinions, where the object is simply that of pointing attention to apparent redundancies, unhealthy perversions of the devotional sentiment, and hymns which tend to confuse and unsettle all sense of our real position and privilege as members of the Church of God. Hymns of this quality, we begin to hope, are gradually revealing their defects, and falling into disfavor,—at least, we so judge on finding the exclusion of those we have named from the Hymnal. Disuse has already been their lot in various parishes, simply because they are not only untruthful on the lips of hundreds of those who sing them, but also unhealthy in their tone and influence, as well as repulsive to the higher intelligence and sensibility of those who aim to sing with the understanding.

The popular impression that *all* hymns are proper for Church use, if only doctrinally correct, is an indefensible one. Many such compositions are mere jottings of thought, or records of personal feeling and experience, penned by men of high religious sensibility, and of more or less poetical ability, in hours of sorrow, resignation, gratitude, earnest meditation, communion with God, or spiritual triumph and exultation. The very roughness, halting rhythm, ill-chosen words and epithets, violent inversions, and extravagant rhetorical figures occurring in the original copies of many such effusions, give sufficient proof of the spontaneous, rapid, and rushing whirl of emotion under which the writers dashed upon paper the vivid, but often misshapen reflection of their thoughts. Among the thousands of hymns thus written, we may safely assert that scarcely a tenth part will be found fitted, either in subject, doctrine, poetical merit, or lyrical form, for use in any near alliance with the

Church's Liturgy. To prepare many of these hymns for such a destination, severe revision and judicious alteration are as indispensable as in the moulding of a sectarian mind for admission to Holy Baptism. Our only complaint is that this process of selection and revision for the Hymnal has not been carried far enough to purge out all that, by its own nature, must be real only to the *few*, but unreal to the *many*. It is high time to learn that untruthfulness in God's house, and especially in the midst of His holy worship, is apt to work itself into our very nature, and make us untruthful in every other relation. If we have already come to believe that music is able to "hide a multitude of sins," and that we may safely *sing* in *poetry* what we would decline to *say* in *prose*, there is no help for us, till we open our eyes, and take courage to spring out of this ensnaring net of unreality.

We were once asked to hear some unbaptized children repeat the Catechism; and were accounted rather strict, because we declined to hear them say, "My sponsors in baptism; wherein I was made," etc. In other words, we refused to begin the religious instruction of those children, by allowing the utterance of what was really *false*, though scarcely apprehended as such by their undeveloped consciences. Perhaps there are some hymns which bear as untrue a relation to many persons *in* the Church, as did the Catechism to those children who were *not* in it.



## GENUINENESS OF ST. MARK, XVI. 9-20.

THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK; Vindicated against recent Critical Objections, and Established. By John W. Burgon, D.D. Oxford & London: Jas. Parker & Co. 1871.

RECENT critics have cast doubts on the genuineness of the Twelve Verses at the end of the Received Text of St. Mark's Gospel. Scrivener, indeed, defends their genuineness. Tregelles, Westcott (Smith's Bib. Dic. 2128), and Dr. Milligan (Words of New Testament) regard them as an authentic part of the canonical Gospel, though not written by St. Mark. Wordsworth holds, that though the authorship may be unknown, they are certainly a part of the inspired and canonical Gospel. Ellicott suggests that they may have been written by St. Mark, at a later period. Archbishop Thomson and Alford regard them as authentic, but added soon after the Apostolic period; and Alford accordingly brackets them.<sup>1</sup>

Tischendorf, in his second edition, rejected them, in his seventh restored them, and in his eighth has again rejected them as no part of the Gospel. This is a grave and startling decision, coming, as it does, from one acknowledged to be preëminent in this department of criticism. But this decision is not allowed to pass unchallenged.

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<sup>1</sup>In his "How to Study the New Testament" (1865), which seems to have been written later than the notes to his Greek Testament, he says that the best opinion is that these verses were added by apostolic and inspired men.



Mr. Burgon appears as the champion of the genuineness of these verses; reviews the whole evidence in a volume of more than three hundred pages; claims that he has settled the question of their genuineness and canonicity beyond dispute, and that St. Mark must needs be considered their author, by a presumption of the highest order.

As we have before had occasion to study the subject, we now purpose, with his help, carefully and impartially to reconsider the whole evidence, and, if possible, to trace up these verses to their author.

It is well known that these verses are found in *all* extant Greek manuscripts except two, and in nearly every ancient version up to the II<sup>d</sup> century, and are quoted from in very many Fathers up to the time of Irenæus, in the same century. This would usually be considered decisive evidence. But, on the other hand, the two manuscripts in which the verses are wanting, happen to be the oldest extant,—namely, the Vatican “B” and the Sinaitic “Aleph,” both of the IV<sup>th</sup> century. The older manuscripts of the Armenian version, made in the V<sup>th</sup> century, and one manuscript (IV<sup>th</sup> or V<sup>th</sup> century) out of eight of the Old Latin, do not contain them. In certain later Greek manuscripts, and in certain Fathers, there are *scholia*, some favorable, and some unfavorable, to the genuineness of our verses. We will begin with the last, and trace the evidence upward:

#### I. *Scholia* in manuscripts.

(a.) MSS. Evan. 39 (XII<sup>th</sup> century), and 34 (XI<sup>th</sup>), at the end of St. Matthew, contain large extracts from a Homily on the Resurrection, ascribed to Severus of Antioch, in which are these words: “In the more accurate copies, the Gospel according to Mark comes to an end with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ; but in some are added also these words: ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτ’ “*κτλ.*” This resolves itself into a criticism by the author of the Homily, which has also been ascribed to Gregory Nyssa (IV<sup>th</sup> century), and to Hesychius of Jerusalem (VI<sup>th</sup> century): and all three names have been cited simultaneously as giving this hostile testimony. But it properly belongs to one only,—Hesychius; or, perhaps, to Severus. In either case, it is of the VI<sup>th</sup> century; and, unless corroborated by earlier or more definite testimony, cannot be of great weight. We shall consider it when we come to the criticisms of the Fathers.

In MS. Evan. 199 (XII<sup>th</sup>), is this note, referring to our verses: “In some of the copies these are extant.” In 22 (XI<sup>th</sup>) and 15 (X<sup>th</sup>), ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ and τέλος; (then in red) “In some of the cop-

ies the Evangelist finishes at this point; but in many, these also are found." In 206, 209 (XVth), and 1 (Xth): "In some, indeed, of the copies, the Evangelist finishes at this point, up to which also Eusebius, the friend of Pamphilus marked his canons; but in others, these are found: ἀναστὰς δὲ 'κτλ.'" The τέλος is the customary mark, in some manuscripts, at the end of the Church Lessons, and proves nothing to the purpose. The last note refers us to Eusebius, whose testimony we shall consider in full.

In 274 (Xth), in the Uncial Codex L (VIIIth, IXth), in the margin of the Harklensian Syriac (VIIth), in one MS. k (Vth) of the Old Latin, is found this supplement: "[These words also are somewhere found]: And all the things that were commanded they briefly rehearsed to the company of Peter. And after these things, Jesus also Himself, from east even unto west, sent forth by them the sacred and incorrupt preaching of the everlasting Gospel." Codex L alone continues: "[And these are also found after ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ]: ἀναστὰς δὲ κτλ."

We have thus traced up these unfavorable *scholia* to the Vth century, together with a reference to the Eusebian canons.

(b.) But there are other *scholia*, of an opposite character, giving more definite testimony.

Codices 20 (XIIth) and 300 (XIth) and 376 (XI) at verse 8, have this: "Hence, to the end, in some of the copies, is not extant; but in the ancient ones, all are extant without omission (πάντα ἀπαρλείπτα κεῖται)." Again, in 300, in 262 (Xth), and in A (VIIIth), at the end of St. Matthew, is this: "The Gospel according to Matthew was written and corrected by (ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν) the old copies at Jerusalem (A adds, 'those laid up in the Holy Mount'), in 2,514 clauses (στίχοι)." At the end of St. Mark, 20, 300, 262, and A, also have this: "The Gospel according to Mark was likewise written and corrected by the carefully-wrought copies (ἐκ τῶν ἐςπουδασμένων) in 1,506 clauses, 236 sections."

In 24 and 36 (XIth), 210 and 237 (Xth), and others to the number of *twenty-four*, is found the following note, more or less varied in phrase, or abbreviated, but substantially the same. The parts in parenthesis are frequently omitted: "(But though Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρία τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, and the words that follow after in the Gospel according to Mark) in very many copies are not extant, since some thought them to be spurious, yet we, since we found them in very many accurate copies, according to the Palestinian Gospel of Mark, as the verity hath it, have subjoined also the Lord's Resurrection therein added, after ἐφοβοῦντο

γὰρ (that is, from ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρῶτῃ σαββάτου and following, unto διὰ τῶν ἐπακαλουθούντων σημείων. Ἀμήν)" (Burgon, 288). This very explicit testimony is derived from a Commentary on St. Mark, by Victor of Antioch, in the first part of the Vth century. It is the testimony, therefore, of Victor in his own person.

Thus, from the Vth to the VIIIth century, appeal was taken against the omission of the passage to ancient standard copies, such as were preserved in Jerusalem, and especially to one known as the Palestinian Gospel of Mark.

II. The criticisms of certain Fathers will now be considered; in doing which we shall see one reason, at least, why some (as quoted above) "thought these verses to be spurious."

Hesychius of Jerusalem, in the VIth century, wrote a Homily on the Resurrection, which has been printed with the works of Gregory Nyssa (IVth), and sometimes ascribed to him, and sometimes to Severus of Antioch (VIth). Commenting on the discrepancy between St. Matthew's "In the end of the Sabbath" (xxviii. 1) and St. Mark's "early the first day of the week" (xvi. 9), he says: "Accordingly, in the more accurate copies, the Gospel according to Mark comes to an end with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ; but in some are added also these words: ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ, κτλ." (Thus far was extracted for the *scholion* above given,—i. l. But he continues:) "But this seems to have some inconsistency with what was said before; for, as it happens that the hour at which the Saviour arose is not known, how is it here written that He arose 'early'? But the saying will not appear at all inconsistent if we read with understanding; for we must skilfully point with a comma, 'Now when He was arisen,' and so proceed, 'early the first day of the week He appeared first to Mary Magdalene;' in order that 'when He was arisen' may have reference, agreeably with Matthew, to the foregoing season, but 'early' be attributed to the appearance that happened to Mary." From this it appears that Hesychius, though conversant with the difficulty raised about this passage, does not give it up as spurious, but endeavors to reconcile it. In fact, toward the close of his Homily he quotes the nineteenth verse, without hesitation, as genuine: "Likewise also that that is written in Mark (παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ), 'So then after the Lord had spoken to them, He was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.'" His criticism and solution, alike, he borrowed from Eusebius, as we shall see.

In the meantime, St. Jerome gives precisely the same solution in a letter professedly addressed to Hedibia, a lady of Gaul, who

had sent him a series of Questions for his solution. On another similar occasion, he lets us know how he proceeded: "Being pressed for time, I have presented you with the opinions of all the commentators, for the most part translating their very words; in order both to get rid of your questions, and to put you in possession of ancient authorities on the subject." But when he exercises his own judgment, under a sense of his responsibilities, he gives his sanction to the authenticity of these verses, by retaining them in his revision of the Old Latin Version, which became the Vulgate. It is well known that this revision was made by comparison with many Greek MSS., and that he made many critical corrections accordingly. In other parts of his writings, he quotes the ninth verse, and also the fourteenth (though with a spurious addition). In his deliberate judgment, therefore, the verses as we now have them, were authentic and canonical.

We now come to Eusebius, from whom so many others seem to have derived their objections. Eusebius wrote a work on the apparent discrepancy of the Gospels, of which an abridgment was made, under the name of *Inquiries and Solutions*. A portion of this work, addressed to Marinus, is extant, in which we read: "How is it that in Matthew the Saviour appears to have risen 'in the end of the Sabbath' (*ὁπρὲ σαββάτων*), but in Mark, 'early the first day of the week?' Of this the solution might be twofold; for he that sets aside the section asserting this, would say, It is not found in all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark. So at least the accurate copies circumscribe the end (*τὸ τέλος*) of the story according to Mark, at the words of the young man that appeared to the women, and said to them, 'Be not affrighted; ye seek Jesus of Nazareth,' and so on; to which he adds, And when they heard they fled, 'neither said they anything to any man; for they were afraid.' For at this point, in almost all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark is circumscribed the end (*τὸ τέλος*). But what follows, barely found in some, but not in all, would be superfluous, and especially if they should contain a contradiction to the testimony of the rest of the Evangelists. Thus, then, would any one say, when he would avoid, and altogether take away, a superfluous question. But some one else, not daring to set aside anything whatever of the things anywhere found in the writings of the Gospels, saith the reading is double, as also in many other places, and each is to be received; so that, with the faithful and devout, this be not approved rather than that, or that than this. And now, this portion being granted to be true, it remains to interpret the meaning of the reading. If, then,

we divide the sense of the clause, we should not find it opposed to the words spoken in Matthew, that the Saviour rose 'in the end of the Sabbath' (*ὀφὲ σαββάτων*). For the clause according to Mark, 'And when He was risen early the first day of the week,' we shall read with a pause; and after 'And when He was risen,' put a comma, and separate the sense of the words added after. Then 'when He was risen' would coincide with the sense in Matthew,—'In the end of the Sabbath;' for at that time He rose. But what follows being supposed to be of a different sense, we shall connect with what is said beyond; for, early the first day of the week, He appeared to Mary Magdalene. This, accordingly, even John showed; himself also having testified that 'early,' 'on the first day of the week He appeared to Mary Magdalene.' Thus, then, even in Mark, He *appeared* to her early,—not *arose* early, but much before; according to Matthew, 'in the end of the Sabbath.' For *then* though He *rose*, 'He *appeared* to Mary,' not then, but '*early*.' So that, in these words, two seasons are set side by side,—namely: that of the Resurrection, 'in the end of the Sabbath;' and that of the appearance of the Saviour 'early,' as Mark wrote, saying (which is to be read with a pause), 'Now when He was risen (then putting a comma, the following is to be said), early the first day of the week He appeared to Mary Magdalene, out of whom He had cast seven devils' " (Burgon, 265).

In the next question, it is true, we find that Eusebius is acquainted with the true solution, when he says that *ὀφὲ σαββάτων* means, not the evening closing the Sabbath-day, but the latter part of the night after the Sabbath. Yet, as already testified, he seems not to have embraced the last verses of St. Mark in his Harmonistic Canons. This testimony is corroborated by the fact that, in Codex A (Vth) the Sections are not numbered beyond verse 8, § 233, and that, even when they are continued beyond in many later manuscripts, the *Table* of Canons stops at this section; showing that when the numbering of the sections was continued, the Table was overlooked, and left as it was.

We have thus traced up the doubts against these verses to Eusebius, and we cannot positively trace them any further, though it may be suspected that Origen started them before him. But it is evident, so far as our testimony goes, that Eusebius is chiefly responsible for such currency as they obtained, and that from him the critical objections of later writers and sundry *scholia* were drawn. And yet it must be observed, notwithstanding the great influence



of his name, the vast majority of manuscripts preserve these verses without any mark of difference or doubt.

III. We have thus arrived at a period at least contemporary with, and probably somewhat earlier than, the oldest codices extant,—the Vatican B and the Sinaitic. Now we are informed that Eusebius was commissioned by Constantine, A. D. 331, to prepare fifty copies of the Holy Scriptures for the use of his new capital, Constantinople. It is, therefore, quite possible that one or both of these venerable codices may be of the number thus prepared under the direction of Eusebius. It is not necessary to suppose that all these copies were quite alike, or copied from the same exemplar; it is far more likely that they were copied, by many scribes, from different codices, such as could be obtained for the purpose. It is further probable, that, though differing in minute details, yet, in such an important passage as this at the conclusion of St. Mark, they would reflect the opinion of Eusebius.

However this may be, the intrinsic value and accuracy of a codex is not determined by its age. It may be produced in circumstances unfavorable to the critical accuracy of the great mass of manuscripts in common use. Such circumstances undoubtedly existed in the IVth century. In the previous period of persecution, very many copies must have been destroyed, and, at the same time, little opportunity and leisure afforded—unless in exceptional instances—for the careful collation of copies. In this state of things, a sudden demand was created for a large supply of copies of the Christian writings, by the conversion of Constantine, and the prosperous turn in ecclesiastical affairs. Under the pressure of such a demand, accuracy in the great multitude of copies could not ordinarily be attained. Those made for noblemen and courtiers would doubtless be more remarkable for expensiveness of material and beauty of chirography, than for critical accuracy and faithfulness, of which, usually, they would be but slender judges. Yet just such copies as these would be the most likely to be preserved through the long tract of ages down to our day.

These remarks are fully illustrated by an examination of our two oldest codices. The Vatican (shown by Mr. Burgon to be probably the earlier copy), though written on fine vellum, in an elegant hand, is notorious for its many and flagrant omissions. In the Gospels, it omits words and clauses no less than 1,491 times. Of these, 365, or about one in four, are from St. Mark, though its proportionate share would be only one in five and one half. It is also distinguished for many repetitions of words and clauses, which the



original scribe did not correct, probably lest he should mar the beauty of his page. These alone, to say nothing of manifest interpolations and corruptions, are enough to show that the scribe was far more anxious for the elegance of his manuscript, than for the accuracy and faithfulness of his text.

Similar, in general character, is the Sinaitic Codex, though its OMISSIONS are not carried to so great an extent. Yet there are 115 of these, arising from *like-ending*, or the recurrence of similar words. Thus, fourteen words are omitted in Mark, xv. 47-xvi. 1; in Mark, i. 32-34, nineteen words; in John, xx. 5, 6, twenty words; in John, xix. 20, 21, thirty-nine words. There are also frequent REPETITIONS of letters, words, and even sentences, which are straight-way cancelled,—in this respect, unlike the Vatican Codex; but like it, it is written on the finest vellum (of antelope skin), and in elegant penmanship, while its text is disfigured with many manifest INTERPOLATIONS and CORRUPTIONS. And yet the DIFFERENCES between the two manuscripts are very frequent and very perplexing, and, themselves, form an additional evidence of the want of critical care and skill with which they were prepared, and with which the selection of their exemplar was made.

Now, though the Vatican Codex omits our twelve verses, it yet significantly testifies to their existence, by not only leaving the remainder of the column blank on which verse 8 is written, but also the whole of the next column. It thus leaves abundant room for the remaining verses, *and this is the only entire blank column in the Codex*. This must needs indicate one of two things: either the scribe found the verses in his exemplar, but, because they were wanting in others, or because he was so instructed, he left them out; or, if he found them not in his copy, he knew they were found in others. In either case, the scribe or his principal was aware that the verses had some claims to a place there, and so a blank was left, in which they could be subsequently inserted. But in the Sinaitic Codex, this precaution was simply neglected, perhaps not understood; and yet the omission can be satisfactorily accounted for, if, in a single manuscript of the IVth or the IIIrd century, these verses were accidentally missing; if, for instance, in some manuscripts of St. Mark, the left-hand page next the last ended with the eighth verse, and the last page, containing the rest, was lost,—an accident very likely to happen. An uninstructed copyist might easily mistake this for the end of the Gospel, or not be able to go any further.

IV. The ancient versions will now enable us to carry up the

testimony to a much earlier age, in the absence of extant Greek manuscripts. These versions, being sanctioned by the use of the Churches for which they were made, must needs have been executed from authentic and approved copies of the Greek, rather than from any chance unauthenticated copy made for private use. And in the matter of the retention or omission of passages, their testimony is just as explicit and valuable as that of contemporary Greek manuscripts would be; in fact, their testimony is the testimony of the very Greek exemplars from which they were made. By their aid we shall mount up to the II<sup>d</sup> century.

Of these, only the Armenian, of the V<sup>th</sup> century, may have omitted our verses, according to the more ancient manuscripts, the more recent retaining them. One manuscript only of the Old Latin, out of eight, and that of the V<sup>th</sup> century, omits the passage. On the other hand, the Jerusalem Syriac and the Philoxenian, of the V<sup>th</sup> or VI<sup>th</sup> century; the Coptic, the Æthiopic, and the Gothic, of the IV<sup>th</sup>; the Cureton Syriac, the Peshito, and the Old Latin, of the II<sup>d</sup>, undoubtedly contained it. These versions, representing Churches from Ethiopia and Egypt on the south, to Asia Minor on the north, and from Armenia on the east, to Africa on the west, show the general and undoubted acceptance of these verses in the II<sup>d</sup> century, and point back to their necessary acceptance in the I<sup>st</sup>. For it is impossible to suppose that an interpolation of such magnitude and importance could have been foisted into the Greek manuscripts, and become so universal in the II<sup>d</sup>, III<sup>d</sup>, and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries.

V. In the quotations of early writers, we have another source of evidence quite as explicit and valuable, as far as it goes, if not as comprehensive, as the versions. In truth, in such quotations we are presented with extracts out of manuscripts existing in the writer's age, the date of which may be much older than himself. With the help of these we shall again mount from the V<sup>th</sup> to the I<sup>st</sup> century, and even to the time and presence of St. Mark himself.

Of the Latin Fathers, St. Augustine quotes verse 12 twice, and verses 15 and 16 thrice. St. Ambrose (IV<sup>th</sup> century) cites verse 15 four times, verses 16-18 thrice, and verse 20 once. At the Council of Carthage, under Cyprian, A. D. 256, consisting of eighty-seven bishops, from Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, with a great number of priests and deacons, and a multitude of laity,—Vincen-  
tius, Bishop of Thibar, is quoted from verses 17 and 18, thus: "*In nomine meo manum imponite, daemonia expellite*." He took for granted that the whole Council recognized the authority of the

words, which he quotes as our Lord's. Tertullian, A. D. 192-8, twice asserts, from verse 19, that Jesus "sitteth on the right hand of the Father" (De Res. li. against Prax. xxx.).

Of the Greek and Oriental writers, Nestorius the heresiarch quotes verse 20, and Cyril of Alexandria accepts the quotation. St. Chrysostom refers to verse 9 (Opp. x. 355 B), and quotes verses 19, 20, and adds, "This is the end of the Gospel" (iii. 765 A, B). Caesarius of Constantinople, and Cyril of Jerusalem, and the Synopsis of Scripture attributed to Athanasius, all of the IVth century, are admitted to quote from our verses. Aphaates, a Syrian bishop, in his First Homily, dated A. D. 337, quotes verses 16-18 in Syriac. The Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, c. 14, quotes verses 15-19; and in c. 18, verse 16. The Apostolic Constitutions (v. 14) refer to verse 9, and quote verse 16 (vi. 15). In Book VIII. 1 (sometimes ascribed to Hippolytus), verses 15, 17, 18 are quoted. Hippolytus himself, Bishop of Portus (the Port of Rome), about A. D. 220, in his treatise against Noëtus, c. 18, quotes verse 19: ἀναλαμβάνεται εἰς οὐρανὸς . . . καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν Πατρὸς καθίξεται. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, A. D. 178, says expressly, "*In Fine autem Evangelii ait Marcus, Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus in caelos, et sedet ad dexteram Dei.*" Justin Martyr, in his First Apology (c. xiv.), A. D. 138, 139, quotes from verse 20, saying that the "Apostles, going forth from Jerusalem, preached everywhere" (ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ),—the precise words of our Gospel. Papias, also, the friend of Polycarp, who was a pupil of St. John, manifestly refers to our 17th and 18th verses, though he does not quote the precise words, when he says that Justus, surnamed Barsabas, "though he drank a noxious poison, endured nothing unpleasant, because of the grace of the Lord" (Eus. iii. 39). His absolute use of "the Lord" for Jesus is in accordance with the nineteenth and twentieth verses.

Our testimony is thus brought up again to the Apostolic age; and what we have thus gathered, shows that our conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel was universally accepted without doubt, by the Churches in Palestine, in Syria, in Asia Minor, in Constantinople, in Italy, in Gaul, in Africa. It could not have obtained such a wide currency as it had in the II<sup>d</sup> and III<sup>d</sup> centuries, unless it had originated within the Apostolic age; and in that age we cannot conceive a forgery palmed upon the whole Church in the name of an Evangelist. If the names of a few prominent writers are absent from our list, it is no wonder, when we consider that St. Mark's Gospel is not quoted *once* by these early writers generally, while St.

Matthew is quoted *ten* times; and further, that these verses form but a very small part of the whole Gospel. In such circumstances, the testimony must be considered remarkably complete and satisfactory.

But we may mount yet one step higher, to the testimony of St. Paul himself, the inspired Apostle. In his Epistle to the Colossians (i. 23), he exhorts them not to be moved from the hope of the Gospel—*τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὗ ἀκούσατε, τοῦ κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*—which words are marvellously like those of our sixteenth verse,—*κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει*. This word, *κτίσις* (creation), is nowhere used in connection with *κηρύσσω* (preach) but in these two places, and the reference of St. Paul to our Gospel can scarcely be doubted. Now this Epistle, according to Wordsworth, and Conybeare and Howson, was written in Rome, A. D. 62. But from chapter iv. verse 10, we find that St. Mark himself was then in Rome: “. . . saluteth you, Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas (touching whom ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him).” What an endorsement, then, have we in this Epistle, both of St. Mark, and of his Gospel as we now have it! The Colossians may have been already familiar with the Gospel, and prepared to recognize the reference. Rarely, indeed, even in Holy Scripture, does a book receive such authentication by contemporary and inspired authority.

The testimony of Irenæus, as to the date of this Gospel, seems to conflict with this result, as well as with the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, and Papias, who say that St. Mark finished his Gospel with the approval of St. Peter (Eus. ii. 15). But Irenæus, after saying that St. Matthew published his Gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, continues, according to the common text, thus, *μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἐξόδον*,—“After their departure (death), Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also having written the things preached by Peter, hath delivered them to us.” But in Cramer's Catena on St. Mark, is found a reading which presents no difficulty: *μετὰ τὴν τούτου ἐκδοσιν*,—“After the publication of this” (St. Matthew's Gospel), not after St. Peter's death, St. Mark wrote his Gospel (Iren. iii. 1; Eus. v. 8; Westcott, *Introd.* N. T. 192). Even if this reading should not be accepted, the testimony of Clement and Papias must stand, established, as it is, by that of St. Paul.

II. After such conclusive evidence of the genuineness of our verses, it may seem superfluous to enter into a detailed consideration of the internal evidence, when its precarious nature is remembered.

But as this has been made much of by hostile critics, we shall not shrink from the task.

It is urged that there is a marked difference in the style and phraseology of these verses, from the rest of the Gospel, inconsistent with identity of authorship. But, admitting a marked difference of manner, it does not follow that there must needs be difference of authorship. There is a manifest difference between the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter; there is a marked difference—even a contrast—between the Revelation and the Gospel of St. John; there may be a marked difference in different portions of the same composition. How different from the rest is the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel, or of St. John's! Yet it would be folly to deny identity of authorship. But if one were to insist only on the differences, as plausible a case would be made out against the beginning of St. Luke's or St. John's, as against the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel. In this case, we shall show that the peculiarities pointed out in these verses, so far from being inconsistent with their genuineness, add the corroborative force of internal evidence to the conclusive external evidence already given.

First of all, it is a peculiarity of these verses, that in verse 9 we have *πρώτη σαββάτου* instead of the *μία σαββάτων* of verse 2. But what is this but an example of one of St. Mark's own characteristics,—that of frequently varying his phrase by giving a Latin equivalent (*prima sabbati*) instead of the Greek phrase?—as when, after twice using *αλλή* alone (xiv. 54, 66), in the next instance he adds its Latin equivalent,—*ὁ ἐστὶ πρωτόωριον* (xv. 16).

So, again, it is objected, that, though Mary Magdalene has been before mentioned (xv. 40, 47), she is here first described,—*ἡ ἐκ βεβλήχει ἐπὶ δαιμόνια*. So St. John, having described himself simply as “the disciple whom Jesus loved” (xxi. 7), afterward adds a much fuller description of himself, as he “who also leaned on His breast at supper,” etc. (20). Was this verse, therefore, written by another hand? But is there not an intended emphasis in speaking of Mary Magdalene thus in this place? Does it not imply that the Lord vouchsafed to appear first to such an one as her, rather than to St. Peter, or any other Apostle? And is not this quite in keeping with the manner in which St. Peter is spoken of throughout this Gospel?

But even the combination of prepositions in this phrase is said not to be in St. Mark's manner, who elsewhere uses *ἐκ βάλλειν ἐκ*. He does so just once (vii. 26); but he uses the first combination in one other phrase,—*ἐξέλθόντες ἀπὸ Βηθανίας* (xi. 12), and nowhere



else. Is *that* verse, therefore, to be suspected? Does it not rather indicate the same hand here?

In verses 10 and 11, *ἐξεῖνος* is said to be used absolutely, while in St. Mark it is always emphatic. Is it quite certain that it is not emphatic here? Even so we find St. Peter using *ἐξεῖνος* where he might have used *αὐτός*: "We made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, *ἐπόπται γενηθέντες τῆς ἐξείνου μεναιότατος*" (II. Pet. i. 16). We may very well have in our verses language derived from St. Peter.

But the next word, *πορεύω* (verses 10, 12, 15), is not elsewhere used by St. Mark; but its compounds with *εἰς*, *ἐκ*, *σύν*, *παρά*, he uses more than all the other Evangelists put together. Is it anything strange, that when he has no occasion for a compound form, he should use the simple form of a favorite word? We find, again, that St. Peter frequently uses this word in its simple form (I. Pet. iii. 19, 22; iv. 3; II. Pet. ii. 10; iii. 3).

The phrase *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι*, as a whole, is peculiar to this place, but not so without the participle. But just here the author had need of the past participle, to express what *had been*, but was no more. Elsewhere he had no need of any participle, and so he used *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ* (i. 36; ii. 25; v. 40). The phrase has a more extended application than *οἱ μαθήται*, which is usually restrained to the Twelve.

In the eleventh and fourteenth verses we have a verb not elsewhere used by St. Mark, and with a peculiar construction in the eleventh, to the effect that Jesus was *beheld by* Mary Magdalene,—*ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς*,—peculiar and emphatic words, no doubt well fitted to express no ordinary vision; not that her Lord was merely *seen*, but "beheld" with astonishment and awe, and that "by" such as "her!" (The language is probably her own.) So, likewise, St. Matthew reserves the similar verb *θεωρεῖν* for the contemplation, by the women, of the Saviour's Cross and Sepulchre (xxvii. 55; xxviii. 1).

Again, in the eleventh and sixteenth verses, we find the verb *ἀπιστέω*, and nowhere else in this Gospel. The same is true of the last chapter of St. Luke (xxiv. 11, 41). What is not suspicious in St. Luke ought not to be suspicious in St. Mark. He undoubtedly uses the kindred adjective *ἀπιστος* once (ix. 19), and the noun *ἀπιστία* once in this section (verse 14), and twice elsewhere (vi. 6; ix. 24). This certainly does not indicate difference of authorship.

In verse 12, *μετὰ ταῦτα* occurs for the only time in this Gospel. In the twenty-eight chapters of the Acts, the same phrase occurs



but twice. In the language of St. Peter, also, it occurs just once (I. Pet. i. 11). So, also, *ἕτερος* occurs here alone in this Gospel, as it does once only in St. John's Gospel (xix. 37), and once in the language of St. Peter (Acts, iv. 12). *Ὑστερον* is found in this Gospel only in our verse 14, *βλέπτειν* in verse 18, and *πανταχοῦ* in verse 20. But in like manner, St. John uses the first just once (xiii. 36), St. Luke the second (iv. 35), and the third (ix. 6); not to insist that the latter should also be read in St. Mark, i. 28, as is very probable (Tischendorf and Alford). What can possibly be argued from such instances, except that the writers, if they had occasion to use a word, did not scruple to do so, though for once only?

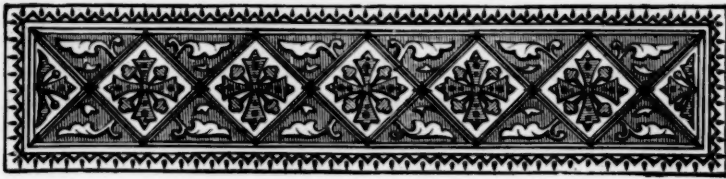
*Βεβαίω* occurs here only (verse 20) in the Gospels; but the kindred adjective in St. Peter (II. Pet. i. 10, 19). So *ἐπακολουθέω* is found here once out of four times in the New Testament, and once in St. Peter (I. Pet. ii. 21), who alone uses *ἐξακολουθέω* (II. Pet. i. 16; ii. 2, 15). *Παρακολουθέω* also is found once in St. Mark (verse 17), and once only in St. Luke (i. 3).

Again, *ὁ Κύριος* is here used for the name of Jesus (verses 19, 20), as it is nowhere else in St. Mark or St. Matthew. So, at the beginning of his Gospel, St. Mark uses the compound title "Jesus Christ," and there only. And surely, is not the special fitness of the closing title as manifest as that of the opening one? May not the same skilful hand have adapted each to its appropriate place? As Jesus, at the beginning of His ministry, was "anointed" in His baptism, and so became the "Christ," and was manifested as "the Son of God," so, after his victory over death, and ascension into heaven, when He had thus vindicated his universal dominion and lordship, He was most fitly entitled "the Lord." We find, too, that this was a favorite title with St. Peter, the teacher of St. Mark (Acts, xi. 16; I. Pet. ii. 3, 4; II. Pet. i. 2; iii. 2, 8, 9, 10, 15. Compare, also, Acts, i. 21; ii. 36; x. 36; xv. 11; I. Pet. i. 3; II. Pet. i. 8, 11, 14, 16; ii. 20; iii. 18).

It is further urged, that *εὐθέως* and *πάλιν*, words constantly recurring in St. Mark, are not found here. But the reason is plain: *πάλιν* implies completion of the actions, and *εὐθέως* their quick succession; neither of which is found in these four short, distinct paragraphs devoted to the events of the great Forty Days. So, in the first and sixth chapters, of more than 40 verses each, *πάλιν* does not occur; in the twelfth and thirteenth, *εὐθέως* (*εὐθύς*) does not occur; and in the first thirteen verses of the ninth, neither word occurs; nor yet in the forty verses just preceding these last 12 (xv. 16; xvi. 8).

On the other hand, it may be said that many of the characteristic words and phrases of St. Mark are found in these few verses. Such are ἀνίστημι, πρῶτῃ, φανερόω, ἀγρόν (= the country), κηρύσσω, εὐαγγέλιον, ἀδελφωστος, καλῶς ἔχειν, πανταχοῦ, (παντοχοῦ) are found in St. Mark oftener than in any other Evangelist.

We have now completed our survey of the evidence, both external and internal, bearing upon the genuineness of the last twelve verses of St. Mark. We have seen, by the help of versions and quotations, that they were received without question in the II<sup>d</sup> and III<sup>d</sup> centuries, throughout all the Churches from the East to the West, and were manifestly referred to by St. Paul himself; that the earliest and strongest testimony against them is that of Eusebius and of two manuscripts of the IV<sup>th</sup> century, WHICH ARE SPECIALLY FAULTY IN THIS VERY MATTER OF OMISSION, but that their error was corrected by the common consent of the vast mass of subsequent manuscripts, deriving their text from still earlier and better sources. We have also seen that the internal evidence, so far from being unfavorable, or even neutral, strongly corroborates the external evidence of the genuineness of these verses. In truth, the only alternative it can suggest is, that if they were not written by St. Mark, they must have been written by St. Peter himself.



## THE PURITANS AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

THE anniversary of American civil liberty, and nearly the hundredth one, occurs in the month for which the present number of this REVIEW is intended. We deem the time and opportunity not unfitting for an investigation of some of those claims, which have long appropriated the fatherhood of this liberty, and for showing how far those claims are founded in propriety and truth.

We well know, of course, that controversial statements are often not very pleasant to make, and have generally the savor of an ill reputation. And, yet, why should this so frequently be? Entire unanimity of opinion, in a world reeking with diversities, is simply and absolutely impossible; and why, then, disagreements in opinion should so often produce angry separation, or downright hostility, is, to us, one of history's philosophical wonders. We are not surprised, *a priori*, to find a profound theologian, like old Joseph Mede, saying, "I can, with much patience, endure a man to be contrary-minded." It is only when one encounters the practical difficulties of such a toleration, he is at all gruelled by it. We ought to be able to draw an easy distinction between *principia et homines*—principles or sentiments and individuals—and to controvert the former, without bitter alienation or caustic virulence toward the latter.

We hold, and have long held, and held as familiarities, these premises; and are, therefore, less able than some to anticipate harm from controverting opinions, which people around us may hold with firmness, and maintain with pertinacity. We are not, necessarily, the assailants of themselves in so doing, and, unless constrained to do so, shall not consider ourselves assailed, if any of our own favorite opinions are controverted in return. We can cordially respect the character, and gladly admit the sincerity, of many who entertain opinions that we disavow and deny—which we speak against and write against—and are quite willing to grant the same liberty with any positions taken by ourselves—*provided, only*, that our own character and honesty shall not suffer in their estimation more than theirs has done in ours. We have not one pulse in sympathy with that merciless self-conceit which, in debatable matters, confounds opinions and persons, and condemns both, as if essentially and inseparably blended. He who has not charity and forbearance for motives and for men, has not the spirit of our great Master, Christ; and may prove none of His, in that most eventful of all scenes, where the issues turn on charity and last for evermore.

With these views, we deem it neither unlawful nor inexpedient to controvert an idea which some of our countrymen have entertained and employed, in detriment to our own Church and communion, and which they still fling at it in one way and another, to our annoyance and serious injury. This idea proceeds upon the basis that the ecclesiastical polity and doctrines of Episcopalians are unfavorable to civil liberty—that the first advocates and promoters of such liberty were the early settlers of New England—and that to them exclusively, and in nowise to Episcopalians, are we indebted for the advantages which have been reaped from the American Revolution. If this is an incorrect and most mischievous view of American political history, no better season could be taken to show it than this birth-time of our national independence; and, after uttering such sentiments as we deem fitting the approach to a controverted topic, we hope for allowance to speak with freedom and without fear. We are not permitted, merely, we are bound, to stand up in defence for our Christian peculiarities—to make *ἀπολογία* for them, by an apostolical ordinance, I. Pet. iii. 15—and if our Church and religion cannot be vindicated from aspersion, then let them suffer the consequences. If they *can* be, then our ministers and members ought not to be frowned or scared into cowardly silence.

We have suffered as much by a quotation from Hume's History of England as by any one thing—we mean the sentence in which he alleges that in our mother-country the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved, by the Puritans alone; and that to them the English owe the whole freedom of their present Constitution Buck's ("Theol. Dict." p. 380).

This sentiment, or concession, of an historian, whose testimony *against* the Puritans is never admitted, has been bandied about in every possible shape—in orations, in political lyrics, in school-books, in parlor-books, and in sermons; and has, on convivial occasions, too numerous to mention, been swallowed down with something stronger than cold water! It has been stereotyped in a Theological Dictionary, where we well knew how to find it; and from which it has readily eked a passage into pulpits, for which that Dictionary has furnished a key-note, or a ringing echo.

But, even granting Mr. Hume's allegation to be true—and certainly it is a very singular one for any historian to utter, who remembered the days of Magna Charta, and other seasons of a struggle for liberty in English annals—it seems to be singularly forgotten that England must have had the benefit of Puritan inoculation in her Constitution, a century and a half before the American Revolution, and that, in that long-drawn period, she might have profited by it quite as much as other governments on this side of the Atlantic, and been quite as fit, and quite as comfortable, an abode for freedom as any of our confederated States. It would be somewhat hard to prove that at this passing moment "persons, goods, and good names" (the triad of objects which Lord Bacon said the law was instituted to preserve), are better off in the City of New York than in the City of London. It would be equally hard to prove that our Executive Government, with a cabinet which might bid defiance to our whole Congress for four whole years, is more democratic than the Government of England, where a cabinet cannot resist the single House of Commons, and may be changed, should that House insist, four times in a single year! And if it be true (as is claimed), that "the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution" to the Puritans, it is also most singularly forgotten that if these grand political alchemists did infuse into that Constitution "the precious spark of liberty," they took no special pains to keep it there, and it was never developed by their maternal nursing. They suffered the precious spark to be woefully neglected, and it straight grew cold again. And one incontestable proof of this was, that they themselves became inexor-

ably intolerant, the moment that power was surely and safely within their exclusive grasp.

This was a sad and crying verification of the charge raised against them by Churchmen, viz., that they contended not for toleration, but for self-will—not for liberty, but for supremacy—not for the mending of law by others, but for the making of it themselves.<sup>1</sup> They professed to be champions for “unshrinking liberty of thought,” and to have an “utter disaffection to arbitrary government.”<sup>2</sup> They professed a thorough acquaintance with political predicaments, and pledged themselves to redress political grievances, and to reform political abuses. They commenced this work openly in 1628, with their celebrated Petition of Rights, and followed it up with a resolution “strong as death.” Well, then, what is plainer than that such intelligent and alert disciples of liberty, such devoted battlers for liberty, ought to have been the last in Europe to fall back into the practices of their leaden-headed predecessors—the very last in the wide world to constrain their posterity to extenuate their own severities, as Gibbon did the severities of an earlier and ruder age, by saying, “Toleration was not the virtue of the times.”<sup>3</sup> Perseverance in *political* saintship ought to have been a marked and indelible feature in the progress of those, one of whose favorite doctrines was perseverance in *theological* saintship, even to the last day of mortal history.

But we are sadly afraid that they who infused “the precious spark of liberty” into the English Constitution, were, notwithstanding, egregious defalcators from special political grace. So soon did they begin to deny to others the freedom of conscience which they had clamored for in the days of their minority, that years before the death of Charles I. was so much as thought of—and before Archbishop Laud was doomed to a gallows, though his sentence was ungraciously commuted to death upon the block—before either of these events took place—the Prayer Book was formally excommunicated from England. Charles I. was beheaded, according to our style, January 30, 1649, and Archbishop Laud in January, 1646. Yet, on the 23d of August, 1645, the following outrageous ordinance was passed by the famous, or *in-famous*, Long Parliament:

And it is further hereby ordained, by the said Lords and Commons, that if any person or persons whatsoever, shall, at any time or times, hereafter, use, or cause the aforesaid Book of Common Prayer to be used, in any church,

<sup>1</sup> Miller's Phil. of Hist. iii. 327. Lathbury's English Episcopacy, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Felt's Salem, pp. 172-76.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, viii. 325.



or chapel, or public place of worship, or in any private place, or family, within the Kingdom of England, or Dominion of Wales, or port and town of Berwick, that then every such person, so offending, therein, shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds of lawful English money—for the second offence, the sum of ten pounds—and for the third offence, shall suffer one whole year's imprisonment, without bail or mainprise.

So the very existence of the Church of England was struck at by those, whose hue and cry and bitter lamentation it had long been, that the Government of England countenanced that Church alone, and would not grant a free and unshackled and comprehensive religious toleration. The moment the sceptre passed into their own hands, such a generous toleration seems to have been the last mercy it could sanction. Then they fly at the Church of England with the prying and remorseless temper of the Spanish Inquisition. They cross every man's threshold, they burst his chamber door open, and any adventurous soul, *whatsoever*, which is found with a Prayer Book in its heretical ill-keeping, becomes the subject of heavy amercement, and may finally be pitched into a dungeon as an unbailable felon. They do this, moreover, after groaning lustily under an old statute, which taxed them a petty shilling for neglecting the worship for which that Prayer Book was the guide! And for fear the ordinance inflicting such cruelties should not be sufficiently familiar, it was printed at the end of the Directory, which was to be its substitute for every household in the realm—thus hesitating not to stain with the darkest blots of intolerance, one of the chief monuments of their faith! So grimly determined were they—as if they had studied Spanish models—to constitute it a part of every man's inevitable religious duty to become an informer and a persecutor.

No wonder that the rule of such people fanned not "the precious spark of liberty," but forged the locks and bolts and fetters of a house of bondage. Their domination became at last so insupportable, that when it was but a few years old, a book had to be written as a protest against its dreary forgetfulness of tender mercy. This book was composed with all the ponderous formalities of logic, and all the attractive graces of rhetoric, to convince the wise, and encourage the amiable, under a crusade of proscription which was devastating the land. And the book (if at the time fruitless) became so celebrated that, as a political philosopher admits, the English public has never lost sight of it, or ceased to hold it in estimation.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Blakey, ii. 144. Not his work on metaphysics, but politics.

We allude to Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Propheying," a work of rare ability and characteristic beauty, fraught with the seeds of eternity, and destined to outlive mighty nations. It was first published in 1657; and we have found it advertised, as a separate publication, in a late London catalogue. And let it never be forgotten that Episcopalians had to be Protestants under a Puritan Popedom; that such a volume had to be written by a candidate for a mitre, and had to be written also, not *before*, but *after*, Mr. Hume's precious spark of liberty had been infused into that body of death, the British Constitution, and long after a period when such a prolific spark should have mounted into a stately flame, and not dwindled into a rushlight, or gone out in lurid and lonely darkness.

We say lonely darkness; since the Puritan Commonwealth, while it had forgotten religious mercy, seemed to have forgotten political improvement also. If it had dissolved, or tried to dissolve, the tenure, by which the Prayer Book held its sway over the minds of Englishmen who deserved religious independence, surely it ought all the more and all the sooner to have dissolved those antiquated feudal tenures, which had held the property of the country in the thralldom of the dark ages; and those powers of irresponsible despotism, by which any man could be immured in a dungeon at a moment's warning, and without assignable reasons.<sup>1</sup> Still, if one were to ask a thousand readers of ancient history in New England, when feudal tenures were abolished, and when the genuine act of *Habeas Corpus* was first inaugurated, they might answer spontaneously, that such things of course took place in that glorious era, when their forefathers held ascendancy across the waters, in the days of Cromwell, the executioner of a tyrant, and the Lord High Protector of the liberties of England. But if so, we should get a thousand wrong answers to our query; for the statutes abolishing feudal tenures, and establishing writs of *Habeas Corpus*, were first passed under a royal dynasty, and not so only, but under a dynasty which England herself had restored, after having endured a Puritanic dynasty to weariness, and thrown it off with exultation, as if an incubus upon the body politic.<sup>2</sup> It was not until the country had had the offer of every blessing which *they* could bestow upon it, who had infused "the precious spark of liberty" into the English Constitution, and had declined such offers resolutely, that the idea entered the mind of an English legislature, of emancipating property

<sup>1</sup> Clement Walker's History of Independency, Pt. iii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Case of F. Roberts, Rose's Dictionary, xi. 359.

and persons, by bringing feudal tenures to an end, and authorizing writs which prohibit imprisonment without substantial and legal reasons.

Nor is this all the story. There was a darker blot, than any now alluded to, upon the page of English statute law. There was the awful and diabolical old Romish writ, *De heretico comburendo* (that is, not of burning, but of burning up a heretic), passed in well-known times, when a doubter of Romish orthodoxy and supremacy was (as he still is to a Church which never changes) the greatest criminal and wretch beneath the sun. This writ, Puritanical love of clemency and liberty never laid its hands on. It was no more consonant to Puritanism than it was to Romanism, to grant heretics a scruple's weight of mercy—to let one spark of celestial hope kindle in their excommunicated souls. Wherefore, the terrific and blasting power, to punish a heretic to the very uttermost, and to commit his body to devouring flames, was never relinquished by the State, while the prerogatives of the State were in Puritan safe-keeping. Aye, strange, contradictory, woful as it may seem, the very law by which Cranmer and Ridley and Latimer and Hooper were hurried to the stake, and consumed to ashes, was never lifted from the statute-book by so much as a Puritanic finger. It remained for Churchmen to do it, when the English Commonwealth had passed away beyond redemption, and the sceptre was restored to one whom that Commonwealth had made a hissing and a bye-word, a fugitive and a vagabond. Most curious, yet most true it is, that even Charles II. could do what saints of the Holy League and Covenant never spent a thought on; and if his reign is sometimes pointed at with Pharisaic horrors, for its looseness of morals, it is one of the most memorable of eras for the inauguration of political rights and immunities known in the history of the British Constitution. And as to the looseness of morals in this reign, so often made the theme of satire and vituperation, we are constrained, under high Puritan authority, to believe it commenced *before* that reign was deemed a probability, when, in fact, Puritan self-confidence would have denied its very possibility. Our impressions are derived from one of the most fearless and energetic volumes of Puritan pulpit eloquence we ever read or heard of. It is a volume before whose *just* reputation a Bates, a Charnock, or a Baxter might excusably have broken the Tenth Commandment. It is styled "God's plea for Nineveh, or London's precedent for mercy, delivered in certain sermons, within the City of London, by Thomas Reeve, Bachelor in Divinity." We give its title-page as published in a small folio of 350 pages, in Lon-

don, A. D. 1657, when the Protectorate of Cromwell was in the height of its puissance, and in the bloom of its glory. Cromwell died in 1658, in but his sixtieth year; and had he lived ten years longer, the Commonwealth might have displayed much of that profligacy which has too often been esteemed the legitimate stain of a royal government alone. But let us hear the Puritan Ezekiel, from the very core of England's capital, the purlieu of the grand Westminster Assembly, and the penetralia of Calvinism, on its would-be throne of ecclesiastical infallibility. Let us hear him, too, most soberly mindful that he is speaking not of the worse, but of the better portion of the predestinate, and of *them*, also, not as to their conduct in worldly and smaller matters (such as making sharp bargains, using light weights, and charging usurious interest), but as to their demeanor and temper in the House itself of God:

We must have our praises sung out in the Temple, and have the pulpit for nothing but panegyrics, to be made the *non-pareils* of religion, and to have the encomiastics that belong to true virtue attributed to us, as the cities of Achaia sent all the conquering crowns of musicians to Nero, as to the prince of musicians. We keep so many preachers, but as so many limners, or heralds, or confectioners, or minstrels. If they come to be proposers and opposers, restrainers and rebukers, to give a sanctuary-grip or a pulpit-pinch, to hold a razor over our heads, or to shake a scourge in our eyes, to style us sinners, or God a judge—*Vae vobis*—they are fit for nothing but clinks and gibbets! Jonah may escape well enough in Nineveh, but he would not come off with so much safety here. Oh, we would live at ease in Sion, and have our taste remaining in us, without stirring. We had rather be hung up with the silken halter of flattery, than be put in mind of the hangman's rope; and go to destruction laughing, than be frayed beforehand with the noise of ruin. Ye preachers (saith THE AGE), dip your tongues in oil, supple your doctrines, apply gentle plasters, sew pillows under every arm-hole, cut out complying shreds; or else ye will want countenance and preferment of the times. Be ye cautious, or else ye are neither acceptable nor secure. A resolute prophet doth stand upon a precipice; if he doth discharge his conscience, he will not keep his ground. How often hath truth here been jailed! bondage at the heels of him who doth denounce vengeance! *This* land cannot bear a menacing messenger; though the streets of *Nineveh* could hear Jonah threatening, yet forty days, and *Neneveh* shall be overthrown!—p. 117.

Such, according to one of the most undaunted of its preachers, was Puritanism in the plenitude of its self-righteousness, when it had routed and exiled the Prayer Book and the Church of England, as too anti-Christian for toleration. Such a home-drawn portrait of its lineaments, when the "times," and "the age," worshipped them with a devotion bordering on a Roman Catholic's hyperdulia, before representations of the Virgin. Such was its amended and full-

blown standard of moral and religious virtue. Had the Court and the times of Charles II. followed its example, they could not well have become more degenerate, than they are represented to have become, by such a prejudiced historical picturizer as Lord Thomas Macaulay.

We are decidedly of the opinion, that our readers can now readily judge, for themselves, whether very many "precious sparks of liberty" were kindled, or if kindled were fanned into any steadiness and perpetuity, under the politico-religious party, which contrived a so-called Commonwealth for England, and promised England the completion and coronation of those efforts, which began in the great Reformation of the preceding century. That the promises and pledges of that party were unbounded, we know—that their hopes were most exultant, we know—but the issue tells most ominously against them. Their speedily intermitted efforts remind one of the action of Fear, as described by Collins in his ode on the passions:

Next, Fear his hand its skill to try,  
Amid the cords bewildered laid;  
And back recoiled, he knew not why,  
Scared at the sound himself had made.

Thus they seem to have shrunk away from their own beginnings, and relapsed into defects worse than the presumed ones, which they had undertaken to remedy. And if the forefathers succeeded so poorly, on the Eastern side of the Atlantic, is it to be advanced as a postulate, and decreed as an axiom, that to their posterity we owe all the freedom, independence, dominion, and prosperity, which now greet and surround us? Rather, may not one now ask, without the fear before his eyes of those formidable tribunals, which banished Roger Williams, treated the Baptists to a "corded" cat-o'-nine-tails, and the Quakers to good tough hemp, that they followed up and out the same course, which they had begun on the soil of their nativity? Did they not here, too, commence with lavish professions, but end in selfish aggrandizement? Aim ostensibly at rational liberty, but really at sovereign independence? Accept a royal charter for the express purpose of converting poor Indians' souls; while under the ban of that charter, brought surreptitiously out of England,<sup>1</sup> they converted *soils* rather than *souls*, and left the Indians neglected for many a long year, because, as Mr. Oliver coolly tells us, they fancied them children of the Evil One? Talk oracularly about their own exclusive faith in the sovereignty of God, and illustrate most con-

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver's "Puritan Commonwealth," pp. 21, 100.



summately their faith in the sovereignty of man, provided, always, it be confided to their own hands alone?

But we will not dwell on allegations, which many will deem not at all supportable by historical proof. We will adduce historical evidence, and proceed to show, under several distinct and specific particulars, that the early settlers of New England were anything but advocates of religious and political liberty.

(a) They were just as pragmatical retainers of the odious Church and State policy, which they accounted the special abomination of England, as Archbishop Laud, or his most devoted adherents.

"No man"—and to avoid all misconstruction the quotation is made from one of their own historians—"No man in the plantation was allowed to hold an estate, or vote as a freeman, except he were a member of a Congregational Church, such as the New England settlers had declared to be according to the model of primitive Christianity."<sup>1</sup> This is worse, far worse, than the Church of England ever attempted; since, in England, dissenters from the Establishment are allowed to own the soil as much as anybody, and even vote in elections for Vestrymen and Wardens. In New England, such dissenters were mere tenants at will; and had they presumed to give a ballot for a church-committee, might have been impeached for treason. Whenever the stern voice of Congregational law chose to say so (and stern moods, like those of the land where the Inquisition found its longest and steadiest home were usually its commonest ones) they might be driven out as interlopers—strangers from the Congregational Covenants, and aliens from the Commonwealth of a Congregational Israel.

It is not surprising, then, that another of their historians should say of them, "They had already proceeded a step further than the hierarchy ever attempted."<sup>2</sup> This, he says, also, looking toward another point of intolerance, than the one at which we now aim. "*No test-law*," he writes, in italics of his own inditing, "*had as yet taken place in England*"; but they had, at one blow, cut off all but those of their own communion, from the privilege of civil offices, however otherwise qualified." From such a concession, it is manifest that the early settlers of New England evolved, as the Scientists might say, the monstrosity of a test-law, *before*—and before does not mean *after*—it was broached beyond the seas. And let this be carefully kept in mind, when we are re-advised, as we ever and anon are, about the baleful iniquity of test-laws. And be it further re-

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. 1st series, ix. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Farmer's "Belknap," i. 43.



membered, that when England did finally pass a test-law, it was with the aid and at the instance of the Puritans; in order that they might thereby hamper the Romanists—being willing to be snubbed themselves, so they could only vex and harass the minions of the Pope-dom!

We very well know, that it is quite generally believed, the early settlers of New England were not the abettors of a genuine Church-establishment; since an authority like Mr. Everett has joined in the common and popular cry, that one of the great principles which we learned from them, was the separation of Church and State. But a name as high as his can be overtopped by a higher—a much higher, for all questions of American history and law—that of the late Joseph Story, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. His testimony is a direct counterpart to that of the politician and the statesman, who began his public life as a Congregational minister. He says explicitly, “the fundamental error of our ancestors”—Judge Story was born in Massachusetts, and lived and died there—“an error which began with the very settlement of the colony, was a doctrine which has since been happily exploded—I mean the necessity of a union between Church and State. *To this they clung as the ark of their safety.*”<sup>1</sup> The italics are ours, for we want to show demonstrably how exposed even the most literate minds are to palpable mistakes, when guided by popular impressions, rather than by rigorous historic truth. Why, the sober and simple fact is, that this “union between Church and State” was not “clean dissolved” in Connecticut, till 1818, nor in Massachusetts, till 1834.<sup>2</sup>

It is quite remarkable, that these two dates are the one eight *under*, and the other eight *over*, fifty years, from the date of our national independence. Taking their mean, we may then declare, as a most curious problem in the history of American freedom, that Congregationalism would not renounce its connection with political power, after a century’s Jeremiads, over the doleful consequences of this most wretched of matrimones in a kingdom three thousand miles away.

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<sup>1</sup> Story’s “Miscellanies,” p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> “Clean dissolved” comes from Isa. xxiv. 19. We give the reference for it, lest some of our critics, who have been rubbing their eyes with eye-salve, should suspect it belongs to the department of slang. We hope they will not put eye-salve into the same terrible category; for that comes from the Bible too. The word *squat* was formally indicted, as belonging there. It may be found in Milton’s “Paradise Lost!”

But, how now was it about such matters, in Episcopal Virginia, the old dominion of Cavaliers and Churchmen? Why, so far was she from gliding into Justice Story's "fundamental error" of New England, that she absolutely commenced her colonial existence, with a principle which is now one of our democratical boasts and glories—the principle of "universal suffrage and equality." This fact is irrefutably maintained by one of Virginia's historians, and, in the *first* edition of his elaborate work, was admitted by Mr. Bancroft—sorry, sorry indeed are we to say, that in a later edition, he had not the courage or the courtesy to retain it. But the liberality of Virginia may not thus be obliterated, and generations yet to come will attest the veracity of her own historian, just appealed to, when he fearlessly says, "Whilst all the great nations of Europe were sunk in slavery, and England herself was engaged in an incessant struggle with her monarch, in defence of a few undefined and scanty privileges, Virginia, separated as it were from the whole world, heard the voice of liberty, like sweet music, vibrate in her wilds."<sup>1</sup>

As to a religious establishment, Virginia did indeed, after New England had sent missionaries to convert her,<sup>2</sup> become somewhat exclusive; but every vestige of such an establishment was swept away, by the tide of Revolution. Farther north, such an establishment so resembled the granite hills, where its banners were waving, that it took half a century's democratical sapping and mining, to tumble down its towers. Yet we are informed, full gravely, and not by penny-a-liners, but by statesmen and by scholars, that the union of Church and State flourishes ever and only under an Episcopal firmament. O ye bright skies of our father-land, what a different, what a heaven-wide different possibility, is vouched for by you!

(b) The early settlers of New England not only started with all the rigidities of the Church and State system, but they showed a readiness to overturn a milder one for its formal introduction.

The Colony of Maryland started, as is well known, with the principle of toleration—an act of policy, which the Papists usually claim as exclusively their own; though such does not appear to be the precise fact; and we are familiar with their devotion to despotism, to democracy, or to anarchy, so the interests of their Church can thereby be promoted. Let it, however, be admitted, that when Maryland had a Romanist for a governor—and many (probably a majority) of its inhabitants Romanists also—it made the following

<sup>1</sup> Burk's "Virginia," i. 302-4. <sup>2</sup> Oliver's "Puritan Commonwealth," p. 415.

magnanimous offer to Massachusetts, recorded in Governor Winthrop's own words:

The Lord Baltimore, being owner of much land in Virginia, being himself a Papist, and his brother, Mr. Calvert, the governor there, a Papist also, but the colony consisted both of Protestants and Papists, he wrote a letter to Captain Gibbons of Boston, and sent him a commission, wherein he made tender of land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither *with free liberty of religion*, and all other privileges which the place afforded, paying such annual rent as should be agreed upon.<sup>1</sup>

This was in 1643, when, probably, the soil of Maryland had never been trodden by a solitary resident from New England. But how was it when Maryland became subject to the overshadowing domination of Puritanism, in the days of Mr. Carlyle's heroic Cromwell? "Then," says Mr. Grahame, of Scotland, an historian whose sympathies generally lean well over to the Puritanic side, "the Roman Catholics were deprived of the protection of law, in the community which their own industry and virtue had collected; and by those Protestants to whom their humanity had granted a country and a home." "But," he adds, "the (Roman) Catholics were not the only parties who experienced the severity of the new government. The Protestant Episcopalians were equally excluded from the protection of law; and a number of Quakers, having resorted soon after to the province, and begun to preach against judicial oaths, and military pursuits, were denounced by the Government as heretical vagabonds, and subjected to the punishment of flogging and imprisonment."<sup>2</sup>

Such were "the precious sparks of liberty" infused into the early constitution of Maryland, by New Englanders, who came there *uninvited*; or by those who looked upon New England's primeval founders as the *comperti veritatis*, as Calvin used to call them—that is, the "elect according to the foreknowledge of God," who held a mortgage upon all the "vital piety" of the land.

(c) Liberty to any body but themselves—liberty in the proper sense of the term—was a thing which men, after that "pattern in the mount" of early New England tutoring, may be said to have scouted.

As to their scouting it; they fought against it, when such liberty connected its name with the awful one of religion. Roger Williams was not exiled merely; he was written down by a ponderous quarto—ponderous, at least, for that day. The "bloody

<sup>1</sup> Savage's "Winthrop," 2 ed. ii. 179, 180.

<sup>2</sup> Grahame's "North America," ed. 1827, ii. 30.

tenet of persecution for conscience' sake," as he called it, was stoutly defended by John Cotton, in a volume which The Inquisition would bind in vellum, enclasp with silver, and put in the forefront of a library emancipated from expurgation for evermore. Cotton himself styles it, with a face as brazen as ever peered from under the square cap of a Jesuit, "The bloody tenet, washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb." Yet, why not? One of his contemporaries, a practical exemplifier of his implacable doctrines, is found after death with the following lines in his pocket, as if the quintessence of poetry to his heresy-dooming soul:

Let men of God in courts and churches watch,  
O'er such as do a *toleration* hatch;  
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,  
To poison all with heresy and vice.  
If men be left, and otherwise combine,  
My epitaph 's—I died no *libertine*.

This explosion is a full match to the Haytian chieftain, who, displeased with some of the allowances of Providence, discharged one of his cannon against the skies. But the Simple Cobbler of Agawam (a Puritan parson at Ipswich, Massachusetts), who must have heard in a dream Milton's tremendous artillery of the rebel angels, can easily surpass it. He compares *toleration* to "hell above ground;" and then goes on to portray its anti-celestial warfare, in this peerless rhetoric: "To authorize an untruth by a toleration of state, is to build a sconece against the walls of Heaven, to batter God out of His chair."<sup>1</sup>

So, an early settler of New England could call the advocacy of freedom for conscience, rank libertinism; as if to be classed with the grossest of immoralities. He could baptize tenets which would grind conscience, when insubordinate, under the mill-wheel of persecution, with (if the blasphemous act were possible, by some new phase of transubstantiation) the very blood of his Redeemer. He could denounce the opponent of them, as guilty of treasonous and forceful war against High Heaven. And such a man could be, in the estimation of the *comperti veritatis*, an eminent—a pre-eminent—claimant of saintship. While, if an Episcopalian had

<sup>1</sup> No doubt, this supra-montane rhetoric was the fruit of some of its author's dreams, after reading Milton. The Puritanical clergy were, not unnaturally, fond of Milton's pages. From them, doubtless, they derived some of their loose notions upon the subject of divorce. These notions made impressions upon the legislation of Connecticut, *which stick there yet*. "The Elders" were the popelings of their day.

done half as much, in the way of eulogizing apostolical successions; if Jeremy Taylor, for example, had attempted a suppression of Puritanic prophesyings, he would have been branded forthwith as a compeer of Virgil's *contemptor Divum*, or a victim of the profane mockery of wine bibbing (Prov. xx. 1). Truly, the question of eighteen hundred years ago is a question for the passing hour, Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

But this matter of liberty is of too much consequence to be yet done with. The early settler of New England did not deny liberty of conscience only; but civil liberty into the bargain. A solemn and vehement denial of such liberty is given by Master Cotton, the author of that elaborate apology for persecution just alluded to, and who is a star of the foremost magnitude in the galaxy of Puritan canonization: "It is better that the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is His Church, than to accommodate the Church-frame to the civil State. Democracy, I do not conceive, that ever God did ordain, as a fit government either for Church or Commonwealth. If the people be governors, who are the governed?"<sup>1</sup> This is Popery in its most undiluted form; since Popery, everywhere and always, says Church and State—puts the Church *before* and *over* the State, and continually and inexorably insists, that the Church shall be predominant in everything. This is the sum and substance—the Alpha and Omega—of the Pope's syllabus of 1864. Here Puritanism and Romanism become twin-sisters; nor is this the only point, by many, of curious affiliation between these (so-called) antagonistic systems!

(d) The early settlers of New England, even in their civil regulations, were less favorable to popular liberty than their mother-country.

It would be a most curious fact, if it should turn out, that the *civil* laws of ancient New England (to say nothing at all of the *religious* ones) were more severe than those petitioned against at home, and denounced thousands of times over. Yet, it is not to be denied, that such was actually the case; for it is admitted by two most competent witnesses, of our ante-revolutionary history, who were both lawyers and judges in the Colony of Massachusetts. One of them (Thomas Hutchinson) was a governor of Massachusetts; and, in the technical language of the times, "a member of the Church."<sup>2</sup> This means, of course, that Governor Hutchinson

<sup>1</sup> "Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts," i. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 388.

was *not* an Episcopalian; since among Congregationalists baptism does not confer this membership, as we suppose it to do, even upon children, while an Episcopalian (at least an intelligent one) would never deny that his baptized infant was a member of Christ's flock, as well as himself, and entitled (conditionally)<sup>1</sup> to his share in its grace and promises, its partial regeneration *here* (Titus, iii. 5), and its fuller regeneration *hereafter*, amid the royal glories of Immanuel (Matt. xix. 28).

By the testimony, then, of men of judicial experience, the strange anomaly is brought out, that the laws with which they had been familiar as lawyers, in New England courts of justice, were harsher and more downbearing than the code with which they would have had to deal in the courts of a country not fit for a Puritan to live in. Among these laws was a century (one hundred) of organic or fundamental ones; the last of which strove, with a genuine Popish love for things infallible, to render the government they went to constitute a most formidable and scaring perpetuity. Upon the adventurous reformer, who should propose, or contrive, to alter that government's characteristic features, it inflicted the hopeless and irreversible penalty of a felon's death! And they could do this, while they and their abettors were moving Heaven and earth—not to say the shades below<sup>2</sup>—to shake, upturn, and overturn, the Government of England, from its very lowermost foundations; they, meanwhile, living *by*, and appealing *to*, a charter which the condescension of England had bestowed upon them! And, notwithstanding, *their* code came not even within the penumbra of the code of Draco! Oh, no, by no means; by no manner of means whatever. We are required to believe, as next to a necessity of salvation, that *their* code was an inspiration of that matchless sagacity and angelic amenity, which infused the very first spark of worthy political virtue into that old relic of antedated despotism,—the Constitution of monarchical England!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We say conditionally; for, as we understand it, all promises, predictions, and predestinations also, are conditional under a covenant. And our Religion is a Covenant, from Genesis to Revelation.

<sup>2</sup> After the fashion of Virgil's Juno, *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo* (*Æneid*, vii. 312).

<sup>3</sup> Down to the year 1676, according to Justice Story, "Five-sixths of the colony (Massachusetts) were disfranchised by the influence of the ecclesiastical power" (*Miscellanies*, p. 66). John Checkly was arraigned, condemned, fined, and bound over to keep the peace, as late as 1724, in that "Cradle of Liberty," Faneuil Hall, Boston—for what? For publishing a tract upon



(e) This would be a proper place to introduce something in connection with the subject of slavery; but we are not disposed to enter upon details, though they would start up "like quills upon the fretful porcupine," if we gave them opportunity.

This foul stain upon our national escutcheon has been effectually, if terribly, blotted out by the red right hand of war; and we are willing to glide over it, with a single reminiscence. New England had once a fugitive slave-law; and not so much among its statutes, as its constitutional regulations. It was altogether harsher than the one passed by our Congress, and may be found among the articles of Confederation, agreed upon by the old Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. We will only add, that a Secretary of the Historical Society of New York, with ample vouchers around him, has wittily proved in a history of American Slavery, that slavery in Massachusetts, and slavery in South Carolina, terminated *legally* on the very same day—the day when slavery was abolished by an amendment of our Federal Constitution! Massachusetts was a slave-sanctioning State as long as her calumniated sister!

Such, then, were the religious and political positions in respect to rational liberty, maintained and abetted by people who were the denizens of that territory, respecting which, one of our most widely circulated newspapers has exclaimed, in tones of confidence and defiance, "Where has liberty spread her wings without restraint, but in the land of the Puritans?" Can it indeed be, that they are the fathers and founders—the *Patres Conscripti*—of American liberty, when (as we have seen) an Episcopal colony started with an altogether fairer and more generous platform—the very platform we now glory in, as the widest which democratic republicanism can possibly bestow? Can we in any wise admit that they have the shadow of a claim to such nobility, when (as we have further seen) the unsavory fact of Virginia's political liberty has been overshadowed, and most dishonorably suppressed, by a New England historian, whom home critics and booksellers—for money was lost by his primary candor—constrained into defectiveness of memory? From such a supple annalist, we should never obtain one iota of the information which is now presented, on the authority of a British

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Episcopal Church-government! That tract was specially dreaded, as the fore-runner of a gentleman in lawn-sleeves; *then*, a more formidable personage than one coming with cloven hoofs and a forked tail!

observer, who was an officer of the Crown during our Revolution. He distinctly declares, and of course with any design but a kind one, that Virginia was the first of the American Colonies which began open and formal resistance.<sup>1</sup> And we ourselves full well know, that it was on Virginian soil, and *that* wet with the richest of Virginian blood, that the grand contest was closed, and the goal of our independence won.

Still, in spite of all, the tale goes round and round, as regularly as the calendar, which a puritanic eye can see no good in, that *our* communion was nothing but Toryism in the conglomerate, and that, but for us, American freedom would have been reached at least a century sooner. But for us! Why, who drew up our very Declaration of Independence? Where, in our colonial days, were bolder political sentiments uttered, than in the House of Burgesses, in Virginia? Who was the first chaplain to the Continental Congress? Who headed our armies? And who dared to disparage the calm and deliberate manifesto of Washington, when, on a certain occasion, as he rode along with his suite, in Westchester County, he saw a house of worship shamefully dilapidated, and asked why that building was so abused? "Because, General, that is a Tory church," was the reply to his question. He rose majestically in his stirrups, and pointing at the building, exclaimed, "If that is a Tory church, then I am a Tory also."<sup>2</sup>

Would to God that he, and some such as he, could rise from the dust, to rebuke that narrow-minded and dogged implacability, which still pursues us, and endeavors to haunt us with the stigma of having retarded the birthtime of American independence. They might quote and darken many a name, now not suspected, as rather open to such a cruel indictment. Why, we ourselves were once called to attend to the spiritual necessities of a descendant of one of the most celebrated Congregational ministers, whose name ever echoed in the annals of Massachusetts; and, though a woman, she preached monarchy to us without stint, and called the reigning sovereign of Great Britain *her own* sovereign, with—for so it actually seemed—with even rapturous loyalty. The seed must have been deeply implanted, and faithfully nurtured, which could bear fruit so long, and in such luxurious abundance. Some naughty Church-thoughts—as we are

<sup>1</sup> Andrew's "Late War," i. 43.

<sup>2</sup> We obtained this fact from the lips of a daughter of one of the wardens of the church alluded to. The church had been riddled by musketry, battered with all sorts of missiles, its windows, chancel, and pews torn out, and unmentionable dishonors imposed upon it.

free to confess—sprang up in our mind, which almost destroyed our equanimity, and betrayed us into a sardonic smile. But we escaped in season; and left the good lady to the undisturbed enjoyment of her *royal* predilections.

And yet, such a case is but a fraction, compared with that of a whole religious denomination—another case which we bring forward, with not the remotest desire or intention to censure; but simply to exhibit what might be done, were it necessary to grope amid the archives of the past, to disturb our neighbors, as we are disturbed with a hounding tenacity, which seems bent on rending the skirts of our garments, to “the last syllable of recorded time.”

John Wesley—great and good though he were, and we freely admit that he was both, and have often lamented that the Church of England did not make a bishop of him—did all he could, by his personal influence, his preaching, and his pen, to arrest the progress of the American Revolution. In 1775, he published in London, what he styled “A Calm Address to the American Colonies,” in which he revived some of the arguments urged by Johnson, the lexicographer, in his anti-American pamphlet, styled “Taxation no Tyranny.” This cost him so many and such stinging rejoinders, that, when he attempted to vindicate himself in 1777, in “A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England,” the “Monthly Review” declared, that his calmness extended not beyond his title-page, and that the Americans had great cause to complain of him, as a fomenter rather than a composer of national discord.

Nevertheless, Mr. Wesley not only published this calm address in London, but he took the pains to have many copies of it shipped to New York, for circulation throughout the British colonial possessions. An American, justly alarmed for the safety of a people with whom he was connected, in some way contrived to get the packages, in which the address was contained, under his personal control. He laid no gentle hand upon them; and so managed to destroy or to reship them, that, for a considerable time after his interference, no one had heard among the colonists, that such a production as Mr. Wesley’s had ever seen the light. This incident, according to one of Mr. Wesley’s biographers, was the salvation of Methodism in America.<sup>1</sup>

The Calm Address must have been known of, and read by (notwithstanding this singular circumstance) all the preachers of the Methodist Connection; since it is asserted, as an historical fact, that

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<sup>1</sup> Hampson’s “Life of Wesley,” ii. 145-8.

all of them, with a single exception, abandoned the Colonies during the Revolution, and returned to their native land.<sup>1</sup> The exception is here mentioned with unfeigned patriotic respect, as distinguishing one of the brightest and most memorable names which American Methodism may ever boast of. Our allusion is to Francis Asbury, who clung to the fortunes of his adopted country, and may be called the father of the denomination, of which he died one of its chiefest apostles. We are ready to say to any like him, *Utinam noster esset.*

Now, had we narrated such things as these, to show that the Methodists, as a body, were inimical to the Revolution which achieved our national independence, we should be chargeable with the same libellous propensities, which instigate those who urge with unwearied animosity, that our Church and our views of Christianity, as Episcopalians, are unfavorable to political freedom; that we are monarchists, or imperialists, in our secret hearts; that even if democrats, we are so because we imitate the Papists, who want to ride into political power on the backs of a political party, subject to *their* management, and that all the civil and religious liberty which our country can boast of, owes *us* not a pepper-corn's weight of obligation. We adduce them with no such aim—with no such aim whatever; but, on the contrary, with the blameless purpose of demonstrating how easily the delinquencies of *some* can be passed over, as if touched by floating thistle-down, while those of *others* can be "graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock forever." Who ever hears, at this day, of the anti-American tendencies of the forefathers of Methodism, while those of *our* forefathers (though Tories were found everywhere, and among all sorts and conditions of men and women, even a Benedict Arnold, *out of* our Church, and *not in it*) still live in unrelenting memories, and are visited with Jewish severity, upon children of the third and fourth generation. We cannot be made to understand that it is our bounden duty to submit tamely to such historical perversion, partiality, and attainting misrepresentation. We cannot, therefore, believe it uncharitable, or unwise in our vindication, to evince—and if necessary, by statements at once plain and strong—that the founders and godfathers of American liberties were *not* the early settlers of New England. The early settlers of Virginia might establish their title to such an order of American knighthood, with higher propriety and profounder emphasis. The Dutch, also, may well claim participation in this

<sup>1</sup> Buck's "Theol. Dict." p. 454, col. b.

patrician dignity; for if, *after* the session of the Synod of Dort, the Dutch did handle Arminians somewhat too roughly, yet, *until* Calvinism was at its altitude in Holland, the country was an asylum for religious refugees of every name. And we cordially believe it will be impossible to prove that in this country the Dutch ever visited any people whatever, with the terrors of wilful persecution. We know not that they ever went so far as to circumvent and exasperate the children of the forest, sympathy for whom has drawn forth many a testimony of compassion, from them who might have seen a Churchman held uncomfortable, and his house of worship blown to fragments over his head, without being thrown "a Sabbath day's journey" from the centre of their steady equanimity. Why, even a New England poet, who, as he looked up to Heaven, when commemorating his forefathers, could appeal to God's most awful sanctity, and ask for inspiration to chant their praises, has a change come over him as he looked down upon the fair territory which bloomed around him, and remembered the art, or the severity by which the poor Indian was driven from it forever. The wormwood and the gall which mingled in that hapless victim's fate, wrung from him relenting pity; and he poured out a strain of pathos, from which we quote the following exquisite lines:

Nor lofty pile, nor glowing page,  
Shall link him to a future age,  
Or give him with the past a rank;  
His heraldry is but a broken bow,  
His history but a tale of wrong and woe,  
His very name must be a blank.<sup>1</sup>

Now, we can heartily honor the Dutch, as the consistent and not selfglorifying patrons and exemplifiers of amenity and toleration, in all their American history. We know, indeed, that Puritanism has not spared them, occasionally; since what has it spared, save its own well-satisfied and well-persuaded self? But we can honor them, and all the truly tolerant, wherever, or whoever, they may be; and would never have written a line, or pronounced a syllable, to show that any of our countrymen have not been such, unless to vindicate our communion from aspersions, which have been hurled at it with the vigor and the persistence of those storms of snow, and sleet, and hail, which so often come pitching and shrieking into Massachusetts Bay. And if self-defence be a primary principle of nature, we have, in so doing, followed instincts always

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<sup>1</sup> See Sprague's "Centennial Ode," stanzas 1 and 20.



reverenced by the law, and acted on in every human breast; and we can hardly be in error, if universal law, and universal practice, are criteria of rectitude.

But we will not enlarge. Time warns us to forbear, and we close, with the expression of a devout and earnest hope, that Episcopalians will never disappoint the fond expectations of the departed sires of our Republic; that we shall be able to hold fast by, and to transmit unimpaired, our present constitutional inheritance. Yet, it is possible that we may live—*O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem!*—when America may find her freedom too unshackled, and dread its degeneration into anarchy. "There is," said Governor Winthrop, that noble specimen of a Puritan in a false position, who refused, when on his death-bed, to sign a writ of persecution, exclaiming that he had done too much of that work already. "There is," said this genuine statesman, in the true meekness of wisdom, "a liberty to evil as well as good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentiâ deteriores.*"<sup>1</sup>

We fear that it is as literally, as it is sadly, true, that our political and social cross-bands are not what they were in the days of those who devised them with their sagacity, and cemented them with their blood. We may, therefore, as already hinted, degenerate from liberty to anarchy. We may go on from tranquility to tumult, from unanimity to alienation, till the poor and the rich are thoroughly embittered; till capital and labor quarrel hopelessly, and the very foundations of society are shaken by elemental strife. Then a spark may kindle the material we stand on; like the solitary firebolt which set aflame the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah; and we may go down, with those lost cities, into the gulf of perdition and oblivion.

And should such a day of catastrophes—*summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus*—in God's mysterious and wearied Providence, at length arrive, we are confident, we are very sure, that the Church and communion to which *we* belong will be as little responsible for the dread issue as any other; aye, as *any* other, though in name, and in pretence, it have matchless aspirations. Our Church and communion are, at this moment, doing as much as, if not more than, any other in the land, to undo the mischiefs of our late

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<sup>1</sup> Savage's "Winthrop," 2 ed. ii. 280-81.



devastating war, and to keep these half-sundered States in kindly and abiding harmony. He is no friend to the Union, or to its permanence, who would represent them as unfriendly to true national independence, and the utmost of genuine national liberty. Oh, come traitors when, and from whence they will, our persuasion is invincible, that *we* have no hotbeds in which to breed them; no shelter for them, but the profoundest obscurity, or the closest prison. And from our inmost soul do we believe, that if our national existence shall ever again draw nigh the brink of peril, there will not be found, from the North to the South, from the East to the West, sincerer mourners than Episcopalians at the funeral of our glorious Constitution. They will be among the last, the very last, to say over its martyred relics—ashes to ashes, dust to dust!



## THE NEXT LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

IT is abundantly evident, from the action of the Convocation of Canterbury, that we are to have—probably in the year 1875—another meeting of the Lambeth Conference, which may indeed be considered in some sense as a continuation of the first meeting in 1867. The discussion on the subject in the Upper House of Convocation, on the 29th of April last past, was opened by the Bishop of Lichfield, one of the leading spirits in 1867, and one who, to a larger extent than any other, has left the impress of his organizing mind, his wide experience, his cool, clear wisdom, and his honest common sense, upon the *Reports* of the Committees presented in 1867 at the December meeting, and not yet acted on. And very noteworthy things were said by other Bishops also, in that same discussion.

There are many important points connected with this great question which should be considered carefully and deeply in advance, by those who have the power to think; and there are some views of the points involved which may more naturally be expected to find full and free utterance in this country than in England.

The first point presented by the Bishop of Lichfield, for the consideration of the committee which he asked for, may be called that of

## THE ANGLICAN PATRIARCHATE.

This is one of the points which the late Bishop Hopkins,<sup>1</sup> of Vermont, who attended the first Conference of Lambeth, as the Presiding Bishop of our American Church, was prepared to recommend in 1867. It will meet with not one word of opposition on this side of the water. And in this case, as anciently, the indisputable existence of the *thing*, is the reason for at length giving to it a peculiar *name*. Technically, the occupant of the See of Canterbury is one Archbishop, and the occupant of the See of York is another, and Armagh and Dublin add two others of the same title. But in the actual extent of relations with other parts of the Anglican Communion, the Archbishop of Canterbury is clearly distinguished from them all. It is not only that he has precedence over York, as Armagh has over Dublin: but the actual administration of affairs, resulting from the slow and steady influence of actual changes in the position of the Church, establishes in the Archbishop of Canterbury, a peculiarity of relation which exists in no degree whatever with any other Anglican Prelate. As the Colonial Sees were established, one by one, each was made expressly subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and this is true, not only as to simple Bishops, but Metropolitans also, as in the case of the Metropolitans of Calcutta and Capetown. The Archbishop of Canterbury has thus, for a long time, been growing into an actually Patriarchal position; and it is, therefore, by no means premature or improper to recognize *present facts*, by a formal use of the appropriate ecclesiastical name thereto belonging.

All the details of Patriarchal jurisdiction and official action, being of merely human appointment (and no two of the ancient Patriarchs were in these respects exactly alike), there will also be peculiarities attending the exercise of the office by the Archbishop of Canterbury; for the circumstances of the present case can find no fair parallel in ancient times. That any one Prelate should unite under his jurisdiction Bishops of entirely independent nationalities, and of whom some are in Europe, some in Asia, some in Africa, some in North and South America, and some in the utmost isles of the Indian Ocean, would have appeared to the ancients, not like having

<sup>1</sup> See the "Life of Bishop Hopkins, by One of his Sons," pp. 405-6. In Chapters xxii. and xxiii. of that work, will be found a much fuller account of the Lambeth Conference of 1867, than has ever yet appeared elsewhere in print.

one Patriarch too many, but several Patriarchs too few. The closeness of the relation between the Patriarch and the different parts of the Anglican Communion will, moreover, have a greater variety of shades than in the case of any other Patriarchal throne. It will extend to the greatest number of details in regard to the Provinces of York and the Colonies. It will be less close in regard to the Irish and Scottish Churches, now entirely independent, and distinguished by much of a peculiarly national feeling, although they are under the one crown of Great Britain. The connection will be weakest of all with our American Church, which, we give fair notice, will, before many years, be entitled to a Patriarch of her own. Meanwhile, there will be no relation on our part closer than already exists, in the prompt willingness of American Bishops to sit in a Council or Conference called by the Patriarch of Canterbury. And *perhaps* there may follow, in course of time, a willingness to allow of the establishment of a Patriarchal Court of Appeal, on questions of doctrine, something like the voluntary tribunal suggested in one of the *Reports* of Committees of the unfinished Conference of 1867: but this is more doubtful, and its discussion at present would be entirely premature.

THE POWER TO CONVENE A COUNCIL,

or "Conference," is the first power of the Patriarch which calls for special consideration. In regard to the consecrating of Metropolitans, and other prerogatives, the true rule of the Council of Nicaea must be maintained: *Let the ancient customs prevail*. We have no more idea of an American Presiding Bishop going over to Canterbury to be consecrated, than we have of flying with R. H. Proctor to the moon. Indeed, so long as our present rule of seniority settles who shall be Presiding Bishop, the question cannot arise. But the power of convening a Conference or Council requires close attention.

For the meeting of 1867, Archbishop Longley simply sent out an *invitation*. It was not a "summons," for he had no recognized authority to "summon." He used an unofficial word,—one which belongs to the courtesies of social life, and not to the fixed limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. True, his position gave such a force to his invitation as no similar invitation from any other Anglican prelate would, or could, have had. But, technically, it was merely an invitation, with nothing to give it effect but the willingness of those invited to accept the invitation, and come.

And just here we wish—if it be possible—to *brand* into the

minds of our readers (metaphorically speaking, of course), the importance of *precedent* in everything ecclesiastical. The tendency is almost irresistible, that a precedent—against which no great outcry is raised—should, on a second or third occurrence, be looked upon as already having the force of *law*. Indeed, nearly *all* the laws of the Church have that origin, and no other. “Let the *ancient customs prevail*” is the spontaneous sentence of every Council: and custom stiffens into law, sometimes, with marvellous rapidity. No better point could be found to illustrate this general principle than the calling of a Lambeth Conference. In 1867 it was only an “invitation.” In the December reports of that year, the word “invite” had already hardened into “*convene*,” which has, by no means, a tone of social courtesy only, but begins to look like “business.” The Bishop of Lichfield, in his opening speech, in April last, carefully confines himself to the use of this same word *convene*, and its congeners; and so do most of the other Bishops. But the Archbishop, in his closing speech, alluded to things which had happened since his “revered predecessor *summoned* the last Lambeth Conference.” This is the full crystallization into a form of speech authoritative enough for the Pope to use in a Bull “*summoning*” what he would call a General Council.

Let us look at other straws pointing us which way the wind of “precedent” blows. The Bishop of Gloucester (who seems disposed to take up the rôle of the Bishop of St. David’s in 1867), in his speech in April, appeals to the “precedent” of 1867, again and again, as if it ought, *of course*, to regulate what is to be done on the next occasion. The proposal before them was to refer the matter to a joint-committee of both Houses; and, says Bishop Ellicott, “It will be *the duty* of the committee to *examine these precedents*, and *be guided by them*; and no doubt a committee of both Houses would perform the duty thoroughly well.” Thus *one* precedent is already regarded as *law*.

Now, to a certain extent, this process is inevitable; and, within reasonable limits, we must all submit to it. We have no objection that the Patriarch should have the power to “convene,” or even to “summon,” a meeting of the Lambeth Conference. Such safeguards as may be wisely agreed upon, in regard to the exercise of the power, will, doubtless, be provided; and if the “precedents” already set, by the “requests” from Provincial Synods and Colonial Bishops, and from our American Bishops besides, should also be considered as required by “law,” it would be entirely safe to allow the Patriarch to “summon,” instead of only sending out an “invitation.”

## FIXING THE LENGTH OF THE SESSION IN ADVANCE

is a point logically connected with the idea that is to prevail touching the mode of bringing the Bishops together. One who "invites" another to pay him a visit, has, *of course*, the right to specify the length of time to which the invitation extends. And he is also bound to provide handsomely for the accommodation and entertainment of his guests, while they are under his roof-tree. But when the inviting host begins to talk of "convening" or "summoning" his invited guests, formal and technical business walks in at the door, and the prerogatives of simple social courtesy fly out at the window. The Archbishop (or Patriarch) cannot be expected to entertain *personally*, during their stay, *all* the Bishops who may come. He cannot expect to trade upon the hospitalities of other people, and, in return therefor, claim a tremendous official prerogative for himself. And, even if there were the ghost of such an idea—which the overflowing readiness and generous flow of English hospitality renders ridiculous—yet, the expense of maintenance during the session of the Conference is, to the distant Bishops, such a mere trifle in comparison with the cost of getting there and returning home after the adjournment, that it is not worth consideration, in any point of view. Certainly, it will never do to say, that, in consideration of the hospitality shown to Bishops by their entertainment during the session, there belongs to the Patriarch the absolute right of limiting, in advance,—in the very summons,—the length of the session which is to be held.

On this point it is impossible to use language that is too strong. In gathering Bishops together, from a wider extent of the earth's surface (and only upon an "invitation," the acceptance of which was more entirely at the expense of the individual Bishop), than was the case with any of the ancient General Councils, one would suppose that the meeting, when assembled, would be *more entirely free* than any other similar assembly ever had been. And yet, no Emperor of Rome—absolute despot as he was,—and no Pope of Rome—absolute despot also as he claims to be both in spirituals and temporals,—*ever dared to exert such a stretch of power as to fix the length of the session of a Council in advance*. And to fix it at *four days*! When some of the Bishops needed some two *months* to come, and as long to return home, and performed the whole journey at their own charges, one is disposed to ask whether it were insanity, or insolence, that limited the session to only *four days*! Imagine such a thing, as that the Pope of Rome, in his Bull



summoning the Council of the Vatican, had limited the session, in advance, to *four days*: and how the whole world would have rung with it! What solemn utterances from Canterbury itself should we have had, denouncing that as the *acme* of papal usurpation and tyranny! What a farce it is to talk of "freedom of discussion" under a limitation of *four days*! Suppose Parliament were called together for only "four days," once in eight years, what would it be worth, either for intelligent legislation, or as a bulwark of liberty?

Thank Providence, this was not looked upon in any such light at the time, and of course we all know that *it was not meant so*. That is the reason, and a sufficient reason, *why it was not taken so*. It was simply an expression of the awful timidity, natural to an Anglican prelate, at finding himself about to perform an important act, for which there was not a shadow of authority in any enactment of the "Established Church of England." If omission is prohibition, there never was a more palpable breaker of the law, a more distinguished patron of *anomia*, than the Archbishop of Canterbury "summoning" a Lambeth Conference (as the present Archbishop says his revered predecessor *did*). His timidity was understood, and the causes of it, and it was courteously and quietly condoned, even if it could not be respected. But to repeat such a limitation in advance *now*, would be an entirely different matter. We have had seven years to think about it. For seven years the watchfulness has been kept up, and during all this time no terrible *Premunire* has descended upon the Archbishop of Canterbury for his unprecedented boldness in calling a Lambeth Conference to sit for four days. No thunderbolt has fallen from the clear blue sky. It is certain that the Lambeth Conference may meet and talk as long as they please, and none will molest them or make them afraid. The only rough treatment from anybody, in 1867, was Dean Stanley's churlish refusal of the use of Westminster Abbey for the closing services of seventy-eight Bishops; and that hurt nobody but the Dean, and is not likely to happen again. To repeat the limitation of the session, then, in issuing the new summons, would be an inexcusable stretch of prerogative, which alone ought to be sufficient to defeat the meeting.

But there is another point worthy of notice in this connection. *Precedent* may be appealed to as showing that the first invitation contained the limit of "four days," and that it was quietly accepted by the Seventy-eight without remonstrance: and that, therefore, this tremendous power of limiting the session in advance, has been

*settled by precedent.* "One swallow does not make a summer:" and we contend that it takes more than one precedent to settle a law which would enable the Patriarch of Canterbury to wield a power more cruelly and fatally despotic than was ever claimed by Emperor or Pope. But if they *will* appeal to "precedent," to precedent shall they go. And *the utter break down of the precedent, on the first attempt to make it work*, is much more emphatic and conclusive than the insertion of those unfortunate and unwise words in the "invitation."

Only look at the totality of that failure. When the Seventy-eight came together, they found that the Archbishop had prepared a printed program of the business to be transacted each day,—all labelled and ticketed, and almost as neatly prepared as the timetable of a through train on a railway: but very little like the mode in which free assemblies of free, conscientious, and thoughtful men transact business in a deliberative body. The consequence was just what a sensible man would have anticipated. The Archbishop's pretty program was snagged in discussing the introductory resolution, which consumed the whole of the first day's session, and was adjourned over to the second day. The accumulation of *two days'* business made no more rapid progress on the second day than on the first; and so with the third and the fourth. The program was *utterly swamped* in the inconceivable imbecility of the original supposition that such an amount of such business could be transacted by such a body of men in "four days!" The only thing that could be done was, to cover the wretched failure as decently as possible. The *Encyclical Letter*, therefore,—that admirable missive to all Christendom,—was agreed upon and sent forth, strengthening and cheering the hearts of us all. *It was an afterthought*, however, *not appearing on the Archbishop's program at all.* The wreck of *his* plan of business for "four days" was too hopeless to be worth even an effort within the time specified: and, therefore, all the important parts of it were referred to committees, to "consider and report."

But to report when? and to whom? Not within the "four days." That was too transparently and absurdly impossible. But they were to report to "any *adjourned meeting* of this Conference." The attempted limitation to "four days" was thus annihilated by irresistible circumstances. And when the adjourned meeting came together in December, their numbers were too small to permit any attempt to settle the important matters reported on. All they ventured to do was to print the reports, and send them all over the world to the Bishops. And there they remain, unacted on to this

day. The full *precedent*, therefore, is that the attempt to transact such business in "four days" has resulted in *nothing* being done for *seven or eight years*.

If, in spite of this melancholy proof of the folly of any attempt to fix in advance the length of the session, the Archbishop of Canterbury should perpetrate that silly blunder a second time, we earnestly trust that every American Bishop, without exception, will decline to attend. If such folly as that can *twice* proceed from Lambeth, we think it can be successfully cured *once* for all, from America. To submit to it permanently, is simply impossible.

#### THE PROGRAM OF BUSINESS,

if the precedent of 1867 is followed, will be prepared and printed by the Archbishop, after requesting, in his letter of invitation or "summons," suggestions from every one whom he invites. This will be a matter of some convenience,—perhaps. The precedent of 1867 shows, first of all, by the decision reached at the preliminary meeting a week before the Conference opened at Lambeth, that the program is open to amendment by addition, alteration, or omission. And the practical result of the session showed that it could be "knocked into pi," as a printer would call it, while the maker of it could only look on, and see that it was impossible to help himself. It follows, that if the program does not accomplish much good, it can do no harm, and is worth not a word of further consideration.

But there is a point closely connected with this, which is worth every consideration that the thoughtful mind can give. It will be remembered, that while the printed program of Archbishop Longley was hopelessly wrecked, as an order of business for those "four days," a *private* and "*honorable understanding*" betwixt his Grace and the Bishop of St. David's (with some others) *was insisted on*, and was carried into effect by the Archbishop, and submitted to by the majority of the Bishops assembled; though their separate action, on the matter thus excluded, proved how little they sanctioned either the manner or the matter of the Archbishop's course. In what we shall say on this subject, we are not uselessly or wantonly reviving a defunct scandal. The Bishop of Gloucester, in April, took up the fallen mantle of the Bishop of St. David's, and his allusions to the Colenso case were the more important, because it is well known that in 1867 the present Archbishop of Canterbury (then Bishop of London) sympathized fully with the Bishop of St. David's. In what he said on this subject in April last, Bishop Ellicott has adroitly mixed it up with an entirely different subject, of which we shall treat more

fully by-and-by—namely, what is to be the degree of *binding authority*, ascribed to, or claimed for, the decisions of the Conference of Lambeth. Of that we shall speak presently. But now our attention is directed to the power claimed by the Archbishop of absolute control over the subject-matter of discussion, or the final form of action, in the Conference. And Bishop Ellicott quoted these words uttered by Archbishop Longley in answer to a question from Bishop Tait: “I at once declared that *I would not allow any such decision to be come to.*” What more could Pope Pius IX. claim or *enforce* upon the Council of the Vatican? If the throttle-valve of the whole Conference is to rest between the finger and thumb of the Patriarch, we had better know it in advance, and distant Bishops can all save themselves the time and cost of travel to Lambeth. That sort of talk *will not do*, when addressed to freemen. The very idea of it will not be tolerated for a moment.

But, as some of our readers may not fully understand what it is we are referring to, we will quote an account of the most remarkable episode of the September session in 1867. After mentioning the neutral-tinted Resolution on the Colenso scandal, moved by Bishop Selwyn, and the outspoken substitute offered and strongly sustained by the late Bishop of Vermont, this account continues:<sup>1</sup>

All the opposition, however, came from the English Bishops. The Bishop of St. David's—their chief spokesman on this occasion—rose and objected to the discussion of the subject in any way whatever. He protested against entering into the question, on the ground that to do so would be a breach of faith towards himself and perhaps others; and he threw himself upon the President's “honor and good faith.” The President was in so delicate and disagreeable a predicament, that he did not at once speak out. A long discussion ensued, as to whether the whole case should be gone into or not, during which several Bishops, especially those of New Zealand and Grahamstown, declared that they were not bound by the Archbishop's program, of which they knew nothing until they reached England; whereas they had come from the ends of the earth expressly for the discussion of this question. The Bishop of New Zealand (Selwyn, now of Lichfield) added that it would be most unfair if Bishops, who had been accused of uncanonical proceedings, and claimed inquiry, were not heard; and dwelt strongly upon the Bishop of St. David's assertions upon the subject in his late *Charge*. During that discussion, the Bishop of St. David's appealed *four times* to the President, and called upon him to close the debate, as its continuance would be a breach of a solemn engagement. At length the Archbishop, thus compelled to speak, ruled that neither the Bishop of Vermont's substitute nor the Bishop of St. Andrew's amendment (which had been moved during the debate, and with which the

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<sup>1</sup> Life of Bishop Hopkins, p. 416.

Bishop of Capetown had expressed himself satisfied) could be submitted to the Conference; but that it was no breach of the previous understanding to discuss, amend, or adopt, the Bishop of New Zealand's motion. The Bishop of Vermont, on this decision, rose and withdrew his substitute, making a closing speech, however, in which he alluded to the pressing and imperative importance of the question; spoke of his own advanced years, and of the short time within which he must stand before the Judge,—the great Head of the Church,—to render his account; and said that his sense of responsibility to the Master would not have permitted him, for any earthly consideration, to say one word less than he had said that day. But the responsibility, he added, was now in other hands, and there he left it.

The Bishop of Capetown then rose and stated that he had had no intimation, when invited to attend the Conference, that there would be any restriction put upon it as to the subjects to be discussed thereat; that had he been informed that this case would not be gone into, he would not have come; that he had hoped to enjoy the opportunity of vindicating himself from the aspersions which had been cast upon him and upon his proceedings; and that there should have been some expression on the part of the members of the Conference, either that they did, or that they did not, accept the validity of the spiritual sentence upon Colenso. He then read a resolution which he had himself intended to submit to the Conference, and sat down, saying that he submitted to the ruling of the President.

Now we have no disposition to be severe upon the memory of good Archbishop Longley, and are willing to make all possible allowances for the difficulties of his position. And he was certainly in a most disagreeable dilemma at the time "the honorable pledge" was given. He had received the requests of the Canadian Synod, of his own Convocation, and of an informal meeting of Archbishops and Bishops, and had committed himself, and sent out the "invitations." But when answers enough had been received to show that there would be a large attendance from abroad, he found that not only the Archbishop of York, with almost all his comprovincials, meant to show their littleness by stopping away, but that some of the leading prelates of his own Province meant to do the same, from the fear that the Colenso scandal would be treated in such a way as to affect the existing relations of Church and State at home. It was a hard case: and in the stress of the pressure, the Archbishop secured the attendance of those crotchety Bishops, by giving them—as clearly appears from the above history—a *secret pledge* of "*his honor and good faith*," that the Colenso business should be excluded. When this pledge was appealed to in the Conference, the Archbishop—though reluctantly, yet uncomplainingly—*acknowledged himself bound by it*; and the *power of exclusion was exercised by him*, and was *submitted to*, apparently, by the Conference.

There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that any such



arbitrary power of exclusion will ever be quietly submitted to again. It will be useless to attempt to elevate that "private understanding" into the recognition of an inherent power of exclusion, residing in the breast of the Patriarch for the time being. That would be *Papal*, rather than Patriarchal. The pressure of the heavy hand was indeed grievously felt, and loudly complained of, in 1867. A large proportion of the Bishops who attended that meeting from a distance, did so only because they *took it for granted* that, as the Colenso scandal was the "burning" question of the hour, it would be the first and the chief thing to be dealt with. And they felt, bitterly enough, that to bring them to Lambeth on an open invitation, and then, while they were actually on their journey, to bargain away their freedom of action in a private compact between the Archbishop and a few of the home Bishops, was a process that could hardly be described, with correctness, as "an honorable understanding." Was there no "honor" impliedly pledged to the Bishops *from abroad*, that no secret compact should confine their action within narrower limits than those expressed in their letter of invitation? We do not hesitate to say that, in every such case, the presence of the foreign Bishops is in reality *obtained on false pretences*. And we give fair notice to all concerned, that there will be small attendance of American Bishops at any such meeting in future, unless it be clearly understood that no private bargains with home Bishops shall be allowed to interfere in the slightest degree with the action of the whole, when assembled, on any subject which it pleases the majority thus assembled to consider and act on.

The peculiar circumstances of the first meeting, and the excessively awkward dilemma in which Archbishop Longley found himself at the time, influenced the Bishops, from personal tenderness toward him, to yield to his private compact an apparent, though most reluctant assent. But no conceivable circumstances could excuse the repetition of an error so fatal to the idea of any future meetings of a like character. If any discrimination be made at all, it should be in the other direction. The home Bishops, as the hosts of their foreign brethren, as being near the centre of operations, and thus able to bring the greater influence to bear; as having a hand in preparing the program of action; as being far wealthier, and able to attend the meetings at little expense of time, trouble, or money: have already the advantage of their distant brethren in all these respects, to say nothing of their habitual meeting in one body, and the ease of their effecting combined action among themselves, if they see fit. If any special discrimination should be made, there-



fore, it should be made in favor of the Bishops from abroad: for they are put to the heaviest charge in time and trouble, in order to attend at all; their incomes are the smallest, and their dioceses are the poorest, and the least able to bear pecuniary burdens; they can have no hand in preparing the program; and, from their scattered position all over the world, and personal ignorance of one another, they will commonly find it impossible to form any concert of action among themselves, for altering or amending the program. If, besides all this—which they are willing to bear without complaint—they are not guaranteed against such private bargains as were made in the Colenso case, they simply and absolutely *will not come*. There is no power on earth that can make them come, except fraternal love and confidence; and such private bargains destroy all confidence, down to the very root. But *with* full confidence—with “honor” as keenly felt and as fully kept with the distant Bishops as with those at home—no invitation to a Conference at Lambeth will ever be issued in vain.

But if any appeal is made to the precedent of 1867, as showing that the Archbishop exercised, and the Conference submitted to, an absolute power on his part to exclude any topic he pleased from the deliberation and action of the body, the reply must be to appeal once more to the *total failure* of the Archbishop to accomplish his purpose. For though, *technically*, the Bishop of Vermont’s substitute was not acted on, and the Bishop of Capetown yielded to the decision of the President, yet the failure to accomplish the exclusion of the Colenso business, was only thereby rendered the more illustrious. The failure was *twofold*. In September, the *Declaration* on the subject was drawn up, and signed by fifty-six of the seventy-eight Bishops present, in the very Conference chamber, and during the session of the Conference, though, technically, it is not found recorded by the stenographer, in his private manuscript, as part of the “acts” of the Conference. That was *failure the first*. The very things embraced in the Bishop of Vermont’s substitute were thus—*more* formally and forcibly than if by a vote of the body—adopted by a large majority of the Bishops assembled at the Conference. But besides this, the neutral-tinted resolution moved by Bishop Selwyn, which was passed in September, produced a *Report* in December, which covered the same ground precisely, and expressly mentioned that, “finally, the spiritual validity of the sentence of deposition was accepted by *fifty-six* Bishops, on the occasion of the Lambeth Conference.” This was *failure the second*. That two such distinguished failures should have attended the first

attempt to exercise this arbitrary, absolute power of exclusion on the part of the Patriarch, is a *twofold precedent against* any future attempt in the same direction. In the form given to the failures, a courteous tenderness was shown toward the amiable and well-meaning Archbishop. In the *substance*, freedom and truth were triumphantly maintained.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE

of the different National and Colonial Churches now composing the extended Anglican Communion, is not in the slightest danger, and does not need the expenditure of all the solicitude in its behalf which is kindly shown by several of the English Bishops in the discussion last April, and especially by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. But this solicitude is shown in a very cumbrous and unpractical way.

There may be various theories concerning the amount or degree of authority with which the action of the Lambeth Conference may be clothed.

One would be, that the acts of the Conference must be accepted, as of course, by every part of the Anglican Communion, by reason of their own inherent force and virtue: on the ground that the whole is greater than any of its parts, and the act of the whole ought, therefore, to be accepted as binding by every part. This may be very good logic, but it is very poor politics. It would destroy totally the independence of National Churches at one blow. It needs not another breath. No one desires this kind of authority for a Lambeth Conference. Nobody will accept it.

How, then, about the other extreme,—that it is to be looked on as having no authority whatsoever?—that it is only (as the Archbishop of Canterbury calls it) “a number of persons of position, of mature age, and most of them of learning and piety, gathering together as Bishops of the Church, and expressing their opinion upon various matters in friendly conference.” If that be all, it may be a very agreeable relaxation for the home Bishops in England, for their “four days,” or thereabouts: but for American and Colonial Bishops, coming together from the ends of the earth, it is not worth the time or the money it will cost, and they will let it alone.

These two extremes being both dismissed, then, as unworthy of further thought, there remains only this:—That the acts of the Lambeth Conference shall have such measure of authority as shall be voluntarily conceded to them by the separate National or Colonial

Churches embraced in the Anglican Communion. *And to this all will agree.*

But here comes in another very important practical question. How shall this concession be made? The Archbishop of Canterbury is very tender in his careful wish to preserve the constitutional rights of the National and Provincial Churches unimpaired; but he seems to think that the only way to do it will be for the National or Provincial Synods to act *in advance*, and concede to their Bishops (or others) full power to bind them. He says: "While a friendly Council and gathering of all the Bishops of the Anglican Communion may be productive of the greatest good, they must be very careful not to claim any power or authority beyond that which is *willingly conceded to them* by the *several voluntary bodies* whom *they may represent*." The Archbishop shows, by some of his allusions, how unlikely the Canadian Church is to confide such powers to its Bishops alone, acting apart from the clergy and laity. And it may be said in general terms, that there is no part of the Anglican Communion at all more likely, either to confide or to depute absolute legislative power to its Bishops alone, than is the Mother Church in England herself. That idea, therefore, is totally out of the question. There will be no such act of antecedent authorization on the part of the separate Churches, as will confer the full force of law upon the decisions of the Lambeth Conference from the moment of their adoption. The two Convocations of Canterbury and York would not dream of such a thing. And there is no part of the Anglican Communion which does not entertain as much respect for its own Synods as English Churchmen have for their Convocations: and commonly, indeed, *much more*.

There remains, then, but one course to pursue, and that is the course which was universally pursued in the Primitive Church in regard to General Councils. Their authority depended entirely upon their formal *reception throughout the Church, after their action was completed, and was publicly and thoroughly known*. So with the action of a Lambeth Conference. After its sessions are completed, and the authentic statement of its *acts* is published to all the world, and time has been given for the full understanding of everything, *then* the separate and independent portions of the Anglican Communion will decide, through their own constitutional organs or Synods, on the question of the *reception* of those acts. If received by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, they will thenceforth be of authority in the Church of England. If received by the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, they will be of

authority in Ireland. If received by the Synod of the Church of Scotland, they will be of authority in Scotland. If they are received by both Houses of our General Convention, they will be of authority in the Church of America. But all this will not give them a particle of authority in the Colonies, unless the Provincial Synod of each organized Province shall also receive them; and that reception alone will give them authority in each Province respectively. In this mode there can be no surprises; no such thing as outmanœuvring one part of the Church by combinations among the others; no oppression of a minority by majorities geographically distinct; no interference with the separate autonomy which, by the Constitution of the Holy Catholic Church from the beginning, belongs to each Province or National Church.

To crown all, this mode is only carrying out the express recommendation of one of the most valuable of the *Reports* presented at the December meeting in 1867, the admirable Bishop Selwyn being the chairman of the committee that prepared it; and that *Report*, speaking of the authority to be attributed to the decisions of a Conference of Lambeth, says: "Its decisions could only possess the authority which might be derived from the moral weight of such united counsels and judgments, and *from the voluntary acceptance of its conclusions by any of the Churches there represented.*" Nothing could be clearer or stronger than this.

It is not generally known that it was *intended* that our General Convention, in the first session after the Lambeth Conference of 1867, should set the example of this ancient mode of procedure, by a formal act of *reception*. In 1868 it was understood that the House of Bishops would originate the form of reception, and send it down to the Lower House for concurrence. Frequent inquiries were made about it from Bishops, and the answer always was, that it was in proper hands, and would come down in due time. But by some unlucky series of mishaps, it was delayed, and referred back again and again for changes of form, so that when it was at last adopted by that House, in the hurry and crowding of the closing moments of the session, it was *never sent down to the Lower House at all*. And as it is prefaced by the usual formula, "*Resolved, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring,*" That this Church, now represented in General Convention, does adopt the following resolutions," the action of the House of Bishops alone goes for nothing, and does not even bind that House. But as showing the intention, it may be well to state that the first of those resolutions included *bodily* the noble "*Introduction*" to the acts

of the Conference of 1867. Another formally and technically declared that "this Church *receives* the 'Encyclical Letter.'" Another acknowledges with thankfulness the act of the Archbishop of Canterbury in "convening" the Conference. And yet another declares that "this Church accepts the full spiritual validity of the deposition and excommunication of Dr. Colenso, pronounced by the Metropolitan and Bishops of the South African Church" (a very pretty commentary upon the total failure of the amiable Archbishop's attempt to exclude that subject by his "private understanding"). It was a deep disappointment to us at the time that this technical "*reception*" came to nothing, in a way so little creditable to our mode of doing business at our General Conventions. But on subsequent reflection, we are reconciled to it, on the ground that the Conference of 1867 was itself but an *unfinished beginning*. The timidity that made such tremendous mistakes as the determination to limit a meeting of seventy-eight Bishops, in advance, to a ridiculous sitting of only "*four days*;" and the private pledge to exert an arbitrary power of excluding the very question which of all others most loudly called for action: this timidity was justly punished by the wreck of the whole contemplated order of business, and the heritage of *Reports* of committees, never acted on, or even discussed again, from that day to this. The work of an unfinished Conference is, perhaps, fitly capped with an unfinished "*reception*." Another session, we trust, will be more happy, both in the avoiding of fatal blunders, and in the bringing of important action to a full conclusion. But our inchoate attempt at "*reception*" shows clearly that the right idea exists among us, and that the right thing will be done hereafter, when the right time comes.

#### THE CLERGY AND THE LAITY,

as the Archbishop of Canterbury showed very clearly last April, are by no means to be forgotten in any assembly which is to represent the Anglican Communion. Speaking especially of the Colonial Churches, he says that a great change has been steadily taking place in them since 1867:

I am aware of what is going on, principally from the action of the Government in its dealings with the Colonial Church, and by the withdrawal of all letters patent which gave, or professed to give, some sort of compulsory authority to the Bishops. Each of these Churches is now an independent voluntary community. We may say so of almost all of them; and those independent voluntary communities either already have, or are on the point of forming for themselves very definite and distinct Constitutions; and one of



the points which it is important to note in these Constitutions is, that I do not apprehend that any one of them gives to the Bishop, *qua* Bishop, any sort of controlling power with regard to the declaration of what is or is not the doctrine, or even the law of the Church, and that in every case matters have to be submitted to three distinct bodies, the Bishop (or Bishops), the presbyters, and the laity. Nothing, indeed, can be really considered as the expression of the mind of any one of these Colonial Churches, as far as I know now, except what has received the sanction of all these three Orders.

And then his Grace goes on to show that it is the same in the dis-established Church of Ireland: and he points out the strong feeling of independence which animates the clergy and laity, as shown by events that have taken place in Canada, and at Capetown, and elsewhere. Yet the Archbishop does not seem to draw the inference from all this which is the most natural to our way of thinking. It is, that he should carefully carry into effect one of the wisest suggestions made in those admirable *Reports* of 1867, which have never yet been acted on. No one can fail to see in this the practical wisdom of Bishop Selwyn, the chairman of that committee. After mentioning, in regard to any future meetings, that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be the "convener of such an Assembly," the *Report* goes on to say: "That it should differ from the present Conference, in being attended by both clerical and lay representatives of the several Churches, as consultees and advisers, each diocese being allowed to send, besides its Bishop, a presbyter and a lay member of the Church, if they should desire to be thus represented."

If this is to be acted on at all, it ought to be embraced in the letter of invitation or "summons" issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury: and, besides including one clerical and one lay representative from each diocese, there should be added these words: "freely elected by the clergy and laity of the same." They should *not* be mere appointees of the Bishop, for in that case they would be mere enlargements, not modifications, of the Episcopal mind. The *Report* admits them only as "consultees and advisers." This is very English, but hardly wise. The clergy and laity in such an Assembly will feel themselves at no small disadvantage as compared with the Bishops. And with anything like equal numbers, the *prestige* of the Episcopal dignity is likely to command the assent of both the other Orders, in all except most glaring cases, and such as are not likely to occur. It is not to be supposed that, in such a body, anything of importance will be pressed without a fair prospect of *moral unanimity*; for a closely-divided vote on any subject of weight would ensure the *non-reception* of the result in one or more of the separate



National or Colonial Churches. This *certain* danger will tend to banish extremes, teach moderation and forbearance, and establish every decision on the broadest and firmest basis of primitive truth. There would not be the slightest danger, then, in conceding to the clergy and laity not only the right of consulting and advising, but of the *vote by Orders*. Nothing would, to an equal degree, conciliate *universal confidence in advance*, and thus secure the prompt and unfailing *reception* of the Acts of the Conference by *every* National and Colonial Church as a matter of course. Without this vote by Orders, it is not probable that many of the distant dioceses would feel it worth while to pay the expenses of a clerical representative, who would have no voice in any decision, after all. And both clergy and laity will be strongly tempted to stop away, from the feeling that the subordinate sphere allotted to them is a plain intimation that, in reality, their presence is not wanted, or is a mere cover to give ostensible plausibility to the decrees of the Bishops. With the vote by Orders, it is likely that the number of clergy and laity present will be as great as that of Bishops, and perhaps even greater; and the real interest taken in the action of the Conference vastly more lively, on the part of the bulk of Churchmen everywhere. To do it, will *risk nothing* in regard to the main results. To leave it undone, or only to do it by halves, will simply reduce by so much the *momentum* of all that is accomplished.

The course we are advocating, moreover, would be in exact accordance with the recommendation of the *Reports* of 1867, in regard to all other Synods: that "votes" should be "taken by Orders; and the concurrent assent of Bishops, clergy, and laity, should be necessary for any legislative action, wherever the clergy and laity form part of the Constitution" of a Synod.

There is one other point that ought not to pass without a distinct expression of opinion. It is that of

#### PUBLICITY OR SECRECY.

We shall never forget a "pearl of wisdom" that dropped from the lips of Bishop Selwyn, when expressing his strong disapproval of the growing custom among the English Bishops, of holding their meetings for real business in *private*. "That," said Bishop Selwyn, "is no way to win the confidence of the community at large, and the Bishops are losing that confidence more and more, the more they follow this new and pernicious plan of privacy. The true way to make the public have confidence in you, is for you to show that you have full confidence in the public." Since his translation to

Lichfield, the Bishop has reorganized his whole vast diocese in three parts, each one of which has an annual Synod; while a triennial Synod represents the whole; and the clergy and laity have their full constituent place in all. The whole of this vast work, moreover, was organized under the eye of the public,—openly, and with the utmost frankness and straightforwardness: and, of course, with entire success, and opposition amounting absolutely to *nothing*. Knowing therefore his principles, as proved by his practice, we need no oracle to inform us what were his real opinions touching the mistakes on this subject made in 1867.

What were these mistakes?

First of all, the letter of invitation said not one word about the intended secrecy of the sessions. It was not fair to give no notice. We knew that both Houses of both Convocations, Canterbury and York, always sat with open doors. We knew that the same was the general rule in all the Synods of the Colonial Churches, either in one House or in both. We knew that *all* the ancient Councils of the Church, general and provincial, were held *openly*. How could we dream that, without one word of notice to prepare us for such a disappointment, those of us who had travelled three thousand miles on purpose to be present, would find the doors of the Conference-room shut in our faces. It was a disappointment which will never be forgotten by any of those—and they were not a few—who experienced it.

The second mistake, and the smallest, was, that the preliminary meeting, one week in advance, was held in secret also. But there was no knowing how soon, or in what way, the Archbishop's private bargain would turn up, and the quieter *that* was kept, the better. The disappointment at the secrecy of the sessions of the Conference itself, was somewhat mollified by the resolution adopted at this meeting, that a stenographer should make a full report of all that was said and done, for publication.

A third mistake was, that *the order thus made, was afterwards countermanded*. The Archbishop's private bargain—his "honorable pledge"—turned out to be the most prominent and important (not to say irritating and disappointing) feature of the whole session. The first idea of modifying the full publication agreed on, was, to allow the Archbishop to omit what he pleased, and print the rest. But if that Colenso episode were entirely omitted, the rest would have been like "the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out." Clearly, that would be ridiculous. So, finally, out of tenderness to the dear, amiable old Archbishop personally (having

in reality ridden roughshod over his private pledge, signed the Colenso declaration in the very Conference-chamber itself, recognized the validity of the deposition and excommunication, and settled *that matter anyhow*, at the tail end of the session they permitted—by a light vote—the hiding away the *Record* of the Archbishop's blunders and defeats under a bushel, in Lambeth library: where it still remains, a single copy, in manuscript, to be consulted only by Bishops, and even by them not for publication!

The extraordinary stupidity of this way of doing business was soon apparent. A sketch of the whole interesting incident appeared soon after the adjournment, in the *New York Church Journal*. The English Church papers, from whom all information (beyond the resolutions published by authority) had been kept carefully bottled up, were hungry for information from any source, and gladly reprinted the New York account everywhere. One English Bishop wrote a couple of letters to the *Guardian*, in the hope of convincing the public that the New York account was "grossly inaccurate" and conveyed "an entirely erroneous impression." Whereupon the noble Metropolitan of Capetown, after refreshing his memory by consulting the Manuscript Record at Lambeth, replied in two very damaging letters, and demonstrated the contrary. Now what can be more absurd than to see Lords Bishops and Metropolitans engaged in newspaper discussions to inform the public about the most important discussions of a Church Council, when the *stenographic record*, which would tell the whole story correctly, is obstinately locked up in manuscript at Lambeth! It is pure Ultramontanism, all over! It is just what the Pope did at the Council of the Vatican. He first ordered the sessions to be secret, and then he refused to let the Church know anything about what was done, or how it was done, except by such publication of *results* as he pleased. In our opinion, Ultramontanism is no better at Lambeth than at Rome. Nay, it is worse: for at Rome it is their professed principle. In it they live, move, and have their being. At Lambeth, it is in open conflict with all Anglican traditions. It is an anachronism and a hypocrisy.

It would have been hardly courteous, however, in any committee, appointed by the Archbishop, and presenting a Report to him, to use such language in regard to the course which he desired, and the Conference adopted to please him. Nor can we say that any of them thought or felt quite so strongly on the subject as we have written. But when such a committee, reporting as to the course proper to be pursued at a future meeting of the Conference, gravely

and gently say, that the "proceedings" should be "more formal, and, in part at least, public;" they say quite enough to be intelligible. They let the Archbishop down as easily and as respectfully as they can; but their words plainly mean, "This thing *won't do!*" Their phrase is not long, and does not sound very strong; but a word to the wise is sufficient. "'Tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church-door; but 'tis enough, 'twill serve."

In future sessions, therefore, we shall not be troubled much by this silly fondness for wrapping up plain matters of public concern in an affectation of mystery, as if they were under the control of the Freemasons, or some other fashionable "secret society." If clergy and laity are admitted as members of the Conference, it will be found triply difficult to keep the doors closed, and stop up all the keyholes. But the publicity of the future is not enough. From the manner in which the wise Bishop of Lichfield has moved in this matter afresh, it is impossible that any one should be blind to the fact that the new meeting of the Conference will be, in reality, a *continuation* of the unfinished Conference of 1867. Of the three Resolutions offered by him, on which the joint-committee is appointed, the second states that the object of this new meeting of the Conference is "to carry on the work begun by the Lambeth Conference in 1867;" and the third proposes "that the *Reports* of committees presented at the adjourned session of the Lambeth Conference in 1867, but not adopted, or even discussed, be taken into consideration at the second Conference proposed to be convened in the year —." The connection between this meeting and the former, therefore, is clearly so strong, that there would be no impropriety whatever in its adopting a Resolution to publish the manuscript *Record* of the first Conference, now laid up in lavender at Lambeth, as well as, and together with, the full stenographic report of the proceedings of the new meeting of the Conference. The temporary inconvenience that was feared, and produced the timid policy of 1867, is no reason *now* why the mysterious and incomprehensible course of compulsory secrecy should be continued. And with the publication of *both*, we should have, in a fully authentic form, the *entire history* of the most interesting and important movement seen in Christendom since the great schism between the East and the West.

## SUMMARY.

It may be premature to go further into details at present, and until we see the *Report* of the Joint Committee of the Convocation

of Canterbury, upon the Bishop of Lichfield's resolutions. But our own General Convention is approaching, and what we have to say we must say *now*, in order that it may have any effect at all with thinkers on either side of the water. If the *Report* of the Committee of Convocation covers some or all of the points we have made, and the Archbishop shall act thereon, we shall rejoice greatly; because that will be so much the nobler and better and more generous way of reaching the result. But if not, then we trust that our General Convention in October will have the manliness to adopt and forward to the Archbishop some form of *Memorial* or *Resolutions* to the following effect:

That the proposed convening of another Lambeth Conference by the Archbishop of Canterbury is regarded as most desirable by the Church of America; and that, in our opinion, the action of that august body will reach its highest conditions of usefulness to the Church at large, if it should please his Grace to include in his Letter of Invitation, among other points, the following:

1. That the clergy and laity of each organized diocese are requested to elect one clerical and one lay representative to take part in the Conference.
2. That whenever called for, the vote on any question shall be taken by Orders, nothing to stand as the act of the Conference unless carried by a majority of each of the three Orders there present.
3. That no limit shall be fixed in advance, within which the session shall close; but that the Conference shall be free to decide by their own vote the time of their adjournment.
4. That the full liberty of changing any program of business by addition, alteration, or omission, as decided on in the meeting of 1867, shall not be impeded or embarrassed by any "private understanding" with only a portion of those invited; but that the subjects to be discussed, and the decision to be made thereon, shall at all times be within the free control of the Conference itself.
5. That all the sittings and debates of the Conference, from first to last, shall be open to the public.
6. That a stenographic *Report* of the entire proceedings and debates shall be made, and shall be published as speedily as is consistent with accuracy.
7. That this published *Record* shall be preceded in the same printed volume by the stenographic *Report* of the Conference of 1867, now in manuscript in the Library at Lambeth. And
8. That no act of the Conference, at any meeting, shall be binding upon any National or Colonial Church of the Anglican Communion, unless and until it be freely and expressly "*received*" as such, in accordance with the forms of legislation provided by its own Constitution.

With these points, or their equivalents, once thoroughly and permanently imbedded in the working system of these grand Coun-



cils of the whole Anglican Communion, we, for our part, are willing to trust them to the uttermost, certain that they will always do more or less of good, and that they can *never* do any real harm.

Indeed, the movement is, as we have already said, and here most emphatically repeat, "the most interesting and important movement seen in Christendom since the great schism between the East and the West," that is, for more than a thousand years. The Bishop of Rome pretended that the monarchical and despotic exaltation of his See was necessary to the preservation of the unity of Christendom: and the first fruits of this new theory of unity, proved to be the first great schism, and one which remains unhealed to this day. Unconvinced by this wonderful failure to secure unity, the Roman Pontiffs—now free from the counterpoise of the other four Patriarchs, and the immobility of the East—pushed on their advances of aggressive usurpation, growing worse and worse, until the outburst of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century gave the second startling proof of the efficiency of the Roman theory and practice in preserving the unity of Christendom. Two such lessons, one would think, were enough to cure any error, however inveterate. Not so, however. Jesuitism arose, and with fatal ingenuity and perseverance has obstinately pushed the old error still further, until it has, in our own day, produced another schism,—the Old Catholic movement in Germany and Switzerland. Each fresh rupture has been followed by the erection of doctrinal barriers on both sides, against any possible future reunion. The Papal claim has been proved by learned controversialists during all these thousand years past, to be a falsity, not a truth. The plausible, but shallow human logic which seems to demonstrate the *necessity* of the Roman theory in order to secure visible unity, is ground to powder by the onward rolling weight of *history*, fathering upon that prolific Papal lie all the broods of schisms that now curse the earth. The present humiliating position of that Pontiff, whose predecessor placed his foot upon the neck of the Emperor of Germany at Canossa, demonstrates that the Papal policy is a gigantic blunder, as well as a lie. At the very moment of reasserting, more pretentiously than ever before, all the boasts of all his predecessors in the chair of St. Peter, claiming all power, temporal and spiritual: the poor old Pope is stripped of his temporal power, depends upon the dole of Peter's pence for his daily support, and can find, all the world over, *not a single one* of the Powers of Christendom ready to lift up so much as a finger in his defence. Germany and Austria are openly at war with him and his: and who cares? The other three great powers of the earth, Russia, Great



Britain, and these United States, are utterly beyond his control, and are daily advancing toward the mastery of the rest of the world. France is divided against itself, and even the Legitimist fanatics there will not risk their political position by any true zeal in his God-forsaken cause.

The great negative of Romanism has thus been demonstrated from every point of view, theoretical and practical. It remains to provide the *positive* answer, by showing how unity *can* be manifested in the ancient way, upon the ancient Foundation, by the brotherly love of independent National and Provincial Churches, *without* any absolute despot at the head to "ensure unity." Under a head, the Patriarch of Canterbury, who is made such by the voluntary and cordial recognition of all who trace their ecclesiastical lineage to the Church of England; not by his own assumptions or exaggerations; not by the cunning of diplomacy, or—like a pawnbroker—by the mean and heartless taking advantage of the distresses of the weak to accumulate power in the hands of the strong; but by the spontaneous and reiterated request of the various families of the descendants of the Anglican Church: what do we see?

We see a gentle and fatherly "invitation" begin the work of visible coöperation. Even amid not a little of hesitation and timidity, we see the tendency to unity of action manifest itself spontaneously, and with growing strength. Without power to summon; without power to compel attendance, or censure for absence; without power to provide for the travelling expenses of those who come, or entertain them while they are present, as was more or less the case in the General Councils of old; without the slightest chance of rewarding the subservient or punishing the refractory: the Patriarch of Canterbury bids fair to show to a divided Christendom the true way to reunion and peace, through brotherly love, fidelity to the ancient and original Constitution of the Church, both in its authority and in its liberty, and a simple trust in the kingship of Christ in heaven, and the gentle guidance of the Holy Ghost the Comforter here upon earth. Even the serious drawback that the Archbishop and all the English Bishops are the nominees of ministers of State, instead of being freely elected by their own clergy and people; and that the Church of England herself is in union with the State (or rather, is more or less in bondage thereto) while all the other branches of the Anglican Communion are free, and some are pervaded by a most distinct nationality of their own: even this, strange to say, does not seem to interfere in the slightest degree with the Catholic unity thus manifested to the world. The

English rite is different from the Scottish, and both from the American, and now the Church of Ireland is making changes of her own: yet *identity of rite* is thus clearly shown to be *not* necessary to unity, once more demonstrating the folly of the Roman attempt to secure unity by extinguishing all but the Roman rite. From Europe, America, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the Isles of the Sea, the Bishops assemble of their own free will, discuss with independent freedom, and vote at last with moral if not always with entire unanimity: and the final authority of each act depends on its voluntary *reception* by each separate portion.

With the beautiful example thus set, what is to hinder a full reunion with the Oriental Church, on the comprehensive principles so broadly and strongly laid down at Lambeth in 1867? What is to hinder the voluntary adhesion of one body of Old Catholics after another? What is to hinder one portion of the Roman Obedience after another, as the overstrained cord of absolutism snaps and liberates them one by one, from following the universal law of love and mutual attraction? The organic power of brotherly love, in building upon the Ancient Foundations, will thus be brought into the most positive contrast with the destructiveness of despotism in digging them down: and the reunion of Christendom will loom up through the clouds and mists and storms of this changing world as a coming Reality, and no longer appear, in the eyes of wise men, as only the delusion of a golden dream.



## EUCCHARISTIC THEORIES.

- A THEOLOGICAL DEFENCE FOR THE REV. JAMES DEKOVEN, D.D., Warden of Racine College, February 12, 1874. Racine, Wisconsin. 1874.
- THE EUCCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY AND THE EPISCOPATE OF WISCONSIN. By the Rev. James Egar, D.D. Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 1874.
- EUCCHARISTIC PRESENCE, EUCCHARISTIC SACRIFICE, AND EUCCHARISTIC ADORATION. Being an examination of a Theological Defence for the Rev. James DeKoven. By the Rev. Samuel Buel, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the General Theological Seminary. New York. 1874.

IT may be a sad defect in us, but we are utterly unable to contemplate the importance of the Eucharistic controversy from the stand-point of these treatises, or from that taken by the Church of Rome. The theories patronized by such authorities seem to expend their whole power of inquiry and analysis, not upon the *Administrator* of the great Eucharistic Sacrament, but upon the *thing administered*; upon the *res Sacramenti*, rather than the *auctor Sacramenti*. Now, if the authorship of the near or the distant administrator of the Sacrament be in it, so that it thereby becomes thoroughly his transmission—becomes virtually the act of the great Originator himself—then, metaphysically and philosophically speaking, the instrument, the vehicle, or whatever else any one may choose to call it, through which that Originator operates, is of exceedingly small consequence. If, instead of using clay to anoint the blind man's eye, Christ had used one of a hundred other unguents,

which might have been summoned at an instant's bidding, from this world or from Paradise, His virtue would have passed none the faster and none the slower than it did by and through the clay, and flashed light none the more and none the less effectually upon darkened eyeballs. The full divinity of His virtue passed once through the hem of His garment; and again rode on the air, when He said, "I will; be thou clean." So what the elements of the Eucharist are, metaphysically and philosophically considered; through what changes soever they may pass or not pass, or by what unknown and imperceptible alchemy Christ may give them a double or a triple nature for His own mysterious purposes, is *to us* a matter (if the double superlative can be admissible) of the supremest unimportance. We should as soon think of inquiring whether the Bush in which God appeared to Moses, in the shape of lambent fire, were some common bush of earth, growing by the wayside; or a graft from the Tree of Life which St. John saw luxuriating in celestial regions. We should as soon think of inquiring whether the Pillar of a Cloud, in which God was half-visible for the protection of His people in their flight from Pharaoh, were ordinary nebulous matter; or an importation from the firmament of the third heaven. Indeed, it is to us, as students of Church History, one of the greatest wonders of the ever curious issues such history presents, that Christendom should so often, so very often, be looking at the *elements* of the Eucharist, and waste so much time in questions about *them*, when the real, the natural, and essential question is, *Who* uses, gives, or sanctions the use or gift of those elements? If Christ uses or gives them—no matter how remote He is, whether in the sun, or in the Sun of suns—if He uses or gives them through the hands of descending angels, or through the hands of mortal clay, *then* they are His gifts, His own gifts, His own personal gifts, as much as the bread and wine were which He lifted from the table in the upper room of Jerusalem, and commended to the lips of His Apostles. And more, they are as Divine gifts, and as Divinely endowed gifts, as those of the first Eucharistic celebration. The first Eucharistic celebration, also, was neither more nor less than the thousandth, or the ten thousandth. *Qui facit per alium facit per se*, is as true for Christ's action through the Eucharist, be it in itself considered what it may, and be His earthly administrator who he may—as true for such action, as for His sending the Apocalypse "by His Angel, unto His servant John" (Rev. i. 1).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The principle contained in the Latin maxim is recognized in the New Tes-

So there is, in our humble estimation, no gain, not a molecule of gain, in talking about Impanation, which may be Dr. DeKoven's theory,<sup>1</sup> or Consubstantiation, which was Luther's theory; or Trans-elementation, which describes the general sentiment of the Greek Church; or Transubstantiation, which is the favorite word of Tridentines. These things are to us the poverties and the crudities of earthly philosophy; and we care no more for them than for such a question as exercised the queasy wits of the Schoolmen, "How many Angels can stand on the point of a needle?"

So much for the *how* of the Eucharist, now for its *what*. Is it a symbolic repetition or representation of the Atonement, and an application of its virtues; or is it a renewal of the great Covenant, which the Atonement sealed and ratified for the whole world, and for all time? The grandest, the most sacred, and the most potential of the many ceremonies of Judaism, was the renewal of the Old Covenant once a year, when the High Priest went all alone into the Tabernacle, and sprinkled with blood, not the Book of the Law, but the Ark of the Covenant—not the seat of judgment, as if propitiating justice, but the seat of mercy, as if his offering was most graciously appointed, and most freely accepted by mercy, as no doubt it was. We thankfully hold that it was mercy and not justice which was satisfied; which prompted the act, and then lovingly welcomed it, owned it, and crowned it.

The Book of the Law—which was always kept in the Holy of Holies, not as a sacred thing only, but as a standard copy, or sealed book, by which to correct errors;<sup>2</sup> was not, so far as we know, so much

tament oftener than some suppose. Thus, our Saviour said, "He that receiveth you, receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent me." And the Holy Ghost said, "Separate me Paul and Barnabas;" which of course makes the Holy Ghost the *real* actor in the scene. In the passage quoted from Revelation, the Greek represents Christ's action with more precision than the Common Version. It is "through His Angel." The Angel was merely the medium, and in no sense the author of the communication. And yet to show how profound and venerable the Revelation was esteemed to be in the Primitive Church, St. Jerome says it has as many *Sacraments* in it, as it has words. A use of the word worth attending to by those who employ *Sacrament* in but one way, and presume it can never mean but one thing. Forbes tells us that Cardinal Damian believed in twelve Sacraments, and Duns Scotus in thirteen. —"Forbesi Opera," ii. 416, 429. Comp. Reeves's "Apologies," ii. 319.

<sup>1</sup> We say *may be*, for his language is shifting and shadowy. His ideas are perhaps in the course of development.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxi. 26. It was "The Book of the Covenant," i. e., the ten words,

as touched by the High Priest in his ministrations on the greatest day of the year. Blood, indeed, was used by him, and freely. It was the proper offering to make; because blood *was* life, as a Hebrew would say; or represented life, as we should say. It was the representative, too, when shed, of a lost life; while a lost life was the forfeit of a broken Covenant—the Covenant under which man was made originally “a living soul.” And a lost life, represented by outpoured blood, ceased to be a lost life, its forfeit was condoned, when the emblem of such a life was accepted by infinite mercy. Such an acceptance was a passing from death unto life for all upon which it bore.

The philosophy of this condonation, and this acceptance, the human mind cannot attain to.

It is as high as heaven—what canst thou do?  
Deeper than hell—what canst thou know?  
The measure thereof is longer than the earth,  
And broader than the sea.—Job, xi. 8, 9.

A mind like Archbishop Anselm's, tried to fathom it in vain, in his well-known treatise, *Cur Deus homo*. And the trial has gone on from his day to Dr. Bushnell's, who made one desperate effort, and, in his own estimation, failed. It remains to be seen, whether he will be any better satisfied with his second.

But *the fact* is plain enough, that to the Divine eye a lost life can become a redeemed life, and become, also, a second time entitled to the grace and benediction of a Covenant of life, renewed by Mercy over blood.

Strange, most strange, doubtless, it may seem to us, that the highest priest of the Elder Dispensation should offer no sacrificial victim, should offer nothing but blood upon the most august and significant occasion of his whole calendar year. Yet it was unquestionably so. “The bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the Sanctuary by the High Priest for sin, are burned without the camp.” And the type was punctually fulfilled by the victim of Mount Calvary. “Wherefore Jesus also, that He might sanctify the

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articles, or commandments (Ex. xxxiv. 28, see margin), and not “The Book of the Law,” which Moses (not Aaron) sprinkled (Exodus, xxiv. 8, Heb. ix. 19). In fact, the text in Exodus does not say, exactly, that Moses sprinkled the book, but the people. The phraseology of Heb. ix. 19, may describe his acts rhetorically and not logically—*ad sensum*, rather than *ad literam*. A literal description may be looked for more in the first account of an act, than in commentary upon it.



people with His own blood [not a word about His body] suffered without the gate" (Heb. xiii. 11, 12). And the parallel to this, in "The True Tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man" (Heb. viii. 2), is the offer of blood, and blood only, *there*. The body of the oblator is but a vehicle through which that blood passes. Its representation here on earth was the veil before the Holy of Holies. "Through the veil, that is to say, His flesh," did "the blood of Jesus," pass onward and inward, to the last and highest of Mercy-seats, covering the Altar where the Atonement was completed, and The New Covenant sealed and ratified to the end of time (Heb. x. 20). "The Eternal Spirit" united in this act to give it eternal prevalence (Heb. ix. 14); for its blessings will not cease when time melts away into infinite duration, when the Son himself gives up the kingdom to the Father, when even His humanity may be swallowed up in the depths of boundless Being, that the Godhead may be all in all.<sup>1</sup>

In conformity with all this, Christ did not say in the Eucharist, *his* Eucharist, "This is My body of the New Covenant," but, "This is My blood of the New Covenant," in the texts of St. Matthew's Gospel, so often quoted and appealed to (chap. xxvi. 27, 28). Nay, to a student of the Greek we may emphatically add, he repeats the word blood there, *three* several times, to show the profound and intense stress with which he uttered it. The true reading of these texts requires the repetition of the noun *after* two definite articles, which are without the noun, so that the *full* reading would be as follows: "Drink of this, all of you; for this is My blood, the blood of The New Covenant, the blood for many poured forth for the remission of sins." We follow the order of the Greek words, and translate as literally as may be; and the conclusion to which we are brought is, that blood is the prominent feature in the scene, and that, as under the first dispensation, so under the second, blood constitutes the medium for the renewal of that Covenant, under which man failed in Paradise, and under which he has been failing, *failing*, FAILING, from the days of Paradise till now. This renewal became possible for God's peculiar people generally, on the day of Atonement, and for families more particularly, on the day of the Passover. It is possible for us, in the celebrations of the Eucharist. In the august celebrations of that Sacrament, God may look upon it, and remember its covenantal character, as He does that of the rainbow, for a wider circle (Gen. ix. 15). In its humbler celebrations, he

<sup>1</sup> I. Cor. xv. 28. The Greek is not God, but The God, *i. e.*, The Godhead.

may look on it, and remember its significance and virtue, for a congregation so small, as to consist of but "two or three gathered in the Name" of His redeeming Son. A sort of remembrance this, too precious to be ever out of human memories; and accordingly our Church teaches us to keep it in mind continually, in the familiar collect of St. Chrysostom.<sup>1</sup>

Not that by such language, we mean to affiliate our Eucharist with those "Sacrifices of Masses," which our Church, in her Thirty-first Article, calls "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Not by any means. But saints of the old Dispensation could appeal to the Covenant, in a way parallel to our own, in the Obsecrations of the Litany. "Look upon the Covenant," exclaims a Psalmist, in an hour of alarming tribulation (Ps. lxxiv. 21 or 20, in the Hebrew, and our Common Version). Look upon it attentively, as the Hebrew verb means. Have respect unto it, as the Bible Version goes. All which implies, that the very solemn act of the Father in giving a Covenant of life to His creatures, may be made the subject of a very solemn appeal, as well as the acts of our Saviour's passion for such a Covenant's confirmation. And we use such language, remembering how familiar it was to divines of a school gone by; for even Kettlewell, a non-juror, a sort of *anté-ritualist*, does not hesitate to put into his prayers a thanksgiving for "the Covenant of Mercy confirmed by Christ's most precious blood."<sup>2</sup>

All this goes to show, that there is such a thing as the blood of a Covenant under the New Dispensation, as well as under the Old; and that it is a matter of unspeakable importance in Christianity, as well as in Judaism, while Judaism was preëminently *the* religion of Heaven. And where to find a symbolic representative for this blood, in a sacramental celebration, save in the wine of the Eucharist, we do not know. Nevertheless, we Protestants make the other symbol of the Eucharist the foremost, and this but secondary; though at the very institution of this Sacrament, Christ gave it a subordinate position, not formally connecting it with the Covenant whose renewal He died for. And here Romanism sides with us, and then goes beyond

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly some may object to the use of the word "remember," in the sentences preceding, as not sufficiently strong. They should consider, that when God remembers, He remembers to bless or to punish, as the case may be. Remembrance with Him is not, as it often is with us, a still or silent act of memory. God's memory is energetic and full of issues.

<sup>2</sup> So Bishop Andrews, in his prayers, calls himself "a Son of the Covenant." And even Dr. Pusey once spoke of "the now almost obliterated distinction of the two Covenants."

us, leaving the chief element of the Eucharist untouched, and, as we feel bound to say, unemployed; for we attach no value to Aquinas's subtle notion of concomitance—it is nothing but metaphysics.<sup>1</sup>

Ah, how sadly does the character of the Eucharist seem to be subverted—or, to speak metaphysically, transubstantiated—and mainly, as we cannot help thinking, because we have (as we have often done) slavishly imitated the Romish Vulgate, and used the word "Testament," when Christ himself used the proper word, and the only intelligible word, "Covenant." How the Eucharist can be a Testament, or have anything *as such* to do with blood, we have never been able to comprehend. And we never expect to do so, unless, perhaps, one of these days, we can comprehend how Dr. De Koven is able to teach Transubstantiation, and yet disown the term. At present, how Christ's disciples could have supposed Him to be talking to minds brim-full of Jewish notions, and such notions only, in the language of the Civil Law of the Roman Empire, and say Testament, instead of Covenant, is a problem we have failed to solve by any accessible rule of hermeneutics. As Jews, they must have understood Him Jewishly; and, to them, such language as "This is My blood, the blood of the New Covenant," would have had a home-like sound, at once intelligible and congenial. The Roman word, Testament, would only have confounded or alarmed them.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> If it had any value, outside of metaphysics, it would be just as good to prove—as we have said once before—that the two elements of the Pope's power are virtually blended, and that if he has the spiritual actually, it is quite enough for him; he has the temporal, by concomitancy. Also, as another of its applications, all baptized persons, no matter if *called* heretics, being members of Christ's Church Catholic, share, by concomitance, in the Pope's benedictions. Jesuits, doubtless, would be protestants against these two latter applications of the doctrine. So they must pardon us for being protestants against the former.

It is a most remarkable parallel, that modern Jews leave out *the blood* of the Paschal lamb, in their Passover. They, however, use the verb *to be* in the ceremony, in the old Hebrew way, in the sense of to mean, to signify, or to represent. Thus, when the Passover cakes are handed to partakers, the celebrant says, "This is the bread of poverty and affliction, which our fathers did eat in Egypt."—*Allen's Modern Judaism*, pp. 383, 384. It need hardly be said, that this use of the verb of existence explains, "This is My body," in the institution of The Eucharist. To a Hebrew scholar, this Hebraism abounds in the New Testament. Thus, "I am the vine," "I am the way," "The seven candlesticks are the seven churches," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Blood, in connection with a Covenant, is familiar enough to readers of the Old Scriptures. And yet our translators, by their own acknowledgment, seem sometimes hardly to allow the word genuine emphasis. Thus, in Zech.

And why then must we say Testament, and not Covenant, against all history, all analogy, and all sound interpretation? And if we must, then we must turn a sharp corner, and ask a Ritualist what he worships, when he worships the blood of a Testament, instead of the blood of a Covenant. What *is*, what *means*, the blood of a Testament? What does it amount to? What virtue can it convey, as consummating a Dispensation which is Covenantal from its beginning to its end—from Genesis to Revelation—nay, into the very Sanctuary of the New Jerusalem; for St. John saw the Celestial Temple opened, and the Ark of the Covenant even *there*.<sup>1</sup>

If the Eucharist can revive, reëstablish, and seal anew, the Covenant into which we were admitted in Baptism, when this Covenant has been vacated by our subsequent sins, and been followed by a forfeiture of all its graces, *then* we can understand its high worth, its glorious dignity, its inestimable value. It may put a man back, where God put him at the first, when He gave him life with all its Divine powers and benedictions, in the Garden of Eden. It may be an essential, an indispensable means of grace, to render him "meet to be a partaker of the inheritance of the Saints in light." It may be a most apposite and potential help—as it were undergirding him, as St. Paul's ship was undergirded (Acts, xxvii. 17) and enabled to

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ix. 11, they say, "As for thee, also, by the blood of thy Covenant," leaving the better translation for the margin, "As for thee, whose Covenant is by blood." Rosenmuller, however, *in locum*, makes it even stronger, propter sanguinem fœderis tui. *Fœdus*, he says, not *testamentum*. He was too good a scholar for that. Our translators have also made an unfortunate mistake about "the blood of the everlasting Covenant," in the New Scriptures, not only by putting "Testament" into the margin, but by the collocation of their words. By following the Greek, we bring out a sentiment very different from the one which represents Christ as brought from the dead by the Covenant's blood—a proposition which the Epistle neither makes nor sanctions. The idea is (see Heb. xiii. 20, in the Greek), "who brought again from the dead, the Shepherd of the sheep, the Shepherd great in, or with, or through, the blood of a Covenant which is everlasting." A Shepherd who can give such a Covenant to His sheep, through His blood, is indeed a great one! The language would seem to be parallel to the expression in Isaiah, "a saviour, and a great one"—(Isa. xix. 20).

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xi. 19. The translation is not as unfortunate as usual. It is *testimony*. But the Greek is *διαθήκη*, which of course means covenant. Testament would make the Ten Commandments God's last will. And (with reverence be it spoken) we cannot enjoy such a will, until God is dead (Heb. ix. 16, common version). This is one of the truly horrid results of adherence to the word Testament.

ride over the breakers—to carry him over “the waves of this troublesome world,” till he reaches the land of immortal serenity, where there is no more sea (Rev. xxi. 1). And so considered, it is no doubt the grandest ceremony of our present existence.<sup>1</sup> It has a sanctity and an efficiency, of which no other ceremony can claim the property. It is a concentration of all Christianity’s noblest practical aims. It is Christianity’s attempt to bless, in the highest form and style of benediction. It is, in a sense, its culmination. Ceremony-wise, Christianity can do no better for us. Judaism did its uttermost—is even now, with all its abatements, supposed to do its uttermost—on the Day of Atonement. And Christianity, with the proper token in her hand, can say no more gracious words than these, “The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life!”

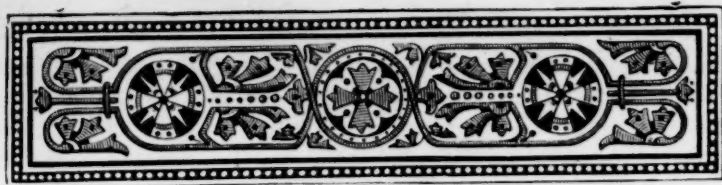
But after all this, and notwithstanding so much as this, to turn the Eucharist into an *end*, rather than a *means to an end*—to mistake it for an incarnation, rather than a medium through which incarnation works—to suppose, as the old heathen did respecting their shrines, that Divinity has in it a local habitation, and *therefore* to feel bound to worship it objectively—Oh, this seems as profound, not to say as profane, a mistake, as Jacob would have made, if he had betaken himself to a worship of that ladder, up and down which he saw files of angels go, to teach him how open and free his access to a Father in the skies.

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<sup>1</sup> The parallel ceremonies of the Elder Dispensation—those of the Day of Atonement, and the Passover—God appointed but once a year. No doubt, to forefend that disposition to commonize, so often showing itself when we deal in outward things. And it seems strange, that in primitive times, when it was well understood after St. Paul’s lesson in the eleventh chapter of the Romans, that Judaism and Christianity were but different branches on the same stock, and the precedents of Judaism were studiously followed, that *this* precedent was utterly disregarded. But it was. Eucharists became so frequent, and were so often followed by the results we see at this day—absence, or non-communication, or the bowing before elements—that the Bishop of Rome, Zephyrinus, felt obliged to require that positive and not contemplative communication should take place, at least once a year. This, however, was his *minimum*. The Church of Rome made it, in time, a *maximum*; and so in practice multitudes of Romanists communicate but once a year, while still they may be lookers-on at a *daily* Eucharist. Just so we have known a minimum converted into a maximum, for our own Church. The Creed, The Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer—we give the Catechism’s order—are the minimum required for Confirmation, that is, the minimum for faith, duty, and devotion. But outsiders infer that that is *all*, and blame us for carelessness.

P. S.—It looks like a curious fact, if the Apostles practised ritualistic adoration, that they did not adore Christ's person daily. On the contrary, Matthew tells us that they worshipped it on the eve of His Ascension, and Luke that they worshipped it after His Ascension; as if such acts were not common. We have little doubt that they were so. Christ, in the days of His earthly ministry, was not in the body of His glory, but in the body of His humiliation; and His disciples worshipped Him, when they *did* worship Him, when the Divinity, so to speak, gleamed forth from the Humanity, as light shone from the Pillar of Fire (Matt. xiv. 33). He had, as the Greek says, denuded or emptied Himself (Phil. ii. 7). He had relinquished the *μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, and assumed the *μορφῇ δούλου*; and the time for His constant and fuller worship had not come. Now, do the elements of the Eucharist commemorate the *μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, or the *μορφῇ δούλου*? We are pretty sure how Bishop Andrews would answer such a question, and how he would tell us to act under it.





## NATURE AND PROOF OF INSPIRATION.

THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE: its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, by WILLIAM LEE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College.

OUR purpose in reviewing this extensive work is simply to present its teachings in a brief, orderly, and perspicuous manner. Possessing, in a large degree, the quality of learning, it seriously lacks that of arrangement; and it may be a boon to our younger readers to reproduce its leading thoughts within a moderate compass, and, it may be, in little clearer and simpler way.

The question as to the inspiration of Scripture naturally starts some others. One of these is, What *are* the Scriptures? We reply, of course, The Canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. But after such an answer, a word is of course to be said about the origin of the Canon. The agency of the Spirit not only brought the books of the Bible into existence, but also, as we feel required to believe, brought them *together*. As to the Old Testament Canon, Ezra, Nehemiah, and others, were Divinely authorized to collect, digest, and close it. We are not, however, called on to suppose that the books of the elder Scriptures, lost or hidden during the exile, Ezra reproduced, that is, composed anew; but that, in conjunction with Nehemiah, and perhaps other famous members of the Great Synagogue, he completed and arranged and published anew the Jewish sacred writ,

ings.<sup>1</sup> Such a conclusion we feel constrained to adopt and advocate. For let us consider. There are books mentioned by the Old Testament writers as the source whence they drew many of their facts: for instance, "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah," and "The Book of Jasher." Why were these books not inserted into the Canon? Why was Ecclesiasticus left out, though written in Hebrew, and claiming Divine authority? Why was the "Acts of Uzziah, first and last," passed by, though written by Isaiah the Prophet? Because the Canon was formed and closed under Divine sanction and guidance; because Ezra, who completed it, was commissioned to do his work by a plan or rule,—that is, from a mass of material to make selections of those writings alone, which were intended for permanent preservation. We say "from a mass of material;" for as much was left untold or untransmitted, about our Lord's life (John, xxi. 25), we are, of course, not required to believe that everything intended for, and useful in the elder Dispensation, must of necessity be handed on as indispensable to the new. Something of a parallel to this we see in, the teaching of the Roman Church, which, while it exalts the Apocrypha, distinguishes between it and the Canonical Scriptures, much after the way in which it estimates "those five commonly called sac-

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<sup>1</sup> We are at a loss to understand how some consider it so easy to believe that Jewish Canonical Scriptures have ever been hidden away or lost. The extreme care of the Masorites for their text, which the fastidious have looked upon as a sort of mania or superstition, into which grammarians have sometimes fallen, we have always regarded as the fruit of high reverence and conservative caution. And we are by no means surprised to find such a mind as that of Professor Simonis esteeming the work of the Masorites worth careful noting, even for our times; for we have before us the third edition of his little volume concerning their various readings, etc., bound up with a compendious lexicon of Rosenmüller's, and printed at Halle in 1832. Some of our readers will not understand us; and so we say it was a familiar thing with the Masorites to actually count the letters—all the letters—in a sacred book, so that its integrity might not possibly be trifled with. We turn to our authority, and it tells us in an instant that the number of verses in Genesis is 1,534, and its number of letters, 78,000. People who took such care to preserve intact the integrity of a book, would not be very apt to let the book itself slip out of their sight, and pass into oblivion. They who talk about the disappearance of the Jewish Scriptures, and their recomposition by Ezra and others, have an end to serve by bringing those Scriptures into discredit. The Masorites often begin their summaries with the exhortation, "Be brave!" People who, like them, would expend bravery in the service of truth instead of doubt, would not find it as difficult to be believers, as do the patrons of the "Westminster Review."

raments," as contrasted with the two more important ones "ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel."

As to the New Testament Canon, we receive the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, though neither belong to the Apostolic College. And why? Not because the Church was eager to preserve *every* account of Christ's life, seeing there were many such accounts never taken into the Canon,—such, for instance, as Luke alludes to in his preface; and, what is remarkable, without disrespect or censure! Nor, again, because these writers were companions of Apostles; since the Canon declines the Epistle of St. Clement, one of St. Paul's fellow laborers. The Epistle, too, ascribed to St. Barnabas, is not more highly honored. To account for such facts, and for the further fact that each writing of the New Testament was, if gradually, yet ultimately, without serious doubt, placed on a level with the Old Testament Scriptures, before regarded as exclusively Divine, —to account for unexpected issues, we must suppose an inspired power of selection delegated to those who worked for the completion of the Canon, with its bearings upon all future time. They were empowered to adopt, or to lay aside, even inspired books, or books written by inspired men, when not intended or adapted for the Church's distant or shifted, yet foreseen necessities. One of the endowments of those who exerted such a delicate and most responsible agency was, we suppose, the "discerning of spirits" (I. Cor. xii. 10), a gift, among other spiritual ones, appertaining to the Apostolic and Primitive Church—a gift which St. Paul ranks very highly, and to which St. John appeals as a necessary test for the trial of false prophets (I. John, iv. 1). We are fain to believe that this, with other spiritual endowments (*χαρίσματα*) were not withdrawn from the Apostolic and Primitive Church, so long as its genuine oneness, its Christlike unity, remained unbroken; and that by this means Divine influence effected the formation of the New Testament Canon, and designed the peculiarities of its several parts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> There is not a more perplexing question in Church history to many inquirers than this, When did miracles cease? We have had such a question pressed upon us by even feminine lips, and our answer has been a simple and definite one,—generally, too, we believe, a satisfactory one. Miracles lasted as long as the unity of the Church lasted. They were a gift to an undivided community, and were granted more or less freely as that community suppressed schisms or allowed them; maintained its sacred oneness or disesteemed it. The general unity of the Church Catholic was coincident, in duration, with the undisputed General Councils,—say, to about A. D. 700. So we have no trouble in believing that the gift of miracles and other Apostolic endowments lasted—in a larger or

Another preliminary matter to be disposed of, is, that the books of the Bible are not a fortuitous compilation, but a prearranged, organized whole. The Jewish Church bears witness to the Scriptures of the Old Covenant; the Christian to those of the New. But the latter has another function, which is, to bear witness to the continuity of both. The former and the latter Scriptures are a unity, making, as a whole, God's one, perfect, and finished instrument,—finished, that is, for His ultimate and remote designs. The importance of this fact—especially as some strenuously deny it—merits more than a passing or unweighed notice. We affirm that the several books of Scripture, whose authors are scattered over twenty centuries, are constituents of one organized whole—that each book has its special value—that though this or that particular book may now seem comparatively unimportant, and some may have been intentionally omitted, yet that the wants and tendencies of other ages, either have attested, or will attest, the high importance of all that remain; that the Old Testament is as much the Bible as the New, and equally inspired with it; that the former is the basis of the latter—the germ of the latter's development; that we cannot say that those parts of the Old Testament which relate to Christ (the prophecies, for example) are inspired, while other parts are not, seeing that in every part the Old Testament in some way relates to Him and His Redemption; that the Old Testament, in its history, doctrines, and types, foreshadows and contains all the leading truths of Christianity; and that, though its types have been fulfilled, yet its importance has not passed away, because these types still retain

smaller degree—quite as long. And should one of the *greatest* and *grandest* of miracles now take place, and the world once more behold an essentially undivided Christendom—should the “Communion of Saints” become not the abstraction of a creed, but a visible and enshrined reality, we have no difficulty in believing that all the *lesser* miracles the Church might want, would readily and surely follow.

It was during the continuance of the age of miracles that the Canon of the New Testament (or more exactly, of the Scriptures of the New Covenant) was arranged; and so we have no hesitation in saying, the faithful employed about such momentous labor, enjoyed Divine superintendence, and might profess, as the members of the great Synod of Jerusalem did, “it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.” It is certainly a miraculous fact that *all* Christendom is so harmonious about the New Testament Canon. Only let *all* Christendom be as harmonious about the Trinity and Episcopacy (and why can they not be?), and the unity of primitive times might at once begin. Subordinate matters could easily be provided for. *Faait Deus!* Let us only be brave, as the poor, despised, but never labor-shirking Masorites said, and the great deed might be.

their spiritual significance and allusive power. All this, whereby it is meant that the Bible is one organic, confederated whole, whose several parts are mutually related, each preserving its own special character and value,—all this we confidently affirm, and its significant truth must appear from a variety of considerations. Primarily, from the manner in which Christ and His Apostles quote the Old Testament, *e. g.*, Luke, xxiv. 44; John, v. 39; and Romans, iii. 10;<sup>1</sup> then from the fact that one book of the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews, is an express and formal treatise, to point out how the elder Scriptures, in unimagined details, refer to Jesus; then from the further fact that our Lord everywhere makes the Old Testament the historical basis of His teaching, and represents Himself as fulfilling its scheme, so that the New Testament is the accomplishment, or rather, enlargement and explanation,—in fine, the conclusion and complement of the Old. And on this subject our Lord has left no room for doubt, by affirming the authority of the Old Testament in very distinctive words, saying: "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil;" since such terms as "The Law and the Prophets," mean the whole body of the former Scriptures; and even the single term "Law," was quite commonly used by the Jews, in this broad sense, in the times of our Saviour's ministry.

Again, that the Bible is to be regarded, as we have said, in the light of one organic and confederated whole, appears, in the first place, from the consideration that this volume has a single end and a single plan,—that end being the salvation of man, that plan being to restore and to keep alive a right knowledge of the true God, and to exhibit and commend the economy of redemption. And in the next place, from the consideration that each Dispensation—the Patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian—arises, the one from the other, by a principle (as the scientists would state it) of evolution, which receives its climax in the advent of God's only-begotten Son. The Patriarchal Dispensation was the election and separation of one man and his family, its sanctions being faith and hope. The Mosaic was the election and separation of a nation, with these same

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<sup>1</sup> Luke, xxiv. 44, may be considered the most important of these references. It includes, formally, the *whole* of ancient Scripture, which the Jews divided into three volumes or compartments. The Law and the Prophets were employed for the two synagogue lessons (the originals of our own, see Acts, xiii. 15) and for sermons also, as by our Saviour himself (Luke, iv. 17, 18); while the Psalms remained for devotional and sentimental purposes, with other poetical portions, such as Proverbs and the Book of Job.



sanctions of faith and hope; yet of a faith and hope made fuller and clearer by the disclosures of prophecy. The Christian, in a special sense, is a spiritual kingdom, whose limits embrace the entire human race; and wherein faith and hope, under the teachings of a personal and Divine Redeemer, appear in their utmost clearness and final coronation.

Again, the unity of the Old and New Testaments is confirmed by the analogy between the two as to the manner in which Divine communications were made. In the narratives of both they are represented as being conveyed by the same channels, viz., Angelic Appearances, Dreams, Ecstasy, Voices from Heaven, and Symbolic Acts. And, again, it is confirmed by the resemblance in structure between both parts of the Bible, each combining the *history* and the *doctrines* of religion.

But the chief and most essential bond of union between them is, that the Revealer in both is the same; the Logos, or Eternal and Creative Word, through whom, as St. John says (see the Greek), all things were made, and without whom nothing was made that was made (John, i. 3). As regards the New Testament, this is evidently true. We there see the Word Incarnate, speaking and acting in the sight of men, the immediate and invisible Revealer. And, though Jesus did not personally complete the scheme of the New Testament, since, even after Pentecost, new revelations were required and given, yet is He still the essential and the virtual Revealer.<sup>1</sup> The channel of conveyance was, indeed, the Holy Ghost; but the source of the Revelations was the Eternal Word; for the Spirit of Truth, animating and instructing the Apostles, was that Spirit of whom Christ said, "He shall *receive of mine*, and shall show it unto you." In like manner, under the ancient Dispensation, the "Angel of Jehovah," or God, as He appeared in the form of an Angel—He who afterward became incarnate under the name of Jesus Christ—was the immediate Revealer, until Israel's worship of the calf in Horeb. From that time His vis-

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<sup>1</sup>The *Second* Paraclete did not receive a full commission until after the glorification of the *First*. "The Holy Ghost was not yet glorified, because that Jesus was not yet glorified" (John, vii. 39). A simple case of zengma, where the verb is to be supplied from the clause following. Our translators have improperly put in the word *given*, making needless perplexity to many readers, and adopting, as they too often do, the gloss of the Romish Vulgate. A Romish book, like Ward's Errata, complains that *our* Version has not imitated this Vulgate often enough. Would that it had not been imitated so much!



ible presence before the hosts of Israel was withdrawn, and a created Angel sent to supply His place, and stand between Him and that stiff-necked people. Still He is here, as under the latter Dispensation, the essential and virtual Revealer; and the channel of communication between Him and the prophets is indicated by those phrases designating the condition under which Divine revelations are received, such as, "being in the Spirit," or, "the hand of the Lord" was upon such a prophet, or, "the Word of the Lord" came to such a prophet—terms answering to the New Testament expression, "the Word of God." And let it be said, in passing, that this "Word of God"—*το ῥῆμα του Θεου*—was an outgoing influence or representative activity authorized by the Eternal Word, not that Word Himself. The Eternal Word, through whom came all created things, who was with God, and was God, is the *ὁ λογος του Θεου* of St. John; in whose writings alone the personality of the Logos is, with determinative emphasis, revealed.

The close of these remarks upon the logical unity of the Scriptures, brings us to the proper subject of this paper—their Inspiration. A Revelation is a possibility; and we assume it here to be a fact. Beginning, then, with this postulate, that the Bible is a Revelation from God, we proceed to show, in discussing its Inspiration, the peculiar manner in which the Revelation was made.

Inspiration, which relates to the nature of the agency employed in the composition of the Bible, is to be distinguished from an inquiry into the genuineness and authenticity of Scripture, that is, whether the several books were written by those whose names they bear, and whether they relate matters of fact and doctrine truly. And, further, it is to be distinguished from Christian Evidences, which relate to the credibility of the contents of Scripture. The Scriptures would be valuable, indeed, were we to regard them only as historical documents, from which we might learn the doctrines of Christ, as we learn the doctrines of Socrates from the pages of Xenophon and Plato. But containing, according to our postulate, a Revelation from God bearing upon our eternal destiny, we desire to be satisfied beyond reasonable doubt, that in these Scriptures we have that Revelation in its original truth and unsoiled purity. This want Inspiration supplies. Through its aid we are able to believe, not only that the faith set forth in the Bible is Divine in its source, but that the inditing of the record which contains this faith historically, is Divine also.

Confessedly, the Bible contains two elements—a divine and a

human element. On the one hand, God has given a Revelation—on the other, this Revelation is conveyed in human language, and recorded by human agents. Hence every theory of Inspiration must recognize these two elements; and from the undue prominence given to the one, or to the other, almost all erroneous conceptions on this subject have arisen.

By what is called the Mechanical Theory, the Bible—as a whole and in every part—is the direct suggestion or dictation of the Holy Ghost. Not only the sense of Scripture, its statements of fact and doctrine, but each word, phrase, and sentence, with the order and grammatical arrangement of each word, phrase, and sentence, is the result of the immediate operation of the Spirit, the human agent serving only as the machine through which the Divine energy exerts itself. But this theory ignores the human element in the composition of the Bible, and makes its authors the pen, not the penmen, of Scripture. And when we ask its advocates to account for the strong individual peculiarities which mark the composition of the several Scripture writers, they reply that the Holy Ghost employed that language which the writers, if left to themselves, would have employed. The evident objection, however, to such an answer, is, that here a course of action is affirmed of the Spirit, for which no sufficient motive can be assigned, nor any special end pointed out.

Those, on the other hand, who exalt the human element in Scripture, or repress the Divine, may be divided into several classes.

The *first* are they who maintain that the Divine influence actuating the sacred writers, was universal, but unequally distributed. They are advocates of what is called the degree-theory of Inspiration—as, for instance, the Inspiration of Suggestion, the Inspiration of Direction, the Inspiration of Elevation, and the Inspiration of Superintendency—whereof the bearing is to reduce the Inspiration of certain portions of Scripture to a minimum value.

Under the *second* class may be comprised those writers whose favorite formula is, “The Bible *contains* the Word of God”—instead of, “The Bible *is* the Word of God.” These boldly affirm, not only the possibility, but the existence, of imperfections in Scripture, whether resulting from inadvertence, defect of memory, or want of knowledge.

The *third* class are represented by Schliermacher and his admirers, who confine Revelation entirely and rigorously to the Person of Jesus Christ, and the Redemption preached by His own

lips; and who, in consequence, hold that the infallible certainty of the objective truth of Scripture is excluded, by the inadequacy of human language to express the superhuman peculiarity of Christianity; that, accordingly, Revelation must be to our minds a subjective reality, and cannot stand off as an objective truth; that the Inspiration of the Apostles consisted in the Spirit's working in them an elevation of faith, whereby they reached and appropriated, so far as might be, the *Revelation given to Christ*; and that from this stand-point, they, by means of such faith, developed, in a natural way, their new religious ideas and conceptions; and that the sole power of the Bible to make *us* partakers in this Revelation consists in its awakening and invigorating the Divine life in the soul by holding up before it the mirror of Christ's life, and the intense devotion of His earliest disciples to His sinless and unsparing example. For such an end, they maintain, it is not necessary that the Scriptures should be objectively inspired; *i. e.*, have an Inspiration *in* and *of* themselves. With such people, the Scriptures are to have an æsthetic inspiration, like a superb picture with a Greek, an imposing statue with a Roman Catholic, or the suggestive Eucharist with a Zuinglian or an Independent.

It may be well here to particularize some of the more prominent theories contained under the first and second classifications above given. There are those, then, who maintain that Inspiration did not spring from an outward commission to write any particular book, but only from a Divine light illuminating the mind of the author, or irradiating the age in which he lived—a gift he was (so to speak) to gather in, that is, appropriate and employ, as necessity or propriety might dictate. Again, there is a view of Inspiration which distinguishes between matters of fact and matters of doctrine; as if the Messianic facts and doctrines did not intermingle in a manner so essential, that the facts may be called doctrines, and the doctrines facts. Another view makes the subject matter or thoughts of Scripture the suggestions of the Holy Spirit, but the expression of these thoughts, in language, the work of the writers. Yet another view teaches that God has imparted to the Bible His own perfections; and that hence the detection of a single error is fatal to the credibility of the whole. Another makes the inherent possession of religious truth by the Apostles, depend on the measure of their exemption from sin. Another estimates the Divine character of Scripture by the proximate relation in which its authors stood to Christ—the Apostles having the loftiest degree of Inspiration, Luke and Mark a lower one.

The erroneous character of these views will appear when the true idea of Inspiration is established. To present the nature and proof of this idea will now, under the guidance of our author, be our aim.

The theory of Inspiration he maintains, is that which supposes, as its first condition, that the Divine influence employed man's faculties, not in the way of miraculous exception, but according to natural laws. Man is not considered as, in any sense, the originator or proposer of Revelation, but human agency is regarded as the condition under which the Revelation of God is disclosed to others. It supposes an intimate union between the Divine and human elements, resembling that between the Divinity and the Humanity of the Son of God incarnate; or such as exists in Christian believers, between a soul and the grace which sanctifies it. This, as opposed to a mechanical or ideal union, has been termed the Dynamical theory of Inspiration—a theory which supposes the Divine and human elements to be united Dynamically, that is, in the way of coöperation, or according to the strength or capability of each. The other condition is, that portions of the Bible are not, strictly speaking, Revelations. The distinction between Revelation and Inspiration is a leading and predominant thought in this treatise. By Revelation is meant a direct communication from God to man, of that which either transcends human reason, or which, from whatever cause, was unknown to the person to whom the Revelation was imparted. By Inspiration is meant that influence of the Holy Ghost, under whose guidance, in whatever way (for it is the *result* of this guidance, as presented in Scripture, not the *manner* of the Spirit's operation, with which we are really concerned) the human agents, chosen of God, have officially proclaimed His will by word of mouth, or have committed that will to writing. Some portions of Scripture are Revelations; every portion is inspired. The Revelations were recorded under the influence of Inspiration. So, the two ideas represented by the words Revelation and Inspiration, are thoroughly distinct; still, they stand related in this way, that without Inspiration, a Revelation would, in a great measure, lose its value as a Catholic rule or guide. Again, Revelation and Inspiration differ as to their source, the Eternal Word being the Revealer, the Holy Ghost the Inspirer. Yet another distinction may be mentioned. In Revelation, the words themselves are God's, as in the Grand Covenant called the Ten Commandments.<sup>1</sup> In Inspiration,

<sup>1</sup> The title of the Decalogue is, perhaps, not sufficiently attended to. In

they are man's, for we see in them every man's peculiarities; but both may be written under the extraordinary guidance of the Spirit. The difference between the two is specific, and not one of degree merely. So that a man may have had a Revelation, which he has not been inspired to put on record; and another may have been inspired, while he has never been entrusted with a Revelation to be communicated to The Church.

Before proceeding to the proof, it is fit to mention certain details relating, firstly, to the inspired authors of Scripture; secondly, to their inspired productions. 1. The agency of the Holy Ghost in the sacred writers, is not to be conceived of as a permanently operating power, but as one that manifested itself at different times, and in different degrees and forms of activity. Hence, inspired men were sometimes the authors of uninspired productions. For example, St. Matthew first wrote a Gospel in Syriac, or Hebrew; the present Greek Gospel being a translation or revision at his hands, with more or less of change. The former, as uninspired, was never received generally into the Canon; the latter, as inspired, became a legitimate portion of the Bible. 2. It is no doubt correct to say that each sacred writer was selected by the Spirit with a regard to his individual character and opportunities. His natural character was not suppressed, nor the man converted into a passive vessel, through which the message from God flowed, as it were, mechanically. But his natural and individual character was the *condition* under which the Revelation recorded by him was made known, and he thus became (as was said above), not "the pen, but the penman of Scripture." And, farther, God doubtless chose these several

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Exodus, xxxiv. 28, Moses says: "He wrote (that is, God Himself wrote) the words of the Covenant—the ten words," as the margin properly has it; meaning, doubtless, the ten articles of the Covenant, or compact, between Jehovah and His people. It is all important that we understand the Covenant to be not ten abstract statute laws, but articles of an agreement; and, of course, each containing a condition and an implied promise. It will be said, no doubt, that the first commandment with a promise is the fifth, according to Eph. vi. 2. But on looking at the Greek, the reader will find that the adjective comes *after* the noun, and is emphatic, and not numeral. It means *foremost*, because the fifth commandment is foremost with its promise, that is, expresses it. In the others, the promise is implied. This is a most momentous topic, not sufficiently understood. Why, even in the Prayer Book we do not say, "God spake these commandments," but "these words," that is, the words of the Covenant which follows. If the response had been "to observe Thy will," and not "to keep this law," the people might have looked upon the Covenant as a kinder thing than a Draconian Code.



authors with reference to their peculiar personal characteristics, to the end that Divine truth might be presented in all its phases, and with an adaptation to all emergencies, tastes, and conditions. 3. The Inspiration of the sacred writers, differing both in degree and in kind from ordinary Inspiration, was an *objective* energy, and designed to meet the wants of the Church Catholic. The Inspiration of the Christian is *subjective*, and directed to the moral improvement of the individual. It is the same Spirit, but operating in a specifically different manner. Both of these Inspirations may exist at the same time in the same person. The only analogy between them is, that by neither were man's natural faculties obliterated or suspended, but used according to their habitudes and capabilities. We never, *e. g.*, lose sight of St. Paul's idiosyncrasy, in his Epistles and speeches, any more than we do of that of Cicero, in his epistles and orations. 4. The agency of the Holy Ghost did not render the sacred authors morally perfect in conduct, but infallibly true in religious teaching; their authority resting upon a purely objective communication of Divine truth from on high. When they acted unofficially, the influence of the Spirit was His ordinary influence; when acting officially, the Spirit's influence was extraordinary, and conveyed the gift of infallibility. A distinction which a Romish Doctor cannot possibly dispute!

As to the inspired productions of the sacred authors, it should be noted,—1. That one Book is as veritably inspired as another. For example, while Moses was the most favored among the prophets, seeing the Lord God spake with him *face to face*; yet his writings are not more genuinely inspired than the Book of Esther, against which it has been objected that it contains no express mention of the name of God. Let it be said, however, in passing, that cavillers seem to be needlessly unaware that the Divine character of a sacred book turns not upon the literal inscription of God's name upon its pages, but upon considerations which honor Him not less, if in quite another way. God's name is not inscribed, *literally*, upon the works of creation. Their criticism would go to show that the Lord's Prayer, though uttered by Christ's own lips, is not a Christian prayer, seeing the *name* of Christ does not appear in any of its clauses. 2. Inspiration is objective, extending to every portion of every book, and renders the Bible essentially different from merely human compositions. 3. Inspiration extends to the language, as well as to the subject matter of Scripture. We are not to conceive of the Bible as being the product of two separate agencies; that God is the author of its thoughts, and the sacred writers authors of



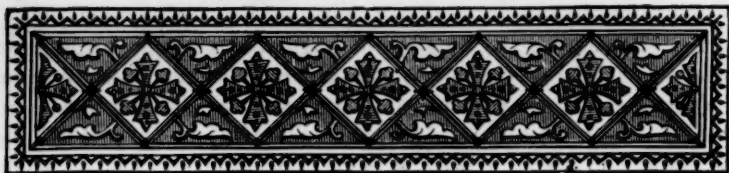
its words. The Spirit is the vital and productive principle, both of its substance and its form. Not that He dictated its phraseology, but that the writers, in their use of language, were under His promotive and directive influence. This Spirit is the source of unity to the Bible, which, through its operation, becomes an homogeneous organism. 4. Inspiration holds as to the reasoning of Scripture. It has been asserted that the *conclusions* reached by the sacred writers are inspired, these being the doctrines or revelations of Scripture; but that to defend the Bible, we are not bound always to accept the *reasonings* employed in reaching those conclusions, because such reasonings have been supplied (it is said) by the writers themselves, out of their own resources. Let it be observed, however, that while such a notion confounds the ideas of Revelation and Inspiration, it can be further answered, that the *liability* to error in the reasonings of the sacred writers thus assumed, is, as one has remarked, entirely gratuitous, inasmuch as they can, in point of fact, be successfully defended against any such error.

With others, this theory (as to the uninspired character of Scripture reasoning) results, as they affirm, from the nature of the syllogism, according to which, he who asserts the major premiss, asserts the conclusion; in other words, that the conclusion is an inference from that premiss. Starting with this assumption, they reason thus: The major premiss being some Revelation from God, we have but to employ the formal laws of thought to reach the conclusion; and that to predicate inspiration of logic is unnecessary, and a sheer absurdity. Here, again, we note a confounding of the ideas of Revelation and Inspiration; and, moreover, it is a sufficient answer to say that, admitting this account of the nature of the syllogism to be correct, it is very far from being true that the course of reasoning, flowing from universally acknowledged principles, is so certain, and conducts to such universally accepted conclusions, as to make an inspired development of a Divine Revelation a waste of effort, and an absurdity.

But a more scientific answer can be found in that philosophical delineation of the nature of a syllogism, advocated by the late J. S. Mill. His theory is, that what follows the major premiss, is not a process of inference, but a process of interpretation; that the force of a syllogism stands in an inductive assertion, with an interpretation added; only, we must subjoin, what Mr. Mill would never do, that in cases coming under the categories of Scriptural theology and positive Divine law, general propositions, and not particular facts, would be our original data. Where the premisses are derived

from observation, the function of reasoning is simply to interpret the major premiss, which is then a general formula or record, gathered, by way of experience, from observed facts; and the conclusion is not drawn *from* the premiss, but *according* to the premiss, the original antecedent or premiss being the particular facts, of which the major premiss is the inductive assertion. "By the indications of this record, we draw our conclusion; and syllogistic rules are but a set of precautions to ensure our reading the record correctly." In cases, however, coming within the scope of Scriptural theology and positive Divine law, general propositions, not particular facts, become our original data; and the function of reasoning then is simply to interpret the language of the Divine or human law-giver, as announced, in order to determine whether God's will applies to the particular case. Hence we see the necessity of Inspiration, to serve as a guide in *interpreting* the Divinely revealed postulates from which the reasoning flows; and this necessity is evidently augmented, when the minor premiss, as it frequently happens, is not a self-evident proposition, but the conclusion of a second syllogism, resulting in another train of reasoning.

In this present article, our aim has been to set forth the nature of Inspiration, as expounded by our acute and elaborate author. It remains that we examine the proof which he adduces; and this we propose to do in an article which is to follow.



## BOOK NOTICES.

STUDY UPON THE SONG OF SONGS. By Ernest Renan. Paris. 1871.  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April, 1874.

It may seem singular to some that Renan, a romantic sceptic, and the Westminster Reviewers, who are scientific sceptics, could find any common ground on which to work against "The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's." So it might seem as singular to others, that eighteen hundred years ago, Herod, an Oriental and a Jew, and Pontius Pilate, an Occidental and a Pagan, could find any common ground on which to act against Christianity. But these antagonistic characters easily found themselves *en rapport*, as the French say, when a personage was to be condemned whom both would gladly have thrust aside, though for very different reasons.

Of course, Renan cares not a French *sous* for the Song of Solomon, as a sacred book, or one having appreciable value, as a part of Jewish canonical Scripture. The Westminster Reviewers would not waste a drop of good London ink on it, for any claim it might put in as a bare literary curiosity; for they might exclaim over it, as the mathematician did over "Paradise Lost,"—"Well, what does it prove!" But if it is really and truly a canonical book, and reputedly an inspired one, *then* Monsieur Renan can take unfeigned delight in showing that an amatory drama—a mere erotic poem, like one of the licentious Catullus, to which the "Westminster Review" specially likens it—is fit for the niche, into which it has been ex-

alted by dogmatic theology. Anything calculated to make the mistakes of theology glaring—to work a solitary one of them into a big-sized blunder, like an Irish bull—can afford some minds the same sort of gratification which thrills through Satan, when he beholds the fall of a good man from the path of virtue.

Accordingly, as we are prepared to expect, Renan can make nothing out of Solomon's Song, but something so violently, not to say shamelessly, erotic, that religionists ought to blush to find such a tract among articles which they are called on to venerate, as if the gift of a better world, and the endowment of inspiration. With him, it casts a shadow of darkness and spoliation on all the rest of the books associated with it, and becomes, like the fabled upas-tree, destructive to its neighborhood.

And this is a conclusion which even a scientific sceptic like a Westminster Reviewer can behold with a satisfaction, not surpassed by that with which Sancho Panza would have looked upon the *savant* "who invented sleep." For *he* has an account to settle with the Bible, for grievances of another sort, and if the volume can be brought into moral disrepute, this helps on its depreciation for the scientist. So such a Reviewer tries to eke out, with his historic and philosophic literature, the fancies of Renan, and winds up with the supremely comfortable reflection that Religion is most effectually and altogether done for. "We have learned to smile at the credulity of the theologian, we deride his pretensions, and tread his dogmas under our feet. Whether for good or for evil, faith is becoming a thing of the past, and it would be wise in those concerned to set their houses in order without delay." That is to say, Religion has only got to whine out its *Nunc dimittis*, and be permitted to slink off into silence and oblivion. Rather a poor way, this, we fancy, of trying to convert people to other folks' modes of thinking; but we suppose we must take things as we find them.

Still, the case is manageable enough, we venture to believe, even with worldly weapons. We can composedly retort the high disdain, in its own style of argumentation.<sup>1</sup> We can, for instance, ask with what sort of face science can boast of mathematical accuracy, and at last tell us, with the drollest sort of visage, that she has for centuries been mistaken about such a grand, central, and fundamental fact as the distance of the earth from the middle of the solar system? This is a fact of such immeasurable importance, that all the world is astir to settle it, if possible, by the transit of Venus, in 1874. It enters

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<sup>1</sup> Remembering Solomon, too. Prov. xxvi. 5.

into all our calculations about time, in ten thousand ways and shapes, and yet science has missed the figures for it by thousands and by millions! So, if we poor theologians make now and then a small mistake, we opine that scientists should be a little less derisive, and remember, with more fidelity, the old adage: *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*. If Catullus did not write this, Horace did, and he ought to be sufficient for our purpose.

But, to be somewhat graver, for fastidious readers. The Reviewer, anxious, for his own ends, to bolster Renan, seems to think we must abandon the Song of Solomon, because it can be *proved* to be a drama. Indeed? This is certainly startling. For, then, we suppose, it follows logically, that we must relinquish the Apocalypse, which even respectable theologians have considered to be, at the least, not undramatic. And then Genesis must follow suit, with its drama of Creation and the Fall; and so on, till there is nothing left which is worth careful keeping.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, it is to us something "bran new," that because a composition is put into the dramatic form, it ceases to be truth at all, and becomes the reflection of an utter unreality—becomes what Pindar calls "the shadow of a dream." Why, the history of St. George of Cappadocia might be dramatized, but he would be none the less a reality to our British cousins. The story of Joan of Arc might be dramatized, and be none the less memorable to Frenchmen. Our own countryman, Longfellow, has written a dramatic volume which he calls "The New England Tragedies," but old John Endicott's eye of fire, the raw backs of Anabaptists, and the wry necks of Quakers, cannot thereby be converted into shadows of the past, or fancy-pieces hung along the walls of a gallery of pictures.

For our poor selves, not having the fear of Renans or Westminsterians before our eyes, we are presumptuous enough to declare, that we can glean a lesson out of the Song of Solomon, which we think no mean one, nor beneath the dignity of an inspired composition, nor inconsistent with its truth as a part of our tuition from on high. The Reviewer, it is not to be gainsayed, loses over it his equanimity, and becomes as severely positive as if

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<sup>1</sup>According, however, to Professor Lee, the Reviewers and Renan are altogether mistaken in connecting the idea of *drama* with Hebrew literature. "Neither the Hebrews, Chaldeans, Syrians, nor Arabians, so far as we know, ever yet entertained anything like the drama of Greece, or in the least degree assimilated either to its dramatic or epic composition" (Lee's "Job," Introduction, p. 11).

he had the Pope to back him. "Whoever was its author," is his magisterial dictum; "certainly Solomon was not. The part he plays is but a poor one; and, indeed, an ill-disguised hostility to his reign and his memory pervades the whole composition." Now, if there is any force in such a representation, it would go just as strongly against Solomon's authorship of the Book of Ecclesiastes; while, nevertheless, one of the chief reasons for believing that Ecclesiastes is "certainly" Solomon's own handiwork—really and truly is—that in it, like a sincerely good man, he speaks against himself; tells his own mistakes, that others may take warning from his example.<sup>1</sup> He had done wrong intellectually, as a philosopher; he was penitent, and not ashamed or afraid to tell his errors, that others, who had less reason to be proud, might not wrap themselves up in their self-sufficiency, and have the fall that he had. He had not used his wisdom, as he did at first, for practical purposes, when he decided the motherhood of an apparently forlorn baby. He had used it, as Renans and Westminster Reviewers have used theirs, for fruitless speculations, and for prying where he had better have paused, and been content with what God permitted him to know. But, ah, a use of it for practicable and charitable purposes was not sufficient for his restive philosophical ambition. He "gave his heart to seek and search out *all* things that are done under heaven." Then heaven scourged him, by the very instrument of his audacity, and he lived to see that an increase of knowledge, with such aims, worried him, instead of calming him; made him cry like the barren, more, *more*, *more*, and ended in an increase to his sorrows. But he was thoroughly penitent, at last; made a confession, though not an auricular one, and left his experience on record for similar adventurers. Oh, that they would lay it to heart, and read Ecclesiastes with careful and solemn self-application! Then, where there are now ten doubters among our literate men, there would be but one!

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<sup>1</sup> "Men great on account of their piety, worth, abilities, etc., were likely to become objects of adoration, as had been the case among the heathen; and hence, I believe, they have seldom failed to leave behind them strong marks of their own frailty. This, indeed, has often been made an objection to the Sacred Books; it is, however, the surest possible mark of the ignorance of the objectors" (From Professor Samuel Lee's work on the Book of Job, p. 46, note). This work never had half its due. Its learning and orthodoxy—even amid the neologism of the day—are still beyond impeachment. Lord Brougham, with all his eccentricities, was no mean judge of talent. When Lord Chancellor, he promoted Professor Lee. Unasked, too!



But, Solomon was not only an erring philosopher; he was an erring husband, also. He plunged into polygamy and free love, just as he had plunged into speculation; and the result was, that to mental disquietude—traces of which we can see running all through Ecclesiastes—he added domestic inquietude, and had his ears dinned, and his peace broken, and his feelings lacerated, by what may be called domestic civil war. There must have been an incessant fight; or, at the best, an armed neutrality, in a harem of a thousand inhabitants, all striving for the mastery, and especially for the mastery over *him*. Is it strange, is it in anywise wonderful, that a man who had undergone such a tremendous marital campaign, should burst out into the praises of *monogamy*, and the love of one; and do his utmost—in a composition to Orientals, of the most attractive kind—to show, to *prove*, how a single, quiet wife might be a thousand-fold better than a thousand restless, wrangling, and insatiate—if, notwithstanding, pretty—ones? That he should put on record his fervent *Amen* to a prayer which his father offered in his Psalms—viz., that he might be delivered from “the strife of tongues?” We humbly think not; and while, then, we think that Solomon has endeavored to show us, in Ecclesiastes, the mistakes he made as a philosopher, in the Canticles he has, by a *per contra* process—i. e., by a picture as opposite as possible to what had given him daily heart-aches—endeavored to show us his mistakes as a husband, and his longings for one reliable wife, that might be worth, to him, all the rest; who cared for position, for jewelry and dresses, for license and entertainments, for round after round of mere self-gratification, but little or nothing for *him*, save as a means to their selfish ends. To us, accordingly, the Canticles, drama if it be—and drama let it be, if Renan and Westminster Reviewers are distressed to have it otherwise—is a commendation of monogamy, and one true love; of such a marriage and such a love as God instituted in Paradise, and as human beings have ever found the happiest, when they have honored it, and lived in it, in the fear of its Allwise Author.

The moral of such a piece of composition ought to be found, if it has an expressed one, in its conclusion. And there, with due thanks to the Reviewer, we are charmed to find, that even anti-theological criticism has been enabled to discover one. It is announced to us, however, in a characteristic way. “The concluding verses form a moral, drawn from the events of the play, and were, doubtless, placed in the mouth of a sage or elder.” The moral, then, must have a *sage* element in it, to draw out such

approbation, equivocal, or cynical, as some hastily might think it. We verily believe, that Solomon's moral was not unworthy his reputation as a sage, and befits those elder and cooler years which were enabling him to contemplate his worrisome, domestic affairs from the stand-point of thorough experience. And we find this moral, in that striking description of true monogamic love, and the jealousies of meretricious love, with which the book concludes. Love, such as it ought to be—the love of two wedded hearts, given to each other devotedly, and not thrown broadcast—oh, of such love exclaims Solomon, amid the distractions of a harem, “Many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it.” And, again, when he would estimate its preciousness, he puts in competition with it what has been so powerful in bygone ages, and has not quite lost its mightiness in our own,—the love of bribes. If a man, he continues, who enjoys not such love, would give “all the substance of his house” to buy it of another, who *did* enjoy it, even such a bribe “would utterly be contemned.” While jealousy, with its baleful fires, kept fresh and glowing by a thousand busy ministries; oh, *that* “is cruel as the grave. The coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame.” Of a truth, jealousy may be likened to no truer representations than the sepulchre, which never spares, and a raging flame, which adds consumption to its torments, and annihilates its victim. If Solomon had been as eminent for a poet, as he was for a philosopher, he could hardly have described the blessings of true love, and the curses of false love, in livelier or more energetic language. He could not have put a true home, and the home of concubinage, in stronger contrast; could not have proved, more picturesquely, the claims of monogamy amid the votaries of polygamy.

Amid, then, the errors and evils of all sorts which surround and interpenetrate the court of a monarch, where polygamy and free love had been a bane, pitiless as the grave, and corrosive as fire, who cannot see, not an eminent fitness only, but an eminent beauty, in *such* a lyric against their mischiefs, as the song of a moaning sufferer like Solomon? Verily, such a lyric, under such circumstances, is indeed “a song of songs.”

May we be permitted to add, that there are three Books in the Elder Scriptures, which are often looked upon as mere antique curiosities; which, nevertheless, contain lessons that are preëminently pertinent for our own days of self-conceit, lawlessness, and vanity: The Book of Job, which illustrates the fact that the providences of God are disciplines, and not final retributions—thus

rebuking Universalism; the Book of Ecclesiastes, giving us the confessions of an abuser of his reason—thus rebuking self-willed scientists; the Book of Canticles—rebuking free love, and abuses of matrimony. These books are esteemed quite unworthy a claim to inspiration. That is the last ground on which they should be rejected. He must have the ears of the adder who cannot hear in them the voice of Heaven, protesting against still prevalent and pestilent errors.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION, A.D. 1517. By James C. Robertson, Canon of Canterbury, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London. A new and revised edition, in eight volumes. Vols. i. ii. iii. New York: Pott, Young & Co., Cooper Union. 1874. 16mo. pp. xxiv.-445. Price \$2.25. Vol. ii. pp. xii.-446. Vol. iii. pp. xii.-479. Same price.

We have known this Church History from its first introduction to the English public, many years ago, and we well remember the pleasure with which we hailed it, as a fulfilment of one of the dying wishes of Bingham, the celebrated and peerless author of the "Christian Antiquities." Bingham had amply purchased the right to say what theological books the English public greatly wanted, and he gave utterance to his opinion in a sort of *cycnea vox*, when winding up his life's work, and commending it to posterity. One of his *desiderata* was a fitting Church History. And it did seem almost profanely strange, that more than a century should pass away, and no English scholar arise, who might be considered a fair respondent to the plaintive antiquarian.

Milner's work was not intended as a text-book, but for popular reading. Moreover, it was altogether one-sided. His chief aim was to give the history of what he considered the better portion; that is, the evangelical portion of the Church, and leave the history of other portions, as among things which (rubrically speaking) were neither to be said nor sung. Milner was professedly one of the old party, to which Hannah More and Charles Simeon belonged, and of course it is easy to perceive that the genuine part of the Church, the "vital piety" part of it in his eye, was about all which would receive, as the diplomatists say, "distinguished consideration."

Mosheim's work *was* intended for collegiate and seminary purposes. But he so crowded and studded it with facts and references of all sorts, shapes, hues, and dimensions, that it became a *quasi* dictionary of Ecclesiastical History—a book to be consulted occa-

sionally, and not to be read continuously. To a young student, longing and panting for something exciting and entertaining, it was about as hard to thrum and pore over, as Johnson's great lexicon would have been, if put into his hands as a treatise upon English literature.

Something was wanted which might be less one-sided than Milner, and more readable than Mosheim, and this Mr. Canon Robertson has undertaken to furnish; and, as we think, has succeeded in furnishing. Its notes, in their number and character, show that the learned may find it useful. But the question has been somewhat anxiously raised, Can it be recommended as a work for popular reading? Church History is usually esteemed dry and dreary enough, though patient adventurers in its wide domain have been sometimes amazed at its checkered and wonderful variety of incident, and ended with the persuasion that it was not devoid of even the romantic, and might furnish matter for many a novel, and a somewhat sensational novel, too. But the complaint has been made, and pretty loudly, that its authors have not so much as tried to be attractive, and that the young, especially, could take in it but little if any permanent interest.

We very well knew the commonness of the complaint, for we had often encountered it as a pastor. And, therefore, when a young and intelligent gentleman intended for the counting-room, and not for a learned profession, lately confirmed, came to us, and frankly said he would like to peruse something in the line of general Church History, as a good employment for some of his leisure hours on Sunday, or week-days, we concluded to make an experiment. If he had asked for something relating especially to the Church History of England, we should of course have recommended to him Mr. Southey's book of the Church; a work put into the most attractive form by its accomplished author, and with particular reference to the case of young persons newly confirmed. This work, as we have been taught to believe, was the fruit of a natural Episcopal solicitude. Some of the Bishops of the Church of England importuned Mr. Southey to undertake it. And the result showed, that they knew well whom to employ for their Church's sake, and that of her children dawning into womanhood and manhood. Southey's book of the Church is a popular work still, and ought to be on the library-shelves of every Sunday-school in our communion.

But our youthful friend wanted a general, and not a particular Church History, and so, as we remarked, we determined to attempt

an experiment. We said to him, Here is a new book in the direction you wish to follow. Read it, not too hastily, not too much at a time, so as to be able to think over the matter you have mastered, and with a careful compliance with one direction. What is that? Let the notes alone, and confine yourself entirely to the text. The notes relate to side-issues, and other matters, for which your education has not prepared you to an acquaintance, with which your station in life does not call you to puzzle yourself. Read the text only—keep up the continuity of the story, go straight ahead, as we Americans say, and by-and-by come to me and tell me the result. In due time he did so. He was perfectly delighted with the task I had assigned him, and found Robertson one of the most agreeable historians he had ever taken up. He was, in fact, completely charmed to find so much about the history of religion in the world, to find it so intertwined with the histories of politics, philosophy, literature, and governments, and that it could afford him abundant entertainment, as well as highly profitable instruction.

Now, in view of this fair and decisive experiment, we incline to the opinion, that the laity at large, if they would follow the same course, would ascertain that Robertson's volumes are among the best standard ones for Sunday reading which they could possibly own. In time they would make the pleasant discovery, that the attention bestowed on them was altogether self-rewarding. They would ascertain that they furnished an incessant series of subjects to be talked over in the family circle, thus furnishing good material for religious conversation at any time. A judicious parent might, by means of them, point to modern and living parallels, and thus make indelible impressions on the minds of his children. Even among young men intended for Holy Orders, we have always found that they who studied dogmatic theology, in the way of history—under its historical aspects—always understood it best, had the clearest ideas about it, took most interest in it, and remembered it the longest. We wish that the heads of Church families would combine the study of a catechism, which young people often shrink from for its abstract and scientific statements, with the study of Church History, and see for themselves if we are not talking common-sense, and about a very practicable plan. Let them, for instance, combine the study of the Creed, with the history of the Arian and other controversies, and see if light will not break in from unexpected quarters, and if they will not find reasons for doctrinal statements which before were not so much as dreamed of. Moreover, in this way, too, they may gradually wean young people



from that cram of newspapers and story books—not to say novels—which often drives out soberer reading, and begets a taste for trash which injures the spiritual welfare of multitudes.

We are much pleased to find that Messrs. Pott, Young & Co. have begun to publish Robertson's work, in a very neat and handy shape, and at a very reasonable price. We are particularly gratified by their abandonment of the octavo size, and their selection of that which Dr. Johnson, who even growled out good things, took a special delight in. No householder could have a better series of volumes for a domestic religious library.

OUTLINES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM, APPLIED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. By C. E. Hammond, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xii. and 138.

It would not be much to say of this book,—It is the nicest thing of the kind going; for it is about the only accessible thing which gives to English scholars the latest results of Textual Criticism, in relation to the New Testament. Still, it is unquestionably a great desideratum, since many, who are not professedly textual critics, desire to possess, in as small compass as may be, not the *processes*, but the *results*, of the latest study and research. We have them here, with an excellent arrangement of supplemental matter, in five appendixes, and two indexes. We say appendixes and indexes, quite deliberately; for if appendix and index are regularly incorporated into the English tongue, and made *bona fide* English words, we hold that it is not necessary to go backward into the Latin, and despoil them of English rights. So we give them English plurals, and calculate to keep on doing so, until cloven to the chine by some lexicographical champion.

The book commences with a sketch of the History of the Textus Receptus. It then goes on to the Various Readings. Then it dwells on the Manuscripts of the Greek Text; then it enlarges upon Versions,—particularly the Versions of the New Testament; then it comes to Patristic quotations; then discusses the evidence derived from the foregoing sources; and winds up with a chapter on Historical Corroboration. The first appendix relates to Canons of Criticism; the second, to disputed passages; the third, to Greek Uncial Codexes; the fourth, to Latin Codexes; the fifth gives a list of Patristical writers, dates, etc. The first index relates to passages of the New Testament, referred to in the work; and the second, to general matters.



We have been particular in giving this summary, so that it may be seen at once, by the practised eye, that the points made refer to, and embrace, all the main topics of the subject under examination. Scholars only would wish to go more into details and ramifications; while, even to them, this unpretending epitome will prove a valuable, not to say an indispensable, guide,—as a directory or redaction for constant reference, and the refreshment of weary, or fading, memories. Mr. Hammond has been a lecturer—and a scholastic one—upon the topic he treats of, for students in the University of Oxford. So he tells us in his book what has been spoken *in cathedra*, if it have not always an *ex cathedra* authority. We believe he tries to be impartial; and that is a virtue, in a critic or a lexicographer, of the first water. Too much learning breeds crotchets. Like luscious meat, it is a revelling place for little animals, who have a name hardly respectable enough to speak plainly of in these days of affectation. Dr. Watts said, long ago, with a terseness which sometimes characterized him (though he did attempt rhymes for the nursery), that the pride of a grammarian was greater than the pride of a philosopher. The pride of a philosopher we can submit to, as to the missiles and explosions of “red artillery.” The pride of a grammarian annoys and pinches us, like too tight a boot; and we want to hurl it back at the author’s head, as we would fain hurl at the cranium of a son of Crispin his vexatious handiwork.

We think that Mr. Hammond has more of the candid philosopher about him than of the petty grammarian, and that, perhaps, is one of the highest praises which we can bestow upon his well-laid-out book. And we will venture but upon one thing more. He thinks that the Codex Sinaiticus might have been one of those fifty copies of the Scriptures which Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, prepared under the direction of the Emperor Constantine, to supply the dismal losses of the ages of persecution. It is well known, that the heathen made war not only on the persons of Christian believers, but upon their sacred edifices and sacred books. Utter extermination of them, and of their concomitants, was the aim of the times. So manuscripts suffered severely; and Eusebius was instructed to supply copies for other copiers, and for wide transcription.

The Codex Sinaiticus, Mr. Hammond and others maintain, was an *original* of the Constantine collection; but the Codex Vaticanus was not? Who knows? And how can such an argument as the shape of a page or a letter, go beyond a slender probability? So we are disposed to fondle *our* probability about the Codex Vati-

canus. It made its appearance at Rome not long after the downfall of Constantinople, in 1453! But Rome will never own up to a debt to Constantinople; and has watched her Codex with vestal vigilance. But why, unless Constantinople should get a little credit by it? If jealousy of Constantinople is the motive, we can understand it. *That* would be very Rome-like.

Now, *no Greek* Codex prior to A.D. 1500, contains the famous text, I. John, v. 7. Could that Eusebius of Nicomedia—cuter, as Americans would say, than many of his Arian brethren, and even more unscrupulous—could he have left it out? Of course this will be pronounced but a conjecture, and may be received with one of the characteristic sneers of the *Tribus Textualis*. But as their science fattens upon conjectures, we see no great harm in nursing one of our private probabilities with some of the same nourishment.

Still, in closing this notice, we beg leave to add the following, lest some should fancy this idea of Arian corruptions of St. John's text is clean out of our own head. The Church historian, Socrates, says this idea was not unfamiliar to the ancients. And in giving us the fact, as a current one, he uses a Greek word of a very expressive character. It intimates that the Arians were exceedingly handy fellows at the work they undertook ("Socrates," Book vii. chap. 32. Glass's *Sacra Philologia*, edit. *novissima*. 1705. Column 187). Glass's work is one of which the late Bishop Jebb, a most tasteful as well as erudite scholar, had a very high opinion. And he preferred *this* edition to the abridgement of Dathe.

PRINCE BISMARCK AND THE CHURCH OF ROME. "The Edinburgh Review" for April, 1874.

The reviewer of the policy of Prince Bismarck is certainly an able and cautious adviser, as a politician and a statesman, for he writes as if he were both. And he is no disguised satellite of the Church of Rome, think, if he may, that the renowned Chancellor has carried his anti-Romish legislation to a dangerous extreme. His idea is, that it is a false step, a decided error, to meet the action of the Court of Rome with the upraised arm of violence, to bury the lackeys of that Court in prisons, or to drive them into exile. Exile, as he alleges, will amount to nothing. The exiled will establish themselves right along the boundary-lines of Prussia, and exercise as intelligent and effectual a direction *across* those lines, as if they were domiciled *within* them. Fines and incarcerations are looked upon as physical coercions, and downright persecutions; and

sympathy gathers around the persecuted, and shrinks with a shudder from those who inflict pain and suffering.

Now all this is undoubtedly correct and true, and Prince Bismarck may lose greatly in public estimation if he puts himself *into*, or *near by* the awful chair of an inquisitor, and deals with dungeons, and things belonging to such a formidable category as do engines of force and terror. Nothing has ever damnified Romanism so much, or made so many disown her and turn Protestants, as her relentless cruelties *by* and *with* the Inquisition.<sup>1</sup> Of course Romanism, like a lawyer on the wrong side, does all she can by special pleading, and arguments based on technicalities. She maintains, for example, that the inquisition was an engine of the State, and not an engine of the Church. It was "Holy and Apostolic," indeed, as its name went, but it was a court, and as such, mere State machinery. But this was, literally and exactly, what the Puritan persecutors of New England said to all presumptuous dissenters from their platform. They, in the old Romish style, mixed up Church and State, so that by the "concomitancy" of the two, he who was an offender against the first, was an offender against the second also. But when it came to the matter of *excusing* the former, then the "concomitancy" could be adroitly passed by, and a culprit be told that it was the State who condemned and punished him, and not the Church! So the trick of making the State take the brunt of the matter is an old and a standing one, in Puritan history as well as Roman. *Arcades ambo!*

Unquestionably, the logic of New England orators, journalists, historians, and makers of school-books is precisely the logic of the Jesuit, when he exclaimed, in tragic terror at the imputation upon his Church of bloody inhumanity, *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine!* It was the magistrate, and not the ecclesiastic, who sent criminals to the torture and to death upon the rack, the block, the gibbet, and the stake. Yet suppose now the magistrate had said, The offence

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<sup>1</sup> Nothing ever damnified the New England Puritans like similar behavior. We have special reasons for knowing this; since one of our maternal ancestors was driven out of Congregationalism and into Quakerism by the cruelty of Massachusetts magistrates toward the broad-brimmed sect. They persecuted him afresh, in his new relations, and finally drove him and his into that precious refuge for non-Puritanical outcasts, Rhode Island. There they became Episcopalians, and the Episcopal blood flowing in our own veins is an inheritance from victims of expatriation. They became, we say, Episcopalians; a thing pronounced an easy feat for a Quaker, since he merely exchanges one formalism for another, and may be as stiff and precise as ever. Be this as it may, we own up to a thorough veneration for our ancestors in drab. Good, honest, old-fashioned Quakerism we sincerely admire. About the hybrid of later times, we desire to be as silent as if in a waiting Quaker-meeting.

is an ecclesiastical one and not a political one, it is heresy and not sedition, and I will not consent to do deadly execution for such a theoretical transgression; or, as Governor Winthrop said, when he was tired of such detestable work, "I will do no more of it." Alas, no Romish magistrate could have done so with assured impunity, but under such circumstances as those, when the Puritan magistrate made the adventure—on a death-bed. Had he attempted such a thing in health, and in his sober senses, the Church would at once have vindicated her insulted honor—would have excommunicated *him*, and he would have had to die the very death of whose horrors he refused to be the executioner!

Such insatiate persecution, how indirect soever, always meets its recompense. Rome cannot wipe her skirts clean, when its imputation is fastened on her. She could not live out, or live down, that imputation, if she had Popes who lasted as long as Methusaleh; or could not die, like the Wandering Jew. Her dark and red-stained cruelty has made its imprint on history's lowermost foundations, and she must turn time backward, and unwrite the clearest records; or she must bear still, and bear on, the stigma of the Apocalypse, "the woman drunken with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus" (Rev. xvii. 6).

Now, as he recalls such issues for persecutors, the astute and politic Edinburgh Reviewer—evidently quite at home amid the lessons of history—maintains, that Prince Bismarck must not scar his hands with the imprint of violence, in any shape. The reaction and the loss, as he argues, will be as sure to him, in the long run, as to the Romanist, and his imitator, the Puritan.

Well, then, what *shall* he do? Something must be done. That is incontestable; even if the Falk Laws (so called from their framer and introducer) have to be retreated from. This the Reviewer admits; for he frankly declares, it is "idle talk to maintain that these Papal decrees simply regard the affairs of the Church. They are the results of a deliberately aggressive policy of the Roman Court against the modern State, which is perfectly entitled—nay, obliged—to take its precautions against a power, *speaking of faith and conscience, but meaning dominion.*" (The italics are ours.) No doubt, then, "precautions" must be taken; but what shape shall prudence and forecast give them? Here the Reviewer is silent, or lost in generalities. Why not, then, let them take the shape of that instrument which Rome uses instinctively and lavishly,—excommunication; only, let it be excommunication in its civil form, and with its civil inconveniences? Why not let the State say to a

persevering dissentient from its authority, Have your way, and we will have ours as well? You refuse obedience; we refuse cognizance and protection. Your person, and liberty, and property, are no longer under the guardianship of the Government, which you dishonor. What would a Roman Bishop do if the State were thus to treat him, while yet she would not lay upon him the weight of her tiniest finger? He could not own a square foot of ground, or a brick in a church edifice. He could not transfer any property in his hands; could not make a will, collect a debt, or give security for a borrowed dollar. He could not show his head, or name, before any civil tribunal in the land. He would be an outlaw; and, if slain, no one could be indicted for his murder. He would be in greater distress than the victim of his own ecclesiastical alienation; and he might be held so, until having pitied his own victim, he might ask the law to pity his own self.<sup>1</sup>

We should like, exceedingly, to see such an experiment attempted. Disfranchisement is, sometimes, the best possible requital for cool, resolute, civil disobedience. It would, as the late Fennimore Cooper contended—no mean lawyer, or statesman, even if he did write romances—it would have been a far better instrument than guns and bayonets, in what was called the Helderberg War. And it would cost nothing, which was one of the grand arguments with Mr. Cooper, for its application in the Helderberg Rebellion. We have not the slightest doubt that it would have brought the Helderbergers to submission, sooner than sheriffs and an armed soldiery; while the State of New York would have saved dollars by the thousand.

To let a man alone is, sometimes, the sorest and dreariest predicament to which you can consign him. The sentence of the Judgment Day is,—“Depart from *Me*.” Its prelibation is pictured by the Prophet Hosea, “Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone!” (Hos. iv. 17.) Before so heaven-high an example, let the State withdraw judicially from the Romish prelates, who contemptuously disobey her. Let the ægis of her protection no longer surround and guarantee their civil rights and immunities; and then, let us see what will ensue.

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<sup>1</sup> Something in this direction was attempted, in Tuscany, by Leopold, its Grand Duke, brother of Joseph II., and a friend of the celebrated ecclesiastical reformer, Scipio De Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia and Prato. His government insisted on a civil *equeatur*, for Romish documents, etc. Rome squirmed, protested Luther-like, dodged, and tried all sorts of shifts and evasions. Leopold held on; and Rome, fearing a worse issue, submitted with as much civility as could be mustered.





# AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

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## NATURE AND PROOF OF INSPIRATION.

### II.

THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE: its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, by WILLIAM LEE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College.

IN a former article we considered the nature of Inspiration, as expounded by our author. We are now to examine the proof which he adduces. But, first, let us present something explanatory of the personal condition of the prophets when under the influence of the Spirit of Inspiration, and the sense we are to give to their prophecies.

The prophetic suggestion came immediately from God, and in no degree or sense from the powers or intelligence of the Prophet. The revelations imparted to them are divided into two classes,—those received when the senses were suspended, and those received when the prophet was awake, and in the exercise of all his faculties. The first class divides itself into revelations by dreams, and revelations by ecstatic visions. In ecstasy, the senses are partly suspended,

ciii.—1



either by the sublime character of the revelation, or by the energy of the Divine influence, or by both conjointly; the imaginative faculty and the Spiritual intuition alone remaining active, and being highly excited. Visions are the result of ecstasy. In dreams and ecstasy imagination is aroused, and the forms and symbols created by this faculty are presented to the spiritual vision of the prophet, as objects of thought. This is the origin of symbolic actions and symbolic visions; in the former, the prophet being an actor; in the latter, a spectator. The Divine communications or ideas the prophets translated into symbolic language. Under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, the imagination framed these symbols; being productive, where the symbols represented ideas beyond the range of human experience—and reproductive where the ideas were within that range, or related in a measure to this world of sense. The meaning of their prophecies the prophets did not always understand; nor can a sceptical argument be drawn therefrom, seeing it results from the nature and design of prophecy, that it was not always necessary, or intended, that the prophets should understand their predictions. The Spiritual sense of the prophets received a communication or vision from God, and their understanding contemplated the vision in order to comprehend it. They "searched" their own prophecies, as the Scriptures inform us (I. Peter, i. 10, 11).

While the prophets were in ecstasy (and their personal condition while in this state is not to be confounded with the impulse of the Holy Spirit), their senses were closed against impressions from the external world; but they retained an intelligent and perfect consciousness of their condition, and of what transpired therein; in this respect differing from the heathen seers. Yet they never gave utterance to their Divine communications, while in the ecstatic state; and in many cases a revelation was not committed to writing, till some years after it had been publicly announced. This consciousness of the human agent, and the elevation of his faculties in order to receive the Divine communication, are the tests of true prophecy.

A word to show the sense we are to attach to the prophecies. It is an error to suppose that each prophetic description relates to one and the same time, as well as object. The law of prophecy is, that a prophet always, or at least commonly, connects his prediction with some event happening at the time the prediction is made. Truth is very often in the middle between two opposite errors; and here she leads us to a point half way from Origen's excessively allegorical mode of interpretation, on the one side, and Theodore of Mopsuestia's excessively literal and bald mode on the other. In affirming

the double sense of prophecy, we hold that Scripture has no other meaning besides the simple meaning of its own words, but *under* this meaning, it has the same meaning, only lying somewhat more deeply. This is the perspective character of prophecy, according to which the prophet is represented as standing on an eminence, whence nearer objects are seen more clearly, and those farther off less so, surrounded with the haze of distance. Or, to supply another illustration from Scripture itself: What the servant of Elijah once saw as no bigger than a man's hand, became by-and-by a pall that covered the whole sky.

Another word to point out the nature of the Spirit of Inspiration possessed by the Apostles and writers of the New Testament Scriptures. We learn that Spiritual gifts, received singly, were designed either to sustain and adorn the Gospel before the world, or to support the individual against the trials of his day. For edification of others, a combination of at least some of these gifts was necessary; either a combination in the same individual, or when a gift possessed by one completed those possessed by another—as where the gift of tongues was necessary to be supplemented by the gift of interpretation of tongues. But all these gifts centred in the Apostles and their assistants. Upon them the Spirit descended with an energy so mighty, and in so many forefending aspects, that all possibility of error was removed. These New Testament writers are the Divine interpreters of the former Scriptures. “In the plenitude of their Inspiration, they go beyond the stand-point of consciousness of the Old Testament authors, and reveal the full and hidden meaning of their words.”

We now come to the proof for the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, as its nature was presented in a former article; and in offering it, we, at the outset, discard without ceremony the well-known Roman doctrine, that we are to believe in their inspiration solely upon the authority of the Roman part of the Church Catholic. Nor can we entertain that other proof, sometimes proposed, the witness of the Spirit—the Spirit's bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts. That this should be a primary or independent ground of our belief in Inspiration, is impossible, since it begs the question. And to a sceptic such a proof offered is perfectly meaningless; for his ready and conclusive objection would be, that he himself has no such witness, and that a proof of this sort is equally strong upon a Mohammedan as upon a Christian lip. Yet this witness of the Spirit is not to be cast aside, as having no bear-

ing whatever upon the matter before us. It has a function, and that is, not to prove originally, but to confirm. Receiving the Bible as a Divine and Inspired book, upon the proper evidence, this confirmation of its authority—not a demonstration, but rather a spiritual intuition—comes in as a precious treasure, and has the seal of the promise of Christ himself that “if any one [Greek] will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine” (John, vii. 17).

For the plenary Inspiration of Scripture, the first proof is the testimony of the Church of God.

With the remark that the Jewish Church was the custodian of the Old Testament, and that the Christian Church is the custodian both of the Old and of the New, we can affirm confidently that the fact of the Inspiration of the Scriptures has always been the belief of the genuine Church Catholic. She has borne witness to it with a strong, a steady, and an unwavering voice. The witness of the Jewish Church to the Inspiration of the Old Testament, is seen in the opinion of those Jewish writers who lived at or before the time of Christ—Philo and Josephus, for example—and whose opinion reflected faithfully the national sentiment.<sup>1</sup> The witness of the Christian Church to the plenary Inspiration, both of the former and of the latter Scriptures, is seen everywhere in the writings of the primitive fathers.

But the main argument for the Inspiration of the Bible must be drawn from its own pages; and this is not a *petitio principii*. The argument is not, that we believe Scripture to be true, because it is inspired, and then proceed to prove inspiration from its own declarations. But assuming its truth, as established by other evidence, we then show, from what it affirms, that its authors were inspired. The truth of Scripture, on the side of *fides humana*, rests, 1. Upon its genuineness and authenticity, viz.: that its books were written by the authors whose names they bear, or, at least, at the time, and among the people, and under the circumstances assigned. 2. Upon their credibility, which stands in those considerations that gain for the Bible public belief. 3. Upon their integrity, because we now have these books substantially in their original form; or, because they have not been so mutilated or falsified as to render their use uncertain or their meaning undiscoverable. Assuming, on these grounds, that the Scriptures, as historical documents, setting forth certain facts and doctrines, are true, we then proceed to show their

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<sup>1</sup> It is proper to add that subsequent Jewish writers, from their hostility to Christianity, have written against the Christian idea of Inspiration.

inspired character, on the side of *fides Divina*, from what they say of themselves, as having the warrant of Divine authority.

Supposing the Bible to be a Revelation from God, the antecedent supposition would be, that He would guide its authors in its composition, that it might be transmitted pure, and thus infallible, to after ages; and this supposition is confirmed by the statements of Scripture itself. These statements either ascribe Inspiration to the sacred books, taken collectively; or from them we may infer the influence of the Holy Ghost upon their authors. The proof is both indirect and direct.

And first, as to the Old Testament.

The Inspiration of the Old Testament has this warrant: God spoke through Moses, the first prophet (Ex. iv. 10-12); and the same supernatural guidance was promised to all the subsequent prophets (Dent. xviii. 18); seeing that these words in Deuteronomy, in their primary sense, relate to the prophetic office generally, although fully realized only in the person of Christ. Again, the Divine character of the elder Scriptures is testified to by Ezra, as Ezra, ix. 1-4, where the Law is referred to; and 10 and 11 vs., where the term "prophets" stands for *all* of God's inspired messengers, as we learn from Jer. vii. 25. The testimony of Nehemiah is to the same effect (Neh. ix. 30), where "prophets" is to be understood in the sense just mentioned. The witness of the Apostles to the Inspiration of the Old Testament, is contained in such texts as these: II. Tim. iii. 15, 16; I. Peter, i. 10-12; II. Peter, i. 21.

Regarding the New Testament, we are entitled to say, that the writings of the Apostles are inspired, first, by way of legitimate inference; for, as the Apostles affirmed that the Old Testament was inspired, and, as they further affirmed, that spiritual gifts abounded more in their days than ever before, we may fairly infer their belief in the inspiration of their own writings, even if express statements to that effect were wanting.

But we are not left to an inference which may be considered private interpretation. We are expressly told that Christ, on four distinct occasions before His Passion, promised His disciples the co-operative assistance of the Holy Ghost. Nor can it be maintained, that these promises relate to the oral teaching only of the Apostles; for if Divine guidance was necessary in their oral teaching, *a fortiori* was it necessary in their writings intended for the instruction and edification of all ages. The first of these promises was given to the Twelve (Matt. x. 19 and 20); the second to the Disciples (Luke, xii. 11 and 12); the third to Peter, James, John, and Andrew

(Mark, xiii. 11); the fourth is recorded in the fourteenth and following chapters of St. John's Gospel. The first three promises constitute one class; the fourth, another. The first three express the same idea, to wit, "When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." These words refer not merely to a courage and wisdom the Apostles were to exhibit, but to a veritable Divine guidance, of which courage and wisdom were to be the effects—a guidance *from without*, as appears by the words "it shall be given you"—a guidance as Divine, infallibly regulating their teaching, written as well as oral—and in the *form* as well as in the *substance*, as appears by the "*how or what ye shall speak.*"

That these promises of Christ were fulfilled is shown by the fact, that after His Ascension, His Apostles undergo a sudden and, without this explanation, unaccountable change. Shrinking before, now they are independent—timid and fearful before, now they are bold and courageous—doubtful as to the meaning of Christ's words before, now they are assured—fettered by Jewish prejudice before, now their conception of Christ's kingdom, both as to its extent and object, expands, and becomes coincident with truth as broad as it is high, at once Catholic and Celestial.

The second class of promises is found in John, xiv. 25 and 26, and xvi. 12-15. That is, first, the Holy Ghost, with infallible accuracy, was to bring our Lord's words and the facts of His life to the remembrance of the Apostles, and to preserve them from all error in drawing inferences from those facts. Secondly, He was to impart to them fresh knowledge from the treasures of Divine truth. The expression in John, xvi. 13 ("He will guide you into all truth"), does not mean that the Holy Ghost was to impart universal truth, giving them at once the endowments of linguists, scientists, and philosophers. The reference is to Evangelical truth; and, again, not merely to what are called the leading truths of the Gospel. The plain, simple meaning is, that the Apostles, when they spoke or wrote in their official character, should be altogether exempt from misconception and error.

We cannot suppose that the Inspiration of the Apostles consisted in their having, as being Christ's immediate followers, a more perfect knowledge of His discourses, and of the facts of His life, and that their writings are composed of a statement of these discourses and facts, and of inferences deduced therefrom in a natural way. Nor can we say that their inspiration consisted in the Spirit's kindling a



new life in their souls, whereby a greater degree of clearness and distinctness was diffused over their previous ideas. Facts in St. Peter's life and St. Paul's life, after Pentecost, disprove this. For example, that perfect knowledge of Christianity St. Paul enjoyed, could only have been obtained by long and intimate intercourse with the Apostles, or by direct revelation. But St. Paul (Gal. i. and ii.) denies such an intercourse, and for the very purpose of showing that he received the knowledge of the Gospel, not of man, but "by the revelation of Jesus Christ." The Comforter was "to teach the Apostles all things"—which function, we find, He did discharge toward them. The other assurance, that all things were to be brought to their remembrance, was also fulfilled, as we see in John, xii. 16.<sup>1</sup>

We may here add the negative argument for Inspiration, derived primarily from the impossibility, on the part of Hebrew peasants, to draw unaided, or even to excogitate, such a character as that of Jesus Christ; secondly, from the absence of personal feeling in describing, a precious characteristic habit often observed in the authors of Scripture. That they should express no wonder when narrating astounding miracles, no feeling of provocation, no bursts of indignation, when reciting the indignities and cruelties of Christ's death, can perhaps only be accounted for upon the supposition that they were guided in their writings by the attempering of the Heavenly Comforter.

Further, that Inspiration extends not only to the contents of Scripture, to the facts and doctrines the Apostles taught and recorded, but to its language or expressions, appears from I. Cor. ii. 13, where we read, "which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." And, again, from Gal. iii. 16—taken from Genesis, xxviii. 13 (lxx.)—where St. Paul founds his argument upon the singular number of a single word, *σπέρμα*, "Seed."

Concerning the manner in which the authors of Scripture speak of the result of the Divine guidance, we see, *firstly*, a perfect harmony between the Divine and the human intelligence, as illustrated

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<sup>1</sup> We see that the memory of the Apostles was quickened and clarified after Jesus was glorified. That is to say, after the Holy Ghost (His substitute when He had ascended) had been glorified also. For John, vii. 39, should read thus, supplying the verb, according to the rhetorical figure, *zeugma*, from the second clause: "The Holy Ghost was not yet glorified, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." Our translators have filled the rhetorical vacancy with the word *given*, and caused endless perplexities.



in those passages ascribed indifferently either to their Divine or human source. For example, the passage applied by St. Paul to the Jews at Rome, "Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet" (Acts, xxviii. 25), is thus simply cited by St. John: "These things said Esaias" (John, xii. 41). Such passages show that the Divine and human elements in Scripture were not ideally, mechanically, or artificially blended, but that there was a vital, dynamical combination or interpenetration of the human spirit and the Divine, making a completely harmonious union; the language and conduct of man becoming the channels through which God makes known His will. Turning to the New Testament, the harmony of the Divine and human intelligence is seen to be equally clear. "*We* are His witnesses of these things, and so is also the *Holy Ghost*" (Acts, v. 32). Again, "it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us" (Acts, xv. 28). We mark here a harmonious and diffusive combination of the Divine and the human intelligence. The Apostles were eye-witnesses; but their human testimony was, by the coöperation of the Spirit of God, exalted into Divine. *Secondly*, the result of the Divine assistance upon the Apostles was to impart a confident and commanding tone to their statements, causing them to oppose, with unblenching energy, any opposition to their doctrines. St. Paul goes to the length of denouncing an anathema upon any who would preach another Gospel. But, further, the Apostles, in express words, claim to speak with a Divine authority, *e. g.*, I. Cor. vii. 10, where St. Paul utters his injunction, as if he were a mouth-piece of the Lord—and ver. 40, where "I think" does not express doubt or uncertainty; *δοξεω* being often used to introduce a sentence, when it is not designed to diminish in the least the force of the affirmation, being equivalent to "I am sure." As regards the text, I. Cor. vii. 12, the contrast is not between the command of Christ and the human opinion of St. Paul, or between Divine and human knowledge—but between our Lord's expressed precept and the inspired judgment of the Apostle. And so, likewise, in I. Cor. vii. 25 and 26.

Those who tell us, that, admitting the Books of the Bible to be genuine and authentic, yet it nowhere appears that the sacred writers claimed a Divine commission to *write* them for the benefit of after ages, still less that such a commission was actually given, and that the motive which influenced them to write was alone their profound sense of the importance of the facts recorded or the communications made—those we refer to Numbers, xxxiii. 1 and 2. This shows us how a Divine commission to write was given, and how it was executed,

and therefore properly claimed. We are instructed in Deut. xxxi. 9, 24-26, that the whole Law was written by Moses, and apparently by his own hand, under God's most explicit instructions, and committed to the most sacred guardianship and protection. Nor is it to be supposed that a book, so peculiarly constructed and protected, would have a word added to it by others, unless upon a warrant equally clear, precise, and imperative. But knowing, as we do, that other *Jewish* writers did add to the Pentateuch itself, and to the whole sacred collection, forming what we now call the Old Testament, it would be unreasonable to affirm that they did not receive the same commission to write which was given to Moses, under sanctions as sacred as that of the Third Commandment. In Jeremiah, xxxvi. 1, 2, the Divine commission to write is given directly to the prophet himself: while in verse fourth, he informs us in what manner the commission was formally executed. And we must suppose that Ezra and Nehemiah, independently of their Inspiration, were guided in arranging and completing the canon of ancient Scripture, by this consideration, that no book could possibly be received therein as Divine, which had not been openly and abundantly recognized as having been composed at God's command: especially as the Law inflicted death upon the false prophet, one, that is, who either spoke in the name of false gods, or in Jehovah's name *without a commission from on high*. Turning to the New Testament, we may discern a Divine command to write, exemplified in such passages as I. Cor. xiv. 37, and Rev. i. 11; and from John, xx. 31, Rom. xv. 4, II. Tim. iii. 15, 16, we may gather that these writings were for the benefit of others than those who first received them, and for other and distant times.

The above presents, in its outlines, the positive side of the argument for the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. A brief notice of the negative side will close our review.

It is no objection to the inspiration of Scripture, that many entire sections in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are identical both in thought and language. This identity has given rise to three hypotheses as to the origin of these Gospels; *one*, that there was an original Gospel, now lost, whence the Evangelists drew their materials; *another*, that one writer borrowed from the first in point of time, the last borrowing from the previous two; *yet another*, that there was an oral tradition which furnished the Gospel writers with their facts. These are mere gratuitous suppositions. Still, the truth of any of them is perfectly consistent with the true doctrine of

Inspiration, according to which there is a distinction between Revelation and Inspiration. The sacred writers could lawfully make use of every natural means—their own experience, or the information of others—to arrive at a knowledge of the facts they have recorded. Luke refers, without hesitation, to evangelical narratives, which he had unquestionably read, marked, and inwardly digested. It is only maintained, that in the selecting and recording of these facts, they were guided by Divine directions. The basis of the Gospels were certain historical facts; and the sacred writers, in weaving these facts into their narrative under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, often use the same or similar language. In correspondence with this, we find that one prophecy is often a development of a former one (compare Jeremiah, xxiii. 5, and xxxiii. 15, with Zechariah, vi. 12–15). The explanation is, that a prophecy, once announced and recorded, became an historical fact, which, under Divine superintendence, is made use of by subsequent prophets, as the basis of further prediction. The prophecy, in its relation to the original prophet, is a revelation; in its relation to the others, the result of Inspiration.

Again, no objection to the doctrine of Inspiration arises either from the *substance* or from the *form* of the quotations in the New Testament from the Old. These quotations, regarded in their "substance," constitute two classes. The *first* class are strictly prophetic. This class has four subdivisions: (1) Those texts which refer almost exclusively to our Lord's personal history or character, and in which He is clearly pointed out as the end of the prophecy, not in the way of adaptation or illustration, but as requiring an actual fulfilment in an actual fact (Matt. i. 22 and 23). Predictions of this kind are referred to with the words, "That the Scripture might be fulfilled,"—"Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled,"—or, "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet." (2) The typical predictions, being those words or symbols of the Old Testament, which are adduced as referring to the particular event in which they are stated to have been realized (St. John, xix. 36). The formula, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet," or a like expression, is here used also; the reference being to a prophecy in substance. (3) Those quotations whose reference to a particular person or event cannot be questioned,—as Isaiah's prediction of John the Baptist as the Messiah's forerunner (Matt. iii. 3). (4) Those texts wherein the prediction is connected with the Messianic fact by a causative particle, such as "for" or "because" (John, xii. 49). The *second* class

of quotations are those in which the language of the Old Testament is incorporated with the body of Christian doctrine. Here the phraseology of the former Scriptures is sometimes introduced, without an express reference, as I. Peter, ii. 24 and 25, which contains a passage from Isaiah, liii. 4 and 5. Again, the reference is now and then verbally pointed out, as in Romans, xii. 19, where the expressed reference is to Dent. xxxii. 35. Under this class come collective quotations, that is, where a number of passages are brought together, in the same connection, from various books of the Bible, to establish some point of Christian doctrine. A notable instance is Romans, iii. 10-18, where we find quotations from five of the Psalms, combined with one from Isaiah. In such quotations the combination points to one great truth, although the components, in their primary connection, had often a more special relation. The writers of the New Testament, in the use of the former Scriptures, were guided by the principle that, as the inspired authors of the Old Testament did not always comprehend the full meaning of their words, it remained for those who "had the mind of Christ," to bring out that meaning, and unfold the mystery hidden under the earlier form. In a word, against those who hold that Scripture has but one bald, naked, literal meaning, the New Testament writers show that below the literal meaning there is another spiritual one, yet of *the same kind*, only more profound; and against those who interpret in an allegorical, mystical manner, they only attach that meaning to Scripture which, in its connections and purposes, it really and actually embraces. These quotations are not to be explained by a principle of "application" or "adaptation." The New Testament writers made a free use of the Old Testament; their object being to represent with fidelity the idea to be conveyed, and not to strive after a precise and merely verbal agreement.

The quotations in the New Testament from the Old, regarded as to their "form," are (1) those taken strictly from the Septuagint (which is not inspired), where it *differs* from the Hebrew, as Eph. v. 31, quoted from Gen. ii. 24 (lxx.). Here the important words, "and they two," do not occur in the Hebrew, and our Lord, through His Apostles, thus sanctions the Septuagint as giving the true meaning intended by the language of the Old Testament. (2) Those texts in which the Septuagint does not give the true sense of the prophet's words. Here the authors of the New Testament forsake it, and translate the Hebrew for themselves, as in St. John, xix. 37, taken from Zechariah, xii. 10, where the expression in the Septuagint is different. (3) Those quotations which differ both from the original

text and from the Septuagint version, even where these agree, as Eph. iv. 8 (where we have "gave"), taken from Ps. lxxviii. 18 (where we have "received"). Here the sense is not altered, but only brought out. (4) Those quotations, where the Septuagint having attached a particular meaning to a passage in the Hebrew, one Apostle constructs his argument upon the literal sense of the original, while another constructs his upon the version in the Septuagint, as Matt. viii. 17, and I. Peter, ii. 24; both being taken from Isaiah, liii. 4, Matthew following the Hebrew, Peter the Septuagint. Here, again, the sense is not altered, since we are taught in Scripture to regard sin and physical suffering as related in the way of cause and effect. All this is a complete and ample answer to the assertion sometimes made, that the deviations in the quotations from the Septuagint version, on the part of the authors of the New Testament, are to be ascribed to *defects in memory*. And this theory of quotation from memory fails again, before "the remarkable verbal agreement of the Evangelists with each other, in many citations from the Old Testament, in which they follow neither the Hebrew text, nor the Septuagint with exactness," as Matt. xi. 10, Luke, vii. 27, and Mark, i. 2.

The objection to the Bible, founded on the consideration that its diction does not display rhetorical aptness, proceeds from a misconception of the true idea of Inspiration, which is, that the Divine Spirit made use of the sacred authors according to their individual genius and character—and they were not, generally, men of culture. If it be again alleged, that the diction of unlearned men, guided by the Holy Spirit, would be marked, it would be supposed, by perfection, we reply, that *a priori* reasoning cannot hold here, because the style of Holy Scripture cannot be antecedently determined. Human reason may legitimately employ itself in discovering the meaning, the morality, and the evidences of Holy Scripture; but, as Bishop Butler has shown, it is not, according to the analogy of Nature, an *a priori* judge as to its style or interior economy. If it be further said, that the reflection in the pages of Scripture of the individualities of its writers, opens a door to fallibility—that is, that a variety in the form under which Divine truth is presented, shows a variety in the mode of apprehending that truth by the sacred writers themselves, and thus the possibility of error—if this objection be taken, it evidently is not well taken. The same truth, apprehended in the same way, may be presented under different forms, and in the Scriptures is designedly so presented, to the end that it may become the common property of all, and reach any and every



heart. We observe the same principle, or one like it, operative in the ordinary Christian—the same truth exhibiting itself with different sides and coloring, in different men. That noble prelate, the late Bishop of Winchester, has aptly stated it. While “it is the essence of truth that it should be one, it is the essence of a living reception of that one truth by different souls, that it should differ in its mode of acting. In all life there is a unity in diversity. It is only dead things which can be reproduced with an ever-recurring and absolute similarity.”

If it be said, as against Inspiration, that the sacred writers contradict each other, let the objection be tested by its application to the Gospel Harmony. The principle that should guide us here (the principle we apply to any book of sustained veracity), is, that while we allow the Divine character of the Bible, we cannot suppose a *real* contradiction to exist, so long as a *possible* solution of the difficulty can be given—and this, we feel sure, can always be done, without a resort to the arts of insincerity. For instance, there is no necessary contradiction between Mark, xv. 25, and John, xix. 14. The passages are reconciled by supposing that St. John reckons the hours from midnight, after the Roman custom; St. Mark, from sunrise, after the Jewish custom. Again, should it be affirmed that the statements of the sacred writers do not accord with historical facts (as Luke, ii. 1–5), the answer to be made is, that where the passage cannot, in fairness, be so translated as to remove the difficulty, the principle that should govern us (allowing the Divine character of the Bible), is, that statements *seem* contradictory, because *we* have not, at least now, the clue that connects them. The apparent inaccuracy or discrepancy arises from our ignorance of the whole circle of the case.

The objection has been urged—not only against the Inspiration of the Bible, but against the Bible itself—that the language of Scripture betrays ignorance of the laws of science, as Joshua, x. 12–14; and, indeed, such language is met with throughout Scripture, as Gen. xv. 17, and Matt. v. 45. But manifestly the objection is untenable, and on two grounds: (1) The sacred writers necessarily used the language of sense, the language descriptive of things as they appear to us, and not that of science, which tries to represent things as *they really are*, and not infrequently fails. For what things *really are*, is known to God only; and God's word for anything, is, of course, therefore, infinitely better than man's. Moreover, this language of sense is the common tongue, even of philosophers or scientists, and is the only phase of language which is



stationary. Scientific terms vary with the advancing developments of a science, and with the changes, connected more or less with those developments. Terms designating supposed facts and the theories founded on them, must be exchanged for new ones, as these facts are falsified or modified by later and more accurate investigations. The common language of sense is alone fixed; and the sacred writers, who wrote immediately for the benefit of their contemporaries, must needs have employed it, and not that of technical science, which would have been simply unintelligible, and sounded like perfect jargon. (2) We should here mark the distinction between Revelation and Inspiration. The force of the objection lies in the supposition that the design of the Almighty (Josh. x. 12-14) was to impart scientific knowledge and physical philosophy by Revelation, whereas the miracle is the inspired statement of an event as it presented itself to the naked eye. If the same miracle were again to happen, common observers would again say the sun and not the earth stood still. While the assertions and allusions of a scientific nature, found in Scripture, have been vindicated, as true learning has made progress (David, it is quite possible, knew the world was round, ages before its rotundity was demonstrated by science); yet, obviously the purpose of the Bible is not to teach *in* or *by* the formulas of the schools.<sup>1</sup>

Against apparent discrepancies between natural science and Scripture, it is well urged, that "no one truth can be contradictory to any other truth." If the Bible be Divine (and its Divine character rests upon its own distinctive evidence), then it is certain that no fact in the universe can be really inconsistent with it. If any inconsistency arises, it is only apparent, and proceeds either from ignorance of the real sense of Scripture, or from inaccuracy in the investigations of philosophers. There must be essential harmony between Nature and Revelation, between "the finger and the tongue of God." What Revelation has to fear is not full and fair investigation, but sciolism, imperfect or partial knowledge. Doubtless there are, as St. Paul warned Timothy, "oppositions of science

<sup>1</sup> In the Psalter translation (as in Ps. xviii. 15) we read of "the round world." The expression occurs also in Ps. lxxxix. 12, xciii. 2, xevi. 10, xeviii. 8. The word used for world is a poetical, and not a prosaic one. Some derive it from a word signifying to go, or walk; thus alluding, perhaps, to a rolling world. Others from a word signifying perfected or rounded-out; thus alluding to a round world. Perhaps both derivations point the same way; for it is not easy for anything to roll unless it be round. So there may have been an antedated allusion in the word to the world's scientific configuration.

falsely so called" (I. Tim. vi. 20). If, in men's minds, there be a divergence between the truth of Nature as science has disclosed it, and the truth of Revelation as set forth in Scripture, it is but a seeming divergence, and as researches in both are pushed toward perfection, they will at length be seen, in the eyes of all, to meet on common ground, each a page of the same book, emanating from the same personal and supreme God, and both mutually explanatory of each other. And even at the present stage of scientific investigation, it is incumbent upon all who aspire to an enlightened intelligence, to discriminate between those *facts* which science has really disclosed, and the *theories* of some, and especially of some very dogmatic scientific men. The facts which the elaborate researches of Darwin have perverted, could, under the hand of a Bacon, a Butler, or a Barrow (to say nothing of a Cuvier or a Newton), be made to contribute to a system radiant with Divine illumination. Unhappily, science has fallen, to a large degree, into the keeping of those who are disposed to shape and attemper its facts for the support of systems inimical to the Christian religion.<sup>1</sup> They hate Christianity, because it predicts retribution; because it talks of sin and judgment. And if this hatred, coupled with wide-spread ignorance, on the part of Christians, of the evidences of Christianity, is to bring upon the Church Catholic a deluge of infidelity, God, it is believed, will guide the storm, and cause the waves of calamity to heave upon the shore

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<sup>1</sup> It has been remarked, that the terms used to describe occurrences in the earliest portion of the world's history, are sometimes ambiguous or unscientific—for example, light is represented as being created before the sun. But we should remember that in that initial, plastic period, events and their conditions must have been very different from what take place now—different in a manner and extent, of which we are totally unable to form a just conception; and that the terms in which they are described, terms deriving their significance from their application to events occurring now, are necessarily ambiguous.

Or, to take another view, we may suppose the first verse of Genesis to describe a completed, and the second verse, a disorganized creation. In the Septuagint, and other ancient versions, the second verse of Genesis begins with *but* instead of *and*, denoting an interrupted continuity. Sir Roderick Murchison (a grand authority) tells us the earth is not as it once was, but has passed through a convulsionary process. A *moral* catastrophe, such as preceded the Deluge, may have produced this *physical* catastrophe. Part of this catastrophe may have been, the wrapping the world in a pall of darkness, such as fell upon human eyesight during the last hours of the Crucifixion. "Let there be light" may signify not the creation of light, but its re-introduction to scenes from which it had been shut out. We have our theory about the moral catastrophe alluded to; but shall not now introduce it to our readers.

a remedy for its cure ; as He once brought a prophet to do His will, from the bowels of the deep. The evils of our day will lead to an ultimate and lasting triumph for the truth. The judgment of the truth will be brought forth to victory, when the faith of men will become more intelligent and firm through Christian studies, stimulated by infidel assaults, when a sense of extreme danger, breaking down the walls of "our unhappy divisions," will unify a divided Christendom—and when the whole Church of God will stand before the world in the majesty and power of The Communion of Saints restored ; challenging respect and awe, where it does not command allegiance and submission.



## SHAKESPEARIAN CRITICISM.

THE text of Shakespeare's plays has given rise to some very remarkable conjectural criticism. The *variorum* edition is almost as good a jest-book as Joe Miller's. We might well exclaim, in the words of Madame Roland, slightly altered, "Oh, criticism! how many follies are uttered in thy name!" Once in a great while an important and sensible emendation is effected. Thus, in the description of Falstaff's death, the words "table of Greenfields" long stood as the *pons asinorum* of the commentators. The scholar who suggested "'a babbled o' green fields," instead, conferred a boon on mankind. But how narrow an escape did we have from a leap out of the pan into the fire! Mr. Collier's folio would read, "on a table of green frieze," the passage then standing, "his nose was as sharp as a pen on a table of green frieze," which is quite a figure of upholstery. (Here let us observe, that the conclusive argument in favor of the received emendation, seems to have escaped the attention of all the commentators until White. A mere reading of the passage suggests it: "for after I saw him fumble with the sheets, *and play with flowers*, and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way: for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and 'a babbled of green fields." What more natural than to talk of green fields after playing with flowers?) It is hard to believe that Pope was serious when he conjectured that the words were a stage direction for a "supe," by the name of Greenfields, to bring in a table. The scholar who

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shall suggest the correct reading for "runaway's eyes may wink," in *Romeo and Juliet*, and for "some jay of Italy, whose mother was her painting," in *Cymbeline*, will earn the solid gratitude of all students of literature. But the amount of stupid and unnecessary criticism that is inflicted on the great poet is almost beyond belief. For instance, in respect to the passage in *Romeo and Juliet*, where *Nurse*, calling for *Juliet*, says, "What lamb! what lady-bird! God forbid! Where's this girl?" so sensible an editor as Staunton remarks on the words "lady-bird," that they were a term applied to women of light and indelicate behavior, and that *Nurse*, remembering this, suddenly checks herself, and exclaims, "God forbid"—that I should apply such a name to my charge! Hereupon, Mr. Dyce deems it necessary to remark, "Staunton is certainly wrong," and to explain that the meaning is, "God forbid" that anything should have happened to *Juliet*. One hardly knows which more to admire, the folly of Staunton or the simplicity of Dyce. If we could be permitted a suggestion, we would say that the reference was unquestionably to the popular Mother Goose melody:

Lady-bird, lady-bird, fly away home,  
Thy house is on fire, thy children will burn.

*Nurse* meant "God forbid" that any such bad fortune should come on *Juliet* as the incrimination of her palace and the contingent young Capulets with which it might be stocked. This, now, is something like.

Or take Lord Campbell in his conjectural pamphlet on the question whether Shakespeare was a lawyer, in which he comes to the conclusion that there is a good deal to be said on both sides. Among the arguments in favor of the affirmative, his lordship adduces the lines:

But my kisses bring again  
Seals of love, but sealed in vain.

If this sort of seals were now in vogue among the legal profession, a seal would probably be deemed necessary for every conceivable legal document, and consequently there would be even more lip-service among lawyers than at present.

Among the conjectures concerning the occupation of Shakespeare before he became a player, none is more entertaining than that of Steevens, founded on the passage:

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will.

The commentator is alluding to the trade of Shakespeare's father as a wool dealer or butcher, and conjectures that the poet followed the same business before he came up to London. He first gives the passage in support of this theory, and then proceeds: "Dr. Farmer informs me that these words are merely technical. A woolman, butcher, and dealer in *skewers*"—and he emphasizes the point by the aid of italics—"lately observed to him that his nephew, an idle lad, could only assist in making them—'he could rough-hew them, but I was obliged to *shape their ends*.' Whoever recollects the profession of Shakespeare's father, will admit that his son might be no stranger to such a term. I have seen packages of wool pinned up with *skewers*." It has always seemed to us a mystery how Shakespeare's spirit could wait for Steevens to die a natural death after writing that. Perhaps the poet thought that it was one of the decrees of Providence that poets are always to be misunderstood, and that the passage in question might fitly be read thus:

There's a divinity that shapes our ends  
Rough, hew them how we will.

These specimens encourage us to look a little further into the mis-carrying labors of Shakespeare's editors and commentators. One of the choicest of these gentlemen is Becket, who might have been served as Henry treated his great namesake, without any necessity for repentance. A few samples will suffice. "'*Hamlet*. Govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb, give it breath with your mouth, and it will discourse most excellent music.' 'Ventages with your fingers and thumb,' I would read thus: 'Govern these ventages and the *umbo* with your fingers,' etc. *Umbo* (Lat.), a *knob*, a *button*. The piece of brass at the end of a flute might very well be called a *button*." Oh, if one could stop such *ventages* as this with fingers and thumbs, what a dispensation it would be! But again: *Hamlet* in the grave with *Laertes* says:

Woo't weep? woo't fight? woo't fast? woo't tear thyself?  
Woo't drink up Esil? eat a crocodile?

On this Becket is thus delivered: "This proposition of Hamlet is too extravagant, too ridiculous to remain in the text. By such a reading the Danish prince appears to be a very Dragon of Wantley for voraciousness. I regulate the passage thus:

'Woo't weep? woo't drink? woo't eat? woo't fast? woo't fight?  
Woo't tear thyself?—Ape, Esel, Crocodile?'

'Up' is misprinted for 'Ape,' 'Esel' in old language is 'Ass.'"



It may be well to command our faces long enough to remember that *Esil* was a common term for vinegar, and also might have been a corruption of Issel, one of the affluents of the Rhine. So much for Becket—"off with his head."

We next call up Mr. Jackson,—and there is no mistake about the latter syllable of his name, however much the reader may be inclined to doubt it after hearing some examples of his powers. Take the speech of the *Clown* in *All's Well that Ends Well*. *Clown* has been singing an old ballad about the scarcity of good women, and then observes: "An we might have a good woman born but every blazing star, or at an earthquake, 'twould mend the lottery well; a man may pluck his heart out ere he pluck one." Mr. Jackson says: "How can a *woman* be born? A female, when introduced into life, is an *infant*:—the reading is highly injudicious, and the correction seems to have been made without reflecting on the incongruity which it produced. The old copy read: '*but o'er every blazing star.*' In my opinion, from the word *on* being badly formed, the compositor mistook it for *ore*. I read: '*'an we might have a good woman, but on every blazing star, or at an earthquake, etc.*'" We may dismiss Mr. Jackson, with the injunction to study St. John's Gospel, chapter sixteenth, verse twenty-one: "but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world."

But this same passage nearly proved too much even for Malone, who says: "'*Twould mend the lottery well.*' This is surely a strange kind of phraseology. I have never met with any example of it in any of the contemporary writers; and if there were any proof that in the lotteries of Queen Elizabeth's time *wheels* were employed, I should be inclined to read—lottery *wheel*." If you are going to read *wheel*, why not go the whole figure, and read *pottery wheel*? This would make still greater nonsense, if possible. Again look at this passage in *Hamlet*:

*Marcellus.* My good lord,—

*Hamlet.* I am very glad to see you; goodeven, sir.

The acute Jackson reads:

I am very glad to see *you* good; even, sir.

That is, as *Marcellus* has just called him "good," he gets "even" with him by calling *him* "good." This is an odd way of getting even.

Bishop Warburton may next amuse or enrage us. The Bishop evinced the great variety of his knowledge in his commentary on this passage in *King John* :

O Lewis, stand fast! the devil tempts thee here,  
In likeness of a new untrimmed bride.

"Untrimmed," he says, "signifies *unsteady*. The term is taken from navigation." Perhaps the Bishop found support for his notion that a bride was a ship, in *Antonio's* speech to *Bassanio*, where he says, "My ships have all miscarried." But again :

"One inch of delay is a South Sea of discovery.

This is stark nonsense! We must read *off* discovery." Dr. Johnson made this all right, however: "This sentence is rightly noted by the commentator as nonsense, but not so happily restored to sense. I read thus: 'One inch of delay is a South Sea. Discover, I prithee, tell me, etc.'" After this, who shall say that two heads are better than one? This will do for Warburton—and for Johnson.

One example will answer for the corrector of Mr. Collier's folio. *Imogen* says :

I have heard of riding wagers,  
Where horses have been nimbler than the sands  
That run i' the clock's behalf.

The corrector would read :

Nimbler than the sands  
That run i' the clocks, *by half*!

Of Mr. Monck Mason we get a taste in his commentary on the following passage in *Anthony and Cleopatra* :

Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,  
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,  
And made their bends adornings: at the helm  
A seeming mermaid steers; the silken tackle  
Swells with the touches of those flower-soft hands  
That yarely frame their office.

Mr. Mason would read "tended her i' the guise," and construe "their bends" to mean the graceful curves of their tails! For this reading the letter *b* would seem superfluous,—“their ends” would answer every purpose. Mr. Collier's folio corrector has his

say on this passage. He reads, "*Smell* with the touches of those flower-soft hands." Even Mr. White seems a little astray here, for he says: "If Mr. Collier must be literal, does he not know that cordage will swell with handling?" Now to relapse for a moment into soberness, is not this the meaning: The "tackle" or cordage, loosened by the "flower-soft" hands, swelled with the swelling of the sails which the "tackle" confined and regulated? Mr. White, with a proper sense of the absurdity of "smell," remarks: "Though it may be a very pretty compliment to suppose that the tackle would '*smell*' (sweetly, of course), with the touches of the hands of *Cleopatra's* ladies, the world will thrust upon me the profoundly true observation, *Mulier rectè olet ubi nihil olet.*"

Another passage over which has arisen a perfect blaze of idiocy is this from *Timon of Athens*, in which *Flavius* is lamenting his master's prodigality:

When our vaults have wept  
With drunken *spilth* of wine; when every room  
Hath blazed with lights, and bray'd with minstrelsy;  
I have retir'd me to a *wasteful* cock,  
And set mine eyes at flow.

Of course this is very obscure. Hanmer interprets "wasteful cock" as "a cockloft or garret!" Warburton coincides. Pope changes it to "lonely room." Knight reads "*from a wasteful cock.*" Chalmers thinks it means a cistern waste-pipe. Now, why not "improvident rooster?" and "retir'd" in the sense of "gone to bed?" meaning that having been up all night, he had not gone to bed until an unnecessarily vocal chanticleer was announcing the too-evident approach of day. There is nothing like a little common-sense in interpreting such passages; and what *can* Mr. White be thinking of when he says that the words in question mean wine-cask cock, or faucet?

Mr. White takes Johnson severely to task for his interpretation of *Lear's* words, "Age is unnecessary;" and if Mr. White is right, it ought to be embraced in the present collection of the absurdities of Shakespearian criticism. Johnson thinks the words mean, "Age has few wants;" Mr. White thinks they were used ironically, to mean, "Age is superfluous." With great deference, we submit that for once, Johnson is right, and for once, Mr. White is wrong. Let us look at the context. *Lear* has been complaining to *Regan* of the treatment which he has received at the hands of her sister, *Goneril*, who has dismissed some of his followers,—"*She hath abated me of*

half my train." Regan replies that he is old, and "should be ruled, and led by some discretion that discerns your state better than you yourself;" and asks him to return to her sister, and say he has wronged her. Hereupon *Lear* flies into a passion, and kneeling down, rehearses the speech which he imagines himself to deliver to *Goneril*, asking *Regan* to "mark how it becomes the house:"

Dear daughter, I confess that I am old;  
Age is unnecessary; on my knees I beg  
That you'll vouchsafe me raiment, bed, and food.

The gist of the matter is his complaint at having his comforts and the number of his servants reduced; nothing about his being in the way; and so he asks *Regan* to note how unbecoming it would be in him, an unthroned king, to confess to his daughter that she was right in reducing his train, and to beg for the bare necessities of life.

One of the best satires on Shakespearian criticism is John Poole's *Travesty of Hamlet*, with notes after the manner of Pope, Johnson, Warburton, etc., published in London in the early part of this century. As it is not a familiar book, we will give an extract. First, the text:

*Ophelia.* I thank you—so 'tis best—you counsel right—  
My coach—three thirty-five—good night, good night.

Then the commentary:

*My coach—three thirty-five—*

This is an exquisite touch of nature. *Ophelia* is now wavering between sense and insanity: she calls first for *one* coach, and then for *three hundred and thirty-five* coaches.—WARBURTON.

This I allow to be an exquisite touch of nature: but by the illustration which the Right Reverend has attempted, its force is obstructed, and its beauty obscured. *Three thirty-five* is evidently the *number* of the *hackney coach* which brought *Ophelia* to the palace. Here the poet has given an instance of his unbounded knowledge of human nature. In a short interval of lucidity *Ophelia* calls for her coach; and then, regardless of the presence of the "Majesty of Denmark," she calls for it by its number, 335. This is madness pathetic and interesting: had she, as Dr. Warburton erroneously supposes, called for *three hundred and thirty-five coaches*, it would have been a representation of madness too terrific for exhibition on the stage. Madness is agreeable only until it becomes outrageous.—JOHNSON.

The reader of Dickens will remember in *Nicholas Nickleby*, that *Nicholas*, while a member of Mr. *Crummles'* theatrical com-

pany, went with Miss *Snevillici*, the leading lady, to solicit the patronage of the leading townspeople for her "bespeak" or benefit. Among others, they called on Mr. *Curdle*. "As to Mr. *Curdle*," says the author, "he had written a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, post octavo, on the character of the *Nurse's* deceased husband in *Romeo and Juliet*, with an inquiry whether he really had been a 'merry man' in his lifetime, or whether it was merely his widow's affectionate partiality that induced her so to report him. He had likewise proved, that by altering the received mode of punctuation, any one of Shakespeare's plays could be made quite different, and the sense completely changed; it is needless to say, therefore, that he was a great critic, and a very profound and original thinker."

Having been long engrossed by a passion for the study of Shakespeare, we were of course aware of the existence of this tract. Many years' fruitless search for it had, however, long since left us in despair of ever finding a copy. The author, whose modesty was equal to his merit, had printed but few copies, and those only for private circulation. Consequently it never found its way into any of the great repositories of literature. Although Mr. Dickens refers to it, he does not say that he ever saw it. He may have derived his information respecting it from Mr. Crummles, or from some member of his theatrical company. We had made most thorough researches and inquiries among the descendants of the Crummles family, and among the descendants of nearly every prominent member of that company, but in vain. Our nearest approach to success was when we were informed by a grandson of Mrs. Henrietta Petowker Sillivick, that he had heard his grandmother say that she had once possessed a copy, but not esteeming it of much value, had given it to my informant's father when an infant, to play with. We abandoned the search some years ago, but recently stumbled on a perfect copy of this inestimable treasure by merest accident. In the year 1869, we discovered it in the cabinet of curiosities belonging to the late Mr. Nathaniel Hawthorne (formerly customs-officer at Salem, Massachusetts), an account of which may be found in that gentleman's sketch, entitled "A Virtuoso's Collection," and which at the date of that sketch was the property of the Wandering Jew, by which designation Mr. Hawthorne was understood to intend the author of "Lothair." By the courtesy of the family of Mr. H., we were permitted to inspect this singular collection at our leisure. This precious volume lay between Alexander's copy of the "Iliad," and "the Mormon Bible in Joe Smith's authentic autograph."

Our delight at the discovery was greatly enhanced by observing

that this copy (No. 6 of 25 copies taken off on large paper, none on small) seems to have been presented by the author to the great antiquary, and bears on its fly-leaf this inscription: "To Jona. Oldbuck, Esqr., from his obdt. servt. and co-labourer, Cream Curdle."

By the permission of Mr. Hawthorne's family, we are enabled to present to the literary world an outline of the argument of this masterly treatise. It is a singular and significant coincidence, that this should occur contemporaneously with the publication by other literary seekers, of the lost books of Livy, which also formed a part of the Hawthorne collection. As the discovery of the long-missing portions of Livy may render it necessary to re-write Roman history, so it is possible that our discovery may establish new canons of Shakespearian criticism.

Our only regret in connection with this subject is, that we are not able to furnish the public with any information as to the ingenious critic, beyond what is given in Mr. Dickens' historical essay on the boarding-schools and theatres of England, known as "Nicholas Nickleby." His life seems wrapped in as much obscurity as that of the great author whom he has done so much to illustrate.

The introduction to the treatise is as follows:

Human ingenuity seems to have exhausted itself in conjecture on the principal characters of Shakespeare's drama. As to the precise degree of duskiness that obscured Othello's skin; as to Hamlet's age and figure; whether the third Richard really had a hump; and a thousand similar inquiries, there seems to be no room for discussion, although they are by no means settled points. But in the chase after the prominent and apparent, it has long appeared to me that many of the great dramatist's more recondite beauties have lain unadmired, and many of his more hidden difficulties unexplained. In the crowd of the great, the grotesque and the striking, the humble have mingled unnoticed. It has long been my favorite project to write a series of essays on these neglected passages and personages, and to do my modest endeavor toward presenting to the world all that can be ascertained or conjectured of their meaning and history. I am the more persuaded to this task, because I believe that every line and word of this prodigious genius is fraught with weighty significance, and that every character to which he makes even remote allusion is intended to convey a lesson.

Then, again, I suspect that the popular judgment is erroneous in regard to many of the characters of the Shakespearian drama. For instance, I am by no means ready to admit that Sycorax, the dam of Caliban, was as black as the world generally supposes Shakespeare intended to paint her. True, he puts very harsh sentiments concerning her into the mouth of Prospero, but it must be remembered that the magician had driven her from her sovereignty, usurped her possessions, and enslaved her son, and naturally would not entertain kindly feelings toward her. We hate none so deeply as those whom we



have injured. A defence of this unpopular, but deeply-slandered lady, was to form the subject of one of my essays.

Another essay I had projected on the geography of Shakespeare. I would show what great natural changes have been wrought since the times in which the scenes of his plays are laid. For example, Bohemia, now an inland country, must once have had a seaport, and Mantua, regarded in modern times as a rather unhealthful locality, was so salubrious in the days of Romeo and Juliet, that an apothecary had nearly starved to death there for want of custom.

Another essay I had designed on the punctuation of Shakespeare, to show that by altering the received mode of punctuation, any of his plays could be made quite different, and the sense completely changed. For example, in *Romeo and Juliet*, the following passage has always seemed obscure to me: "*Servant.* Madam, the guests are come, you called, my young lady asked for, the nurse cursed in the pantry, and everything in extremity," etc. Now what is the sense of "the Nurse cursed in the pantry?" Who should curse her in the pantry, and why should she be cursed? Of course, the inference is, that she was cursed by the other servants; but why, pray? And why should one servant inform her mistress that these other servants were cursing the nurse? This is all wrong. Now we know that *Juliet* was of a hot and impetuous temper, and that the *Nurse* was her personal attendant. We may infer too, that *Nurse*, like other servants, was frequently out of the way when wanted. Let us then alter the punctuation, and a flood of light breaks on us from this passage, and renders it at once sensible and characteristic: "Madam, the guests are come, you called, my young lady asked for the Nurse, cursed in the pantry, and everything in extremity."

Then follows the passage from the play in relation to the Nurse's Deceased Husband, which is too broad as well as too long for quotation here. The reader will *not* find it in the judicious Mr. Bowdler's Family Shakespeare. The gist of it is that *Nurse* has been gabbling away about *Juliet* and her age, and tells how when she was an infant, she fell down and bumped her forehead:

And then my husband—God be with his soul!

'A was a merry man;—took up the child,

with a rather indelicate jest, to which the precocious *Juliet* responded "Ay."

The commentary then proceeds:

The first query that naturally arises in an examination of these passages, is whether the Nurse's deceased husband really was a merry man in his lifetime, or whether it was his widow's affectionate partiality that induced her so to report him. All will agree, that there is nothing in his language as reported, that evinces any wit or a merry disposition. Consequently, the widow must have referred to some general trait which really, or in her imagination, characterized him. I am not aware that the husbands of nurses, as a class, are

more merry than other men. Nor am I aware that widowed nurses are more apt than other widows to attribute merriment to their deceased spouses. We must look then for idiosyncrasies really existing in the husband's character, or supplied by the wife's imagination. Now can anything be found in the context to indicate that the deceased had any especial cause for merriment? I think so. The context shows that during his life, his wife was engaged in the occupation of a nurse. It also depicts the husband as sitting and watching the infant Juliet in her gambols. I infer, for reasons hereafter adduced, that this married pair had no children at the time in question. These things being so, the husband was evidently not an active contributor to the support of himself and his wife, but the latter supported both. Surely this was a situation well calculated to afford merriment to the husband. It would certainly be so regarded by most of modern husbands, for although there is in the masculine mind a theoretical abhorrence of the wife's earning the family subsistence, yet it seldom assumes a practical form.

Starting with this foundation, we next infer that the husband's merry disposition was actual rather than ideal, for the reason that wives who support their husbands are not apt to invest them with any merely imaginary virtues.

It has been conjectured by some that Nurse intended by the words, "'A was a merry man," to indicate his occupation, and to say that he was a professional buffoon or zany. This is a conjecture not to be despised. The profession of a merry-andrew was a common and popular one in the time of the drama, as well as in the dramatist's own day, and it is quite consistent that one whose wife was a professional nurse, should himself be a clown or pantaloon. This hypothesis is fortified by the fact that at Verona, where the scene is laid, are the celebrated remains of a Roman amphitheatre, and it is fair to presume that opportunity, as well as tradition, would inspire in the inhabitants a fondness for theatrical amusements, and that actors and pantomimists should be in demand there. The only thing that contravenes this idea, is the fact, already made apparent, that Mr. Nurse was supported by his wife, and thus was in no need of making merry professionally. And yet the personage in question may have been a jester attached to the family of Capulet, whose wealth and standing were such as to justify this inference.

The conjecture that Nurse intended by the parenthetical remark in question, to announce her husband's family—"A was a Merriman"—is not to be tolerated, and is only cited here to show how much difficulty commentators have found in this passage.

So, too, the conjectural reading, "'A was an American," is insupportable. This reading was devised by some of my countrymen, who, in venting their spite against our trans-Atlantic cousins, would make Shakespeare guilty of a gross anachronism. That God's mercy should be invoked for one because he is an American, is an exhibition of British spite, with which I have no sympathy. But the short answer is, that America had not been discovered at the time this scene is laid, and but little was known of it even in the dramatist's day.

The conjectural emendation, "'A was a married man," has more extrinsic evidence to support it, but still I cannot give it my adhesion. It is claimed by those who suggest it, that Nurse made the observation as explanatory of the husband's conduct toward Juliet; that because he was a married man,

he "took up the child," an action undoubtedly more natural to the married than to the single. Some satirist of the married state has suggested that with this reading, Nurse's exclamation, "God be with his soul!" is more pertinent. This is a sneer at marriage which Shakespeare was not apt to make, and which I cannot approve.

Another conjecture suggested to explain this obscure passage, is that the phrase was "mariner," or "marryner," as it would have been spelled in the dramatist's day. In this view, it is claimed, the prayer, "God be with his soul!" is explicable on the hypothesis that the husband had been lost at sea. Again, say the proponents of this theory, the "jest" seems, in Nurse's estimation, not to be in anything uttered by the husband, but in Juliet's response, "Ay."

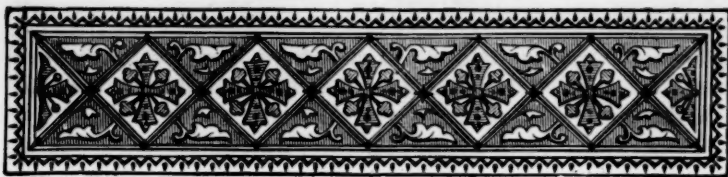
I cannot choose but laugh,  
To think it should leave crying, and say—Ay.

Now, say they, "ay," and "ay, ay, sir," is peculiarly a sea phrase, and when uttered by an unknowing child to a mariner, would of course have been laughable, but not so on any other hypothesis. This is not absurd, but it seems unnecessary, for, as I have before indicated, the ordinary reading is defensible, and there is therefore no need of refining upon it.

Assuming, then, that the Nurse's husband was really "a merry man," let us inquire as to some of his other characteristics. We infer that the organ of philoprogenitiveness was largely developed on his cranium. The act of rescuing the little child was a most kindly one. Who but Shakespeare could have drawn such a picture? I infer from this and other passages, that our dramatist himself was fond of children. The play does not disclose whether the nurse's husband was also a father at the time of the events dramatized. I suspect he was not. Although not conclusive, yet the fact that his wife was a Nurse in the family of another, is presumptive evidence that they themselves had no family. It appears that they had lost a child, and I judge it to have been their only one. If they had had any children of their own at this time, the garrulous mother would have been pretty certain to refer to them, as well as to the lost one. This, I admit, is not conclusive, for women nowadays are much more apt to talk of dress and other vanities than of their children, and speak as little of their dead children as of last year's fashions. But there is one thing that leads me to be almost certain that this gentleman then had no children. If he had then been a father, he would not have been so moved by Juliet's misfortune, and so swift to rescue her, because such accidents are common among children, and their frequency hardens parents to their effects. They let their children pick themselves up, and then scold them for spoiling their clothes. But when the children and clothes belong to others, and thus the accident causes the custodians no expense or trouble, they give their sympathies play. If this had been his own child, with all his love of children, Mr. Nurse would not have been so merry. He would have regarded the stumble as a fault, to be tolerated in other people's imperfect children, but not in his immaculate offspring.

But to relapse into sobriety in conclusion. Conjecture has been usefully employed in endeavoring to determine whether Hamlet's

madness was real or feigned. Books have been written on this point, and some strong arguments may be adduced on either side. Indeed, a great Shakespearian actor believed that his madness was partly actual and partly pretended. Our own impression is that he commenced with simulating, and ended with the reality. "Seneca, the rhetorician, tells us of one Gallus, a rhetorician, who imagined that the transports of madness, well represented in dialogue, would charm his audience, and took so much pains to play the madman in jest, that he became so in earnest." All are familiar with the internal evidences cited to prove the hypothesis of real madness, of which Hamlet's procrastination seems to us the most convincing. But the principal reason for our belief, and one that we have not seen adduced, is that on no other hypothesis can any adequate motive be assigned for the play. A pretended madness, assumed to gratify revenge, is a crude and commonplace idea on which to base the far-reaching consequences, and out of which to develop the sublime philosophy, which stamp this the greatest of dramas. Such a plot would be exactly in the spirit of other dramatists—Webster, Marlowe, Massinger—but it is not Shakespearian. Besides, thus considered, the work would lose all traces of that exquisite discrimination for which Shakespeare is remarkable. Elsewhere he has treated of insanity of different degrees and nature, as in *Lear*, proceeding from filial ingratitude, in *Malvolio* from vanity, in *Othello* from jealousy. After these analyses, there would be nothing novel or forcible in the representation of mental disorder arising from grief at the death of a parent, and nothing elevated in the depicting of madness assumed as a cover for revenge. Then, again, in this very play we have the madness of *Ophelia*, arising from disappointed love. There is no reason to suppose that the dramatist intended to contrast real with pretended madness, for he makes no sufficient discrimination between them, and it cannot be that he intended in the same play to give two examples of madness, springing from similar causes. Moreover, we have had in Shakespeare an unquestioned instance of assumed madness, in the character of *Edgar*, in *King Lear*. But if we regard Hamlet as one who, starting out to assume madness, gradually falls a victim to real melancholy, as one who, simulating a fever, may excite himself into an actual feverish condition, this drama takes on a new and startling significance. It then occupies a fresh field even among Shakespeare's manifold and wondrous creations, and furnishes us with an intellectual analysis of insanity, flowing from a spring hitherto unknown to literature.



## SCRIPTURE REVISION.

SUGGESTED EMENDATIONS OF THE AUTHORIZED ENGLISH VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Elias Riggs, D.D., LL.D., Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., at Constantinople. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1873.

THIS little book is one of the many that has been called forth by the present English and American movement for Scripture revision. There has grown up, with a largely increased knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, a feeling that our present version, although most admirable, and, in the main, quite correct, might be improved by a fresh and careful comparison with the original language. We have at this time greater facilities for determining the exact meaning of words and phrases, than was enjoyed by the bishops and scholars of King James's reign; owing to the vastly greater attention that has been given to the study of Hebrew, and the light derived from the comparative philology of the other Semitic dialects. Dr. Riggs is, as stated on his title-page, a missionary in the East of the American Board, and his book is, as he tells us in the preface, "not the result of a systematic revision of the English version, . . . but of comparisons made in the course of translating the Scriptures, into the Armenian and Bulgarian languages." He therefore brings to the work an experimental knowledge of Eastern tongues, which is of the highest value, as giving a life to his linguistic acquisitions, that years of closet study could not bestow. And it may be added,



that by his excellent "Manual of the Chaldee Language," published more than forty years ago, he had long since won reputation as a Semitic scholar.

The book is not put forth as exhausting the subject, and the emendations suggested are in the main etymological; though some few syntactical points are discussed: In his preface, he suggests the modernizing of obsolete words, such as *magnifical* for *magnificent* (I. Chron. xxii. 5), *sith* for *since* (Ezek. xxxv. 6), *ear* for *plough*, (I. Sam. viii. 12, *et passim*). He also suggests, that words which have changed their meaning, such as *lewdness*, and the adjective *quick*, should be changed into their modern equivalents. He would "substitute the neuter pronoun *its* for *his* and *her*, when they refer to inanimate objects; also *who* for *which*, where it refers to persons," and "would employ the name Jehovah, instead of THE LORD, wherever used distinctively as a proper name." The last of the suggestions in his preface proposes to make the spelling of the proper names uniform. These points will, we imagine, be attended to by the revisers; and though it will be with great regret that we shall see the old words disappear, still it may be a necessity for a popular understanding of the Bible. So, too, is the pronominal change. It will be a loss to have the personifications disappear, which the use of the masculine and feminine pronouns created. But since the English tongue has almost entirely lost the idea of gender, except in provincial and colloquial expressions, it is perhaps better that they should be dispensed with. The substitution of the Divine name, or rather that combination of יהוה (yhjoh) and אֲדֹנָי (adonai), which has, since the times of the Reformation, been used to express it, will add clearness to many passages; and, although it departs from the reverend usage of all other versions, will, we presume, be adopted. Uniformity in proper names is, of course, to be desired, although they differ as much in the Hebrew as in the English, and where our translators have followed the Hebrew in spelling the same name differently, when borne by different persons, there can be no advantage in a change.

We have given the body of Dr. Riggs' book a studious examination, especially in those passages where scholars disagree; and his emendations are, on the whole, characterized by carefulness and judgment. There are some to which we cannot assent, which will be considered below; but the main point that strikes the reader is the comparatively unimportant nature of the changes recommended in all but a few places. The book would be a good one to put into the hands of those who, with no knowledge of the Hebrew, and



little of the English version of the Scriptures, are clamoring for a revision, which they suppose will remove from the Bible the passages which they deem obnoxious. There is not one of the emendations suggested in this book, that makes any material difference, *theologically* speaking. They tend to render our knowledge of Biblical geography and natural history more accurate; as, for example, in Isaiah, xiii. 21, 22, where for *owls* he would read *ostriches*; for *wild beasts of the islands, hyenas*; and for *dragons, jackals*. They are desirable, and indeed necessary, because the Word of God should be exactly rendered, if practicable, even down to the minutest particulars. But when we find a book of emendations almost entirely filled with changes of no more importance than these, we cannot feel that we are led very far astray, even should we continue to use King James's version where it was at first appointed to be used,—in churches.<sup>1</sup> But we must not neglect the “mint, anise, and cummin,” although the “weightier matters” need comparatively little revision. Dr. Riggs would substitute for the words of Cain, as written in the authorized version of the text of Gen. iv. 13, “*My punishment is greater than I can bear,*” the marginal reading, “*My iniquity is too great to be forgiven;*” preferring to take the primary meaning of *’āvōn*, and the secondary meaning of *nāsā*, as given in the lexicons, rather than a *vice versa* translation. But Cain does not seem to have been troubled about the act viewed as sin. He groaned under its punishment, not under its moral turpitude. We would ask, “Does not *’āvōn*, even when it means *iniquity*, convey the idea of the recompense that to the Hebrew mind always accompanied transgression? and is not the meaning of the passage better brought out (not to

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<sup>1</sup> Those who are familiar with Bibles printed in England, will remember a phrase on the title-page, “Appointed to be read in Churches.” There is less exclusiveness and more charity in this, than the prejudiced would be apt to ascribe to Churchmen. The old king did not wish to suppress the Geneva Bible, if his subjects desired to read it in their homes. He only appointed his own Bible for *public* use. In this he set the Puritans an example which they took good care *not* to follow. When power came into their own hands, they proscribed the use of the Prayer Book, *even in private*. And they enacted a law about orthodoxy, which proclaimed a death penalty—a law which, if freely executed in the City of Boston, would tire down old Torquemada himself. It would furnish an intolerable amount of business for even that prince of all inquisitors. And yet, where on earth have the Puritans been more belauded than in the capital of Massachusetts! The laws alluded to may be found in “Boone’s Book of Churches and Sects,” pp. 408–11. Boone was once editor of the celebrated “British Critic.”

speak of the great difficulty of rendering the construct *Inf. Kal.*, as a passive) by rendering "*My guiltiness*" (guilt combining the two ideas of sin and punishment) "*is greater than I can bear?*" This rendering has the advantage of not forcing the grammatical construction, which either of the others must do. In Gen. xxvii. 40, speaking of Esau, he translates the verb *dudh*, which the authorized version renders "*have the dominion,*" by the words "*wander wildly away.*" The simple meaning of the word is "*rove about*" (Jer. xxi. 31; Hos. xii. 1), the figure being taken from the wild ass to which Esau is compared. Is not Hengstenberg's reading to be preferred here?—"It will come to pass, that when thou *shakest* (*toss-est*) thou wilt break the yoke from thy neck." Esau is viewed as a wild, untamed creature, brought forcibly under yoke, and it is foretold that he shall, when he is restive under it, throw it off from his shoulders. The substitution of the words *ask* for *borrow*, and *gave* for *lent* in Ex. iii. 22, and xxii. 36, is very desirable. It will save Bible-class teachers the necessity of proving that the Israelites were not a nation of pilferers.<sup>1</sup>

The names of the birds and of the lizards, in Lev. xi., will always remain a puzzle, as will the names of the different kinds of locusts in Joel, ii. The difficulty would hardly be met, by substituting the Hebrew names, as Dr. Riggs suggests. The emendation in Numbers, xix. 2, "*Oh! that we had died,*" for the authorized version, "*Would God that we had died,*" has indeed the merit of greater literalness, but would be certainly a loss of force, and it strikes us as rather an unnecessary change. In Numbers, xxi. 14, *Vaheb in suphah* (marg.), which is utterly unintelligible, is no improvement on the accepted version, "*What He did in the Red Sea,*" which is the reading of the *Targum* of *Oukelos*, and of the *Vulgate*, and of *Kimchi*, taking *ethv'habh* as an Aramean Hithpael form, instead of *eth vāhebh*, as usually read. But nearly all good commentators now translate, "*He takes*" (*vaheb*) in storm—so Hengstenberg and others. For the meaning of *suphah*, compare Nahum, i. 3, Job, xxi. 18, Isaiah, xvii. 13, Hosea, viii. 7.

He omits noticing, in Numbers, xxii. 41, and xxiii. 13, the manner

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<sup>1</sup> We prefer *pilferers* to *thieves*, even supposing them to have taken the goods of the Egyptians, contrary to the technicalities of right and law. And having lived in a land of bondage, we are inclined to accept the logic of slaves, who said they never *stole*, unless from neighbors or strangers. Their masters claimed them as goods and chattels; and they had as much right to *take things* belonging to him for their necessities, as his barn (if it could act for itself) would have a right to take his shingles to keep the rain off.

in which the authorized version completely reverses the words and acts of Balak. When sundry small points are noticed, we might have expected that this, which is so evident a mistake, would have received attention. The Hebrew shows us, that from Bamoth-Baal, Balaam only saw the extremity of the Israelitish camp, and was brought to Pisgah, and afterward to Peor, not that he might see less of those whom he was to curse, but more of them, as the character of the language in his different blessings plainly evinces.

In Deut. xxxiii. 29, "*be subdued before thee*" does not come much nearer than the authorized version, "*be found liars unto thee.*" With all respect for Dr. Riggs, we hold to the opinion of the majority of commentators, that the word here used, *does* mean "*yield feigned submission,*" or rather, "*pretend friendship*" (v. Gesenius, s. v., Keil *in loco*; and for a use of the word, compare Ps. xviii. 45, lxxxi. 16).

The emendations suggested in the historical books are mainly very judicious. One is sometimes, however, surprised at unexpected omissions. The rendering in I. Sam. xvii. 22, "*carriage,*" signifying "*things that were carried,*" was intelligible to Englishmen of the seventeenth century; but now conveys a false idea. The same use of the word occurs in the New Testament, in Acts, xxi. 15. We are surprised that it should be unnoticed, when the emendator has been so commendably accurate in other minor points.

In the Book of Job, we must also notice a serious omission. It is in the celebrated passage in Job, xix. 26, where the Hebrew words, according to many critics, cannot bear the rendering given in the text of the authorized version. As this is one of the places where revision in the present state of Biblical criticism is indispensable, we are almost amazed that it should have been passed over, without even so much as an indication that the marginal reading may be closer than the textual translation.<sup>1</sup>

We imagine that the revisers will have a hard dispute over Psalm ii. 12. We agree with Dr. Riggs and the scholarly Miss Gresswell, in holding to the authorized version, and translating "*Kiss the*

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Lee, who was convinced that Job was a firm believer in the Resurrection, thus translates verses twenty-five, six, and seven: "*But I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand hereafter upon the earth:—and that after my skin shall have been pierced through (i. e., wasted and destroyed, by a cutaneous disease), still in my flesh shall I see God:—that I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold Him, and not a stranger, when my reins shall have been consumed within me.*"

Sun;" but we can only do it by disregarding all the ancient versions with the exception of the Syriac. It is a difficult passage, and we hope that its interpretation will be finally settled. In Ps. xxii. 8, where the authorized version reads, "He trusted in the Lord," and Dr. Riggs the same, the Hebrew requires an imperative construction, and gives exactly the taunting reproach of the scorn-ers. It is noticeable how often the suggested emendations in the Psalms correspond with the early translation, which we use in the Psalter. It is particularly pleasant to see this, because that translation has heretofore been accused of incorrectness by those who, until lately, avoided its use in public worship, with studious distaste.<sup>1</sup>

We pass over to the Prophecies of Isaiah, because the emendations in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, call for no special remark. Here, as elsewhere, most of the emendations are correct and desirable, though not very important.

Some few, however, are injudicious, and we think incorrect. In Is. i. 17, the authorized version reads, "*relieve the oppressed.*" Dr. Riggs reads "*right the oppressed.*" The Hebrew means, "*set right the oppressor.*" In i. 25, authorized version, "purely." Dr. Riggs, "as with borax." It would be better, if extreme accuracy is desirable, "as with alkali." In ii. 6, authorized version, "please themselves in." Dr. Riggs, "attach themselves to:" better, "strike hands with." In iii. 7, authorized version, "swear," Dr. Riggs, "answer," Hebrew, "cry out." Dr. Riggs has been pleasingly successful in making intelligible Isaiah's description of the fashions of the Jerusalem ladies, in chapter iii. This is an effort for which his Eastern life has peculiarly fitted him; and concerns subjects about which the good Bishops and their associates, who translated the Bible, might have been better acquainted, had they had some of the reverend ladies of our day to give them lessons. When we come to Is. vii., viii., and ix., his emendations are wise; but he fails to bring out the present tense in vii. 14, where the authorized version reads "shall conceive," which gives indeed the sense, but does not translate the Hebrew as closely as would the words "is pregnant." Nor does he notice the

<sup>1</sup> We say "until lately;" for we cannot soon forget the services of a Presbyterian Dedication, which we were so politely requested to attend, that refusal would have been a discourtesy. To our extreme surprise, the pastor called on the choir, in no faint tones, and with a punctilious employment of their Latin titles, to sing now the *Te Deum*, and now the *Jubilate*, and finally, the *Gloria in Excelsis*. If he had done such a thing, when we were a boy, his Presbytery would have solemnly arraigned him for tendencies toward Rome!

weak translation of קִשָּׁר in viii. 12. It should be "treason," not "confederacy," as in the authorized version. In ix. 1, his rendering "dishonored" is feeble, although the sense is correct, and the emendation good. Why not read "brought into contempt," making the similar change of "bring into honor," for the simple word "honor?"

In ix. 5, in the same manner he gives the sense of the passage, which the authorized version had hopelessly obscured, but is still incorrect. He reads, "all armor of the warrior;" whereas the Hebrew is, "every boot of him that marches." In ix. 19, the authorized version has expressed one idea that the Hebrew contains, and Dr. Riggs another. Authorized version, "darkened," Dr. Riggs, "burned," Hebrew, "burned black." In xl. 7, the emendation, "wind from the Lord," in place of "Spirit of the Lord," is more literally exact; but would be improved by the translation, "breath of Jehovah." In v. 9, of the same chapter, Zion and Jerusalem are addressed as the text of the authorized version reads; and it should be much preferred to the margin, in our opinion.

In xli. 14, Dr. Riggs substitutes "mortals of Israel," for authorized version, "men of Israel." We think that he is misled here by the similarity of the Hebrew words "*math*" and "*meth*." In this place the word is "*math*," or rather "*mittei*," from it, and signifies "handful," or, as Luther translated, "*du armer Haufe Israel*." In xlii. 19, authorized version translates "perfect," Dr. Riggs, "*devoted to God*." Would it not be better to translate "*m'shullam*," "friend" or "confidant?" In lii. 13, "*yaskil*" is better rendered by "*act wisely*," than by "*prosper*;" as Dr. Riggs, following the margin of the authorized version, would read. Verse 14, "*make to tremble*," is better than "*astonish*" (Dr. Riggs); but we see no reason why "*sprinkle*" should be given up. In liii. 9, Dr. Riggs translates, "*his grave was set with the wicked, but he was with the rich in his death*." It would be more correct to render, "They assigned him his grave with the wicked; but he was with the rich *after* his death." In Hosea, iii. 5, the emendation, "*make the Lord and His goodness their refuge*," is no closer to the original, than the authorized version, "*fear the Lord and His goodness*." "*Pāhhadh*" means *to tremble*; and the passage might well be rendered, "*they shall come trembling to the Lord, and to His goodness*;" thus conveying the idea of refuge, as of a bird escaping from danger, and fluttering into a place of safety.



We have mentioned these points, because although Dr. Riggs's little work is on the whole a meritorious one, and one that contains many excellent suggestions, it seemed only fair to express our disagreement with him, when his rendering struck us as inadequate, or incorrect. The task of a book-reviewer is emphatically a thankless one, because he is bound to notice faults, as well as to express commendation. The book leads our thoughts, of course, to the whole subject of revision, and it shows us that the work is desirable; while still there is great danger that we may lose the admirable version we already possess, and without gaining essentially by the exchange. The revision of the Scriptures is a work which should be characterized by the utmost caution and the most reverent solicitude. The whole English-speaking race is interested in it profoundly, and it is too weighty a matter, too solemn, and too eventful an undertaking, to be performed by a self-appointed committee, and the irresponsible scholar whom it may please to invite.

Any revision so made should at least be only tentative, and remain unadopted for years, and freely open to emendations, before being authoritatively set forth. The Church of England is admirably adapted to undertake the work; still we cannot but regret the manner in which it has been started by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and the doctors whose assistance it has invited. A mistake has also been made, it seems to us, in associating men of all phases of religious thought, upon the committee to whom the *issuing* of the version is practically, if not formally, entrusted. It is not that we disdain them, or that we do not think their Biblical knowledge complete enough, or that they will try artfully to foist in their own peculiar opinions. But the point is here. This version is to be set forth before the Church of England as authoritative; and the members of that Church have a right to ask that it should be given them by their own communion, free from all doubt and query about external interference. The members of the committee should, of course, consult every authority, and summon to their help, in studying the Scriptures, every wise man they can find, be he Romanist or Greek, Protestant or Sectarian, Jew, Turk, Infidel, or Heretic; but when they come to publish the result of their labors, the English Church asks that *they* make *themselves* responsible for the translation, and not the Jew, Turk, Infidel, and Heretic, whom they may or should have used, in place of grammar and dictionary. So that the volume may go out to the world, not as a patched-up thing, gleaned from every quarter, but with the endorsement of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of England.



Such a revision, from such a source, would be gratefully hailed, and would, we believe and trust, be accepted as freely and confidently as was the translation of 1611.

Toward this end, all such books as this we have noticed, will help to advance us; and we devoutly hope that, in time, we shall have such a translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, as will command the acceptance of "all who profess and call themselves Christians."



## INFANT SALVATION.

INFANT BAPTISM, AND INFANT SALVATION, IN THE CALVINISTIC SYSTEM. A  
Review of Dr. Hodge's Systematic Theology. By C. B. Krauth, D.D.  
Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 117 North Sixth street. 1874.

AS historic theologians, we were roundly astonished when we found in Dr. Hodge's "Systematic Theology," a cool declaration that all Christians believed in the salvation of infants, unless it might be the Romish school, and the High Church school of the Church of England, and of its daughter in America. But, on further reflection, we concluded that so far as the Church of England was concerned, there might be some ground for misconception. We allude to two rubrical enunciations of opinion, found in the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1661. In the Prayer Book of 1549, amid the Rubrics which precede the Catechism and Confirmation, *there* blended together, we find the following: "And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to any children, by deferring of their Confirmation, he shall know for truth, that it is certain by God's Word, that children being baptized (if they depart out of this life in their infancy) are undoubtedly saved." In the Prayer Book of 1661 (the present one), we find the old Rubric thus altered: "It is certain, by God's Word, that children who are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved."

Now, we are willing to admit that, at first blush, such language as that of the second declaration might lead one to suppose the

Church of England left unbaptized infants where the old Calvinistic Confessions left unelect infants—in a state of preterition. But the language of the first declaration, which should not have been altered—our old divines, if their folios have become musty, had anything but musty minds—makes the intention of its authors perfectly plain. They are providing against the impression, which so many once entertained, of the hopelessness of post-baptismal sin. This impression was so common in the days of the Reformation, that one of The Thirty-nine Articles, the sixteenth, had to be specially directed against it.

These old divines were altogether more familiar than our modern ones, with religion as coming to men and continuing among men, in the shape of a Covenant between God and the human soul,—the two parties embraced in such a Covenant, and always contemplated as such, from the beginning to the end of time. With them Baptism was a reception within this Covenant's embrace of mercy, entitling the baptized to the benefits of such a promising position. The primary gift of the Covenant was life, with all the highest endowments of life; and the seal and token of this Covenant was the (so called) Tree of Life, in the very centre of Paradise, as the pivot—if one may say so—on which all the advantages of life would turn. Of course, failure under such a Covenant was a fatal, a terrible, a tremendous thing. It involved what we call the fall of man.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The idea of a Covenant was so prominent and familiar with our elder divines, that they looked through it at Matrimony as well as Baptism. A Covenant needs two parties, and a cementing token. These things are easily found in a Sacrament; but how do they show themselves in Matrimony? Very plainly, if we will go back to our first Prayer Book—that of King Edward, in 1549. There we find such language as this: "That as Isaac and Rebecca (after bracelets and jewels of gold given of the one to the other, for tokens of their Matrimony) lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and *Covenant*, betwixt them made, whereof this ring given and received is a token and pledge." Here, in King Edward's Book, is a period.

It has been a puzzle to not a few, why the example of Isaac and Rebecca, rather than the example of other ancients, is appealed to in the Marriage Service. We can now see that it was because their matrimony was celebrated with *all* fulness and form; with costly tokens as well as willing words; with a seal, as well as with a signature, like the strongest sort of obligation, viz., a bond. Marriage is still known as a bond in law, signed by word of mouth, and sealed with that on which signets once were fastened, *i. e.*, a ring. And by the way, this tampering with the Marriage Service shows us how such freedoms often end. After awhile, we need a history to tell us why, and when, alterations have been made. Change becomes its own recompense.

There were ways and means provided, however, in both the elder and younger Dispensations for a renewal of this Covenant, and also for a restoration of that renewal, should its recipient fail a second time, or a tenth time, or a hundredth; and so on. Baptism was its beginning under Christianity, and the Eucharist the way of renewal, if this beginning became a failure. But suppose one to die between these two points—before even Baptism itself could be formally completed in the personal recognitions and promises of Confirmation—would his case be hopeless? Would the breach of his Covenant, or the incompleteness of his part in its pledges, work (as a lawyer might say) corruption of blood, and leave him as an alien from God's spiritual commonwealth, and a stranger from a Covenant of promises? Yes, truly, said timid and apprehensive hearts; and so the Church, as a minister of mercy, stepped in to abate and soothe their fears. She gave, as she was persuaded God would give, a liberal and a compassionate construction to a rigid, abstract rule; and decided that they who failed to renew a vacated and apparently lost Covenant, through the Providence of God, and not through any neglect, opposition, or dereliction of their own, would be treated as if their Covenant had not been broken, and be entitled to any and all of its precious benedictions.

So the declaration of 1549 was levelled against the strict constructionist of a Covenant, and should be held up as a model and a precedent for those who sometimes make one think they fancy that Church-members are to be considered machines for canon-law to work upon, instead of agents who are to use the law for the Church's best and truest welfare, and thus let the law itself bend a little, rather than human backs or necks be broken by it. It seems hard, that while there are equity constructions perpetually in our courts, a few of them cannot creep into the Church.

The second declaration has an unchurchly sound, and was manifestly drawn up with the dread of a Calvinistic eye peeping over the writer's shoulder; and so we shall not pay it special attention. We will only subjoin, that the case of infants outside of the Covenant had no adjudication, because none was called for. Had one been demanded, the Church of England would doubtless have shown herself an opponent of strict construction in that matter also.

In view of both declarations, it seems as if no one but an enemy could possibly suppose that such a Church was bent on preaching infant damnation!

And now we are prepared to take up the point at issue between Dr. Hodge, representing the Presbyterians, and Dr. Kranth, repre-

senting the Lutherans, on this mooted subject. Dr. Hodge, it appears, has undertaken to give Calvinism smiles and graces, of which, in its old iron age, it was utterly unaccustomed to the wearing. He has buried its tomahawk, and rubbed off its war-paint. Dr. Krauth compliments him freely and handsomely for this condescension; not at all chary of, or unfamiliar with, the best language of a scholar and a gentleman. And there the matter might well have rested. But the Princetonian, as uneasy as if he had been detected in something wrong, will not accept the Lutheran gratuity. He remembered his Virgil—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*—better than volumes covered with dust and cobwebs, among which Dr. Krauth had been a-mining. He gravely repudiated the soft impeachment. As politicians say when they whiffle about, "Our predecessors believed just as we do;" so said Dr. Hodge of his venerable Presbyterian ancestry. And here Dr. Krauth, younger but better read in history than his opponent—we are loath to say it, for one is a perfect stranger to us, and the other was once our admired instructor—has been quite too much for Princeton's giant. David has slain Goliath.

We know, of our own personal knowledge, that the Calvinists of an anterior generation had no hope for any infants whatsoever. They could not guess at the elect of such a class, and so they despaired of all. It was once our lot to have a formal conversation on this subject, with a true and strait descendant of such a generation, both in opinions and in blood. She was "plenty smart" (we hope our slang-critic will let this go, for it is quoted), as were many of her circle; and, though she conscientiously held her tongue "in meetin'," could have preached the heads off of those now bawling for woman's rights. She was a mother, and a mourning mother too; for she had put sweet babes to rest in the cold churchyard. We asked her of her faith in the good estate of those buried little ones. She had none. We begged, we entreated, we implored her to say she *hoped* that they were better off. She would not admit as much as that. They were in God's sovereign hands, and she had not a word to say about them—not a single one! We thought ourselves in the presence of one of those dismal impersonations which, like Lot's wife, have been turned into pillars of salt, and we gave her a despairing farewell.

But we had another "experience" about this sad, yet unmistakable phase in human history. We knew a most renowned theological celebrity caught in New England, just as Dr. Hodge has been snared in New Jersey. When Dr. Lyman Beecher—the

father to a name on which so many and such varied changes have been rung in New York's neighborhood—when he began his career in Boston for the overthrow of Unitarianism, did his utmost to render Calvinism amiable, by preaching against the damnation of infants. It was our good or ill fortune to hear him, in one of the elaborate and almost unending specimens of his peculiar oratory. He dragged us onward to *thirteenthly*; we, meanwhile, standing up among *ignobile vulgus*. Then our poor limbs cried out for mercy, and we slipped away bemazed, half persuaded that by some unaccountable mistake we had glided into a Universalist conventicle.

Everybody was astounded and running over with self-congratulation. At last, *at last*, iron tears had rained down Pluto's cheek; and Calvinism was no longer a petrification and a fossil. But, alas for Dr. Beecher, he, like Dr. Hodge, threw away such compliment as defamation. Calvinism had been in *his* hands what it had been in the beginning, and what it was ever and for evermore to be. This was opening the chinks between the plates of his armor. The Unitarians saw their opportunity. They seized it with unearthly glee; and soon the Doctor had a sense of wounds and damage, of which he had supposed himself predestination-free. They went at him, with line and verse and chapter, as Dr. Krauth has done against Dr. Hodge; and the issue, in both cases, was the same. Dr. Beecher *was historically wrong*, and Dr. Hodge is so, in the hour turning on the dial!

We will not dwell any longer upon the main subject of Dr. Krauth's *puissant* volume—as we may well call it—since it has overthrown a Presbyterian Titan. We have given it all the suffrage he will care for, if he ever reads this notice, coming from *terra incognita* in his eye. But we must delay a little to thank him for an incidental concession on his fifty-seventh page, viz., that at times Calvinism may be “completely anti-Augustinian.” The fashion has been to consider St. Augustine and Calvin as altogether identical—especially in their notions of predestination. Presumptuous if we be, we have been accustomed to say that they looked at this formidable subject from entirely different stand-points. St. Augustine's was an ecclesiastical stand-point, while Calvin's was metaphysical. Augustine regarded predestination as made under a covenant, and as, therefore, quite as conditional as promises and predictions. Promises and predictions, *absolute in form*, are scattered up and down the Bible, which have never been fulfilled, simply because the party to be benefited by such promises and predictions never fulfilled the conditions under which they were given.



They were what lawyers would call *nisi* promises, and *nisi* predictions. And, in the same obvious way, there may be in the Court of Heaven, as in the courts below, *nisi* decrees, which are from their very nature prospective, and therefore decrees of predestination.

But a metaphysical decree, hid away in the fathomless depths of an Infinite Mind, and, irrespective of all conditions, is a totally different thing. And that is the sort of decrees which Calvin's mind especially delighted in. The high and mighty Reformer imagined he had in his soaring contemplations caught glimpses of them, and that he was as much favored as was Moses when he saw God's glory rereward. And so he esteemed himself, and his disciples, as the only "*comperti veritatis*" on the habitable globe.<sup>1</sup>

Augustine was vastly more modest, inexpressibly more wise. He believed that every baptized person was conditionally predestinated to grace; and then, if he used that grace aright, was conditionally predestinated a second time, but now unto glory. This system has in it no metaphysical perplexities; and any timid Christian whatever may adopt it without a qualm. The other sort of predestination has no *nisi* in it—not one consolatory particle. Its lowering and Gorgon glances have scared an apprehensive soul into the limbo of a mad-house!

We beg leave to add, that we fain hope Dr. Krauth may revise the over-confident allegation, which appears on p. 9, viz., "There are but two developed systems in the world that claim, with any show of probability, to be purely Biblical. These are the Lutheran and the Calvinistic." With *any* show, that is, not proof; and show, too, of mere *probability*, besides. About as stiff and sturdy an allegation as the Doctor could, "with any show," make.

But now, as stiffly and sturdily do we deny his allegation. And

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<sup>1</sup> Some may ask us who a *compert* is, and how he differs from an *expert*. Well, Calvino adjuvante (for the scholarship of Calvin was beyond all question), we do not hesitate to say that a *compert* went ahead of an *expert*. The *pert* part of the appellation comes from a Greek verb which means to penetrate. The *expert* penetrated, or went through a subject; but the *compert* went through and through it. So Calvin's *compert* understood Religion to perfection! He had gone through and through it, riding upon his master's hobby, viz., predestination. We ourselves have seen the day, when he who could best stand the fire of cross-examination, in respect to this fearful and fateful subject, was esteemed beyond all question best entitled to be considered a thorough Christian. Alas! the good people—as honest, doubtless, as they were grim—who conducted such examinations, never so much as dreamed that a Mahometan would have answered more plumply than any of their candidates. No such out-and-out predestinationist as he!

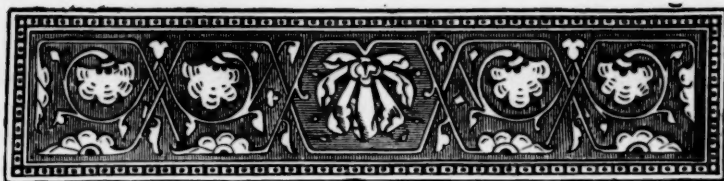
what will the amazed Doctor do? Will he say the Bible is clearly on his side? That we deny again, just as impracticably as before. Will he say it is infallibly *so*, to his private judgment? We reply, it is infallibly *not so*, to our private judgment; and we claim that *our* private judgment is just as authoritative, and just as determinative as his own. Here, then, are two antagonistic assertions, as wide asunder as opposite quarters of the horizon; and where is the umpire to decide? The Bible? It is the very thing disputed of. The meaning of the Bible? That his private judgment gives one way, and ours another way, and the issue is as open as before.

“We hold, and say we prove from Scripture plain,  
That Christ is God; the bold Socinian,  
From the same Scripture, urges He's but man.  
Now what appeal can end the important suit?  
Both parts talk loudly, but the rule is mute.”

So Dryden shrewdly put the matter, in his “*Religio Laici*,” nearly two hundred years ago. But the lesson he would inculcate needs repetition two hundred times more; and we tried to add one to the long list, in an article on Tradition, published in this REVIEW, in October, 1873. Tradition, if the expression be admissible, is, as we well know, a *scare*some word, and redolent to many of Romish and unutterable horrors. But we believe the lawyers, who understand—they merit the compliment, and we give it cheerfully<sup>1</sup>—interpretation, as a science, better than divines do, have got the essence, the quintessence of it, in their current and well-known maxim,—*Contemporanea expositio est optima et fortissima in lege*. We believe in this, as much as lawyers do, and when an ancient book, like the Bible, is disputed about, we do as they do, we go to usage, to history, and parallel documents, and trace the thing up, by regular succession, to its fountain head. In this way, for there is a succession in doctrine, as well as in the ministry, we think we can find out what is generally Biblical, and what is not so. And, thus ascertained, we are willing to offset our platform, as “purely Biblical,” against that of the proudest pretender beneath the sun.

We wish to part pleasantly with Dr. Krauth; and are, therefore, glad to say, we count his brochure one of the best chapters of its kind in Historic Theology with which we are acquainted. We can appreciate the long labor it has cost himself, and the grinding toil from which it may liberate others.

<sup>1</sup> We do not give this praise under any professional bias; not having been educated for either the legal or the clerical, but for the medical profession.



## THE ANGLICAN CHURCH DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY.

IF diffusion throughout the habitable globe is to be regarded as the test of catholicity, then the claims of the Anglican communion to be considered as the "Catholic Church" might at the present moment be fairly put in competition with those of Rome. For truly "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same," her voice of praise and thanksgiving is heard. Upon her temples, more or less numerous, as they are scattered over the globe, the sun never ceases to shine. Nor are they confined to one zone or climate, but from pole to pole, at least as far as human habitations are found, she extends her ministrations to the dispersed members of her flock, and seeks to embrace the wanderers in her fold. Nor is her care limited to those speaking her native English tongue. Through her efforts the diverse races of the Indian peninsula, the wandering tribes of the New World, the degraded inhabitants of Africa, the dwellers on the remote isles of the sea, with scarcely less wonder than did the Jews and proselytes, who of old came up from the various countries of their dispersion to keep their feast of Pentecost at Jerusalem, may say in truth, "We do hear in our tongues the wonderful works of God."

The recent "Day of Intercession," observed with such heartiness throughout all the branches of this communion, has brought very vividly before our mind the condition of the heathen world, and even of Christendom itself, the wants and necessities of the

Church as regards her mission of publishing the Gospel, and our own personal duty in reference thereto. In contemplating the immense work before us, it is possible that we have been ready to stand aghast and inquire, Who is sufficient for these things? Such a feeling is but natural. But while we know that the grace of God is sufficient to support us, it is yet permitted us for our encouragement to compare the present with the past, to look at what has already been accomplished, and by noting the successes which have been achieved, the advance which has been made, to gather strength and courage for the future conflict which is before us.

The nineteenth century we shall find a sufficient period for our present inquiry. And we purpose, as far as we are able in the limits of this paper, to take a retrospective survey of what the Anglican Church has done in the way of extension during the part of this century now past, to glance at her present missionary enterprises, and hence to infer what, under the continued blessing of God, we may anticipate for the future.

As preliminary to this whole subject, it becomes us to remark that the period of the English Reformation, that in which the Anglican Church burst those fetters which held her in subjection to the papal tyranny, was also the period when the English nation received a fresh impulse, and seemed to have breathed into it anew the breath of life. England sent forth a band of navigators, whose discoveries filled her people with enthusiasm, and this led to efforts at colonization, and to the founding of mighty empires in other parts of the globe. She was filled with the spirit of commercial enterprise. Her sails whitened every sea, and her vessels filled every harbor. Her people were thus found in every part of the world, carrying with them their language and institutions. Meeting with inferior races they must needs govern them. Conquest consequently followed, and the result to-day is, that the little nation of barely three millions, whom the Virgin Queen governed on her little island but a few degrees removed from the frozen zone, has now expanded until she is a mother of nations, which contain, in the aggregate, a population of not far from eighty millions, speaking the English tongue, while, at the same time, they govern two hundred millions more of diverse speech, natives of the countries they have control of.

Now we speak with all due humility, and reverence too, when we say that this Anglo-Saxon race was from that time chosen as the instrument of converting the world to Christ. We do not by any means presume to assert that all the measures that the English or

colonial governments have taken, all their schemes of conquest, perchance of plunder, have been right. But we do assert that these, whatever they have been, have been overruled by God for the accomplishment of His own purposes of good to mankind. Through these means the way has been opened for the spread of the Gospel, and facilities have been given the Church for its extension. And thus we feel that we do not err in saying that the Anglo-Saxon race, and the Anglican Church therewith, is God's own appointed agent for the conversion of the world.

Long, indeed, was it before that race or that Church had recognized the position in which God had placed it and her. The sixteenth, the seventeenth, the eighteenth centuries passed away, and nothing, comparatively, had been done. The Anglo-Saxon race had become widely scattered; England herself had acquired vast colonial possessions; a new nation had been born from her loins, and still her Church was confined almost within the narrow limits of her own little isle. Indeed, it would appear to have been the anxious study of both Home and Colonial authorities to keep the Church thus confined, as it were, within this island prison, for fear of the consequences which might ensue were she allowed her full liberty, and suffered to roam abroad at will. When colonists had gone forth from their native shores, clergymen had sometimes gone with them, and at other times had found their way among them; and now and then a man had been raised up among themselves who, by perseverance under difficulties which most men would have deemed insuperable, succeeded in obtaining Holy Orders; and in one Colony (Connecticut) the Church had been of indigenous growth, in a soil so uncongenial that it was scarcely to be believed that such a plant could rear its head: thus these people were not altogether without some of the ministrations of religion. But these were always incomplete. The Church only existed at all in her loose and disjointed members. There was no organized and compacted body, because there was no head to give it unity and direction. After the American colonies had become independent, the decision of the Church in Connecticut cut the Gordian knot which a wily State policy had tied, and found a way for obtaining for themselves an Episcopal head—a precedent which is to be followed in our own generation, when the same adherence to statecraft would deprive our missions in the island of Madagascar of a head, and render them utterly nugatory. When the time-serving politicians of Great Britain found that their policy was no longer available, then they were willing to give to the Church in America, what she had so long asked for in

vain. And then, too, after the consecration of Bishops White and Provost, for Pennsylvania and New York respectively, in 1787, the same year the first Colonial Bishop was given to Nova Scotia. This again was followed in 1793 by the appointment of a Bishop for Quebec. These two Dioceses, Nova Scotia and Quebec, were all that had been organized in the Colonial possessions of Great Britain before the beginning of the present century. And even for half a century later, of purely Missionary Bishops, the Anglican Church had not one.

It is painful to contemplate this indifference which was felt in England to the spiritual condition of her own colonies, and how the consequences of this neglect are now to be seen in the ignorance and irreligion in which thousands upon thousands now will live and die, almost wholly unacquainted with the knowledge of God and a Saviour. But before we close this statement, so distressing to us as Christians, so mortifying to us as Churchmen, we have still a worse tale to tell. Incited by a spirit of commercial enterprise and a love of gain, a company originally organized for trade, had won for the British crown, by conquest, large territories in the peninsula known as Hindoostan, a region more densely populated than any other of similar size on the face of the earth (with the single exception of China), whose teeming millions were sunk in the most abominable superstitions. It was not to be expected, perhaps, that a commercial company, even though it assumed to itself the functions of government in which Church and State were avowedly united, should undertake direct missionary efforts for the conversion of these heathen. But it would seem, at least, that Christian missionaries might have looked for encouragement and protection from it. But, on the contrary, we find that when men were ready to devote their lives to the instruction of these wretched Hindoos, that, through God's assisting grace, they might be raised from their degradation and made heirs of salvation, the government put every possible obstacle in their way, first, in trying to prevent their entrance into the country, and then in confining them within such a narrow sphere, that they could exercise but little influence. All this, because the rulers feared the natives might be excited to mutiny and rebellion in seeing their religious institutions attacked. It was only upon the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, some time after the present century had opened, that the friends of Christian missions obtained, after considerable discussion, full liberty to carry on their operations in India.

We have spent so much time over discouragements and failures,  
ciii.—4



that our readers will, perhaps, begin to think we have no successes to tell of. True, they are not what they ought to have been, what they would have been, had they been commenced earlier, had the means which the wealthy members of a great Church possessed, been more liberally devoted to this service; but still, such as may well excite our gratitude, and inspire our hearts with fresh courage.

In the good providence of God, the time came when the minds of the more earnest and devoted members of the Anglican Church began to be aroused to the importance, both of caring for the spiritual interest of the widely dispersed members of her own flock, and also for making efforts for sending the light of salvation to those heathen nations which were deemed accessible, some of which seemed in a manner brought to her own doors, and placed directly under her care. All through the eighteenth century, the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been instrumental in sustaining the few clergy in the American Colonies, and thus ministering to the necessities of the scattered Churchmen therein, unconsciously laying the foundations of our own branch of the Anglican Church. But the beginning of the present century found the hearts of British Christians more susceptible to the duty of making efforts for extending the blessings of the Gospel to the heathen. The slave trade had been forbidden by law, and in the efforts to prevent that inhuman traffic, numbers of negroes, rescued from slave ships, had been presented to the Church for religious instruction. The founding of the colony of Sierra Leone is interesting, not only as a benevolent enterprise for meliorating the condition of an oppressed and degraded race, but also as stimulating Christian men to do their duty in obeying the last command of their Great Master, in preaching the Gospel to every creature. At about the same time, the way seemed to be more fully opened for missionary efforts in India. The result of these influences was the organization of a second missionary body, now known as the Church Missionary Society, whose especial sphere of duty was missions to the heathen, having at first particular reference to Africa and India. It is not unlikely that this second organization had some effect in stimulating the Propagation Society to increased activity, for its operations began almost immediately to enlarge. Still the spheres of the two societies were, for a long time, kept quite distinct, and, while the Church Mission Society directed its efforts to the heathen, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel confined its efforts almost exclusively to the English speaking population of the colonies.

The Anglican Church had begun to expand; it was no longer

confined within the seas which surround the British Isles. A branch had been founded in the free Republic of America, which was untrammelled by State interference; and, though small and feeble in its beginnings, was yet destined to grow and become an element of power in a mighty nation. But leaving this out of the account, because our readers may be supposed to be tolerably familiar with its history and present position, we proceed to trace the expansion of the Church in other parts. And from the period of which we are speaking, although the minds of Churchmen were as yet but feebly impressed with her Divine mission, and the Church herself was evidently in leading-strings, and afraid to make any bold ventures of faith, yet, from time to time, a new bishopric was founded in a remote quarter of the globe. In 1814 a Bishop was given to Calcutta, thus placing the missionary work in India under a responsible head; and ten years later Jamaica and Barbadoes were respectively erected into Episcopal sees. Slow progress, it would seem, for the Church to be making against the powers of darkness, yet such as the Churchmen of half a century ago were devoutly thankful for. Twelve years more elapsed, and Madras was separated from the immense Diocese of Calcutta, which before had embraced all the British possessions in the East. This was in 1835. In 1836, Australia, in 1837, Bombay, and in 1839, Newfoundland and Toronto were added to the number of Episcopal sees.

But the measure which seemed most emphatically to give a fresh impulse to the zeal of English Churchmen, and impart a new life to their missionary spirit, was the commencement, in 1841, of a Colonial Bishopric's Fund. It was inaugurated by a letter from Bishop Bloomfield, of London, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and this was followed by a Declaration signed by four Archbishops and thirty-nine Bishops, setting forth the spiritual needs of the colonies, especially as regards the matter of Episcopal supervision, and proposing the immediate formation of thirteen new dioceses. This has been called, and justly, by far the most important work which the Church of England had undertaken since the era of the Reformation, and the results have been much greater than the most sanguine then dared to hope. In the thirty-two years which have elapsed since that time, the Council, into which the Archbishops and Bishops then formed themselves for the administration of such funds as might be committed to their care, have received and administered a capital sum of £237,893, which the liberality of British Christians has provided for the endowment of *thirty* new sees. But what is far more important than any figures can express, it has taught to

British Churchmen a new standard of alms-giving; not, perhaps, such as the Gospel rule rightly interpreted would demand, but still, a great step in advance of the niggardly measure of former days. Some of the offerings for this object have been princely in amount; and through these, also, other charities have doubtless had their means enlarged by the generous rivalry which they have engendered. But what is better than all this, it has diffused abroad an interest in the missionary cause, and revived in the Church the spirit of consecration of self to the work of the ministry, and of saving of souls for Christ, perhaps beyond what has been witnessed in any former age of the Church, since the days of the Apostles. It is right for us to remember the noble men, who, in former times, spent their lives in proclaiming the truths of the Gospel to the heathen, but we may not forget that our own age, too, has a list of worthies whose character will not suffer by comparison.

We shall proceed to a brief survey of the present extent and condition of the work which the Anglican Church is now carrying on.

We shall commence with British North America, where the first Colonial Dioceses of Nova Scotia and Quebec were formed, the one in 1787, the other in 1793. At the close of the American War of Revolution, there were just eleven clergymen in all British North America. Eighty-six have passed away since Bishop Inglis landed in Nova Scotia, and his diocese, which then was reckoned to include all the British territory on the American continent and its adjacent islands, has expanded in the North into the additional Bishoprics of Quebec, Newfoundland, Toronto, Frederickton, Montreal, Rupert's Land, Huron, Ontario, British Columbia, and Moosonee; with the four new Dioceses of Algoma, Niagara, Saskatchewan, and Athabaska, in prospect. In these dioceses, there are laboring, according to the most recent reports within our reach, six hundred and forty-eight clergymen.

We shall now relieve what some may esteem these dry statistics, by attempting to give our readers an idea of the nature of this work which our brethren in the North are carrying on.

There are some portions of British America, which in their general features are not dissimilar to our own neighboring states, when, in cities or large villages, or even in the more rural districts, the position of the parish clergyman in ministering to the people of his charge, within easy walking or riding distance, is quite comfortable. There are others whose duties are not unlike those of our own pioneer missionaries in seeking out those settlers who have plunged farther into the woods, amid their huts or cabins, to make

their permanent or temporary abode. And recently we have been struck with the similarity of the two narratives—that of a clergyman of our own Church, going out among the lumbermen of Northern Minnesota, holding his services, distributing his Prayer Books and tracts, eating at their rude tables of their coarse, but wholesome fare, and sleeping in his blanket on the bare floor, or in the scarcely more comfortable bunk, but always welcome to such as they had: and that of two Canadian clergymen leaving their comfortable homes in the dead of winter, and driving amid the deep snow sixty miles to the north to look after encampments of lumbermen engaged just as those are on this side of the line. Neither in the one case nor in the other, are these very disagreeable duties. There is enough of romance in them to give them zest; and in reading these narratives it has struck us that such a jaunt, even as regards the all important question of health, and the so-much needed rest from the over-work of a large city parish, might serve just as good a purpose, with reminiscences of a more agreeable nature, as a fishing tour to the Adirondacks during a summer vacation, along with a bevy of sporting men as companions.

Of the greater portion of British America, however, it may truly be said that there is no part of the world more undesirable as a residence. And there is not an inlet or cove, or even a barren island, on or near her tempestuous and ice-bound coasts, where little communities of men are not to be found, engaged in supplying their fellow-men of more favored climes with articles of food or luxury. For a man of culture to take up such a residence is a worse banishment than was ever inflicted on a felon for crime, for he is completely cut off from all those earthly sources of enjoyment which he covets most. Yet the inhabitants of these remote and inclement spots are many of them the baptized members of the Anglican Church, and all of them have immortal souls, which have been redeemed with the blood of Christ, and whose keeping He has committed to His Church. And it is among the most glorious things which can be spoken of the Church of England, that, however scattered, her members are looked after, and that clergymen are found, generally without much difficulty, who are willing to undertake the arduous and hazardous mission of seeking out and caring for the spiritual condition of these wanderers.

What Churchman has not felt an honest pride in reading the noble deeds of the Rev. Mr. Ancient, in connection with the ill-fated Atlantic? And yet, if the truth were known, there is scarcely one of the fifty-four clergymen in the Diocese of Newfoundland,

who cannot tell somewhat of a similar experience, nay, whose whole pastoral life is not a continuous record of perils on land and on the deep. Their parishes extend over scores of miles, and embrace many little hamlets, between which there is no communication, except by boats across treacherous waters, around headlands which are often for many days impassable from contrary winds. This occurs in the most favorable season of the year. But in winter, for many months, the pastor is cut off from all communication with the world outside the few members of his own little flock, whom he can reach ; and to visit these he must cross bays or inlets in the ice, or climb over precipices and ravines levelled up almost with snow. The dangers of such a service are incalculable. Several faithful missionaries have thus perished, and found their graves, either in the waters or in the snow. Even the Bishop of such a diocese can make his visitation only in his Church ship, which his Christian friends have furnished him for the purpose, the third of which has recently been fitted out, its two predecessors having been wrecked. And thus in his little vessel this Bishop proceeds on his visitation, holding services, administering confirmation, cheering the hard-faring people with words of comfort, but especially giving encouragement to the hearts of their lone pastors, some of whom never see the face of a brother clergyman, except on these occasions.

A few years ago one of our American clergymen, of literary tastes, in company with a celebrated artist, having chartered a little craft, went in search of icebergs to the coast of Labrador. Putting into a harbor there, they were surprised to find in the little settlement of fishermen a Church and a clergyman too, a graduate of one of the universities, who, to serve this small flock, had thus exiled himself from the world. He was contented and happy, absorbed in his pastoral duties. There are five such churches on that desolate coast, which belong to the Diocese of Newfoundland.

Here we may observe that the Bishop of Newfoundland is not the only North American Bishop, nor are his clergy the only ones who have experience of roughing it. The new Bishop of Moosonee, on the shores of Hudson's Bay, has won his good degree by an experience of years such as is known only to Arctic navigators ; and his brother Bishop of Rupert's Land has a similar record. A clergyman in the latter diocese, stationed on the Saskatchewan river, whose daughters had been left at school in the white settlements, writes on the first of February, 1872, that the mail, due nearly a month before, had not reached him, and that he had not heard from his friends and family since the August previous. This



clergyman lives in the centre of the district of which he has charge, and his outmost station is two hundred and fifty miles distant. After mentioning some books, copies of which would be useful for distribution, he states as among his own personal wants, a medical work, plain, and easy to understand, since he is obliged to be doctor as well as preacher. And he then adds: "Also, would you further oblige me by sending a good English dictionary for my own use? I have a small one here of Johnson's, but it is not at all full. A nice dictionary, with good large print, would be very useful to me at all times." Let our readers, as they are seated in their comfortable studies, surrounded with the latest issues of the press, even to the freshest periodicals, think of this toiler in the wilderness, without even the aid of a good dictionary to assist his literary labors.

And notwithstanding we have occupied so much space in speaking of British North America, while other Church operations of no less interest are waiting their turn, we cannot forbear saying, that even in the Diocese of Quebec there are parishes and missions which can be reached and worked with scarcely less difficulty than those of which we have been speaking. We have before us from the pen of the present Bishop of Quebec, a narrative of a six weeks' visitation of the stations along the lower banks of the St. Lawrence, and on the Magdalen Islands, performed mostly in an open boat or skiff, which could be drawn overland from one point to another as might serve their purpose, but which, in the rough and tempestuous weather which they so often encountered, could only be worked with imminent risk. Often their boat was filled with water, and their baggage thoroughly soaked; but then they usually found a sandy beach where, in the warm sun, it would soon dry. There are several such parishes extending each for thirty miles, some more, some less, with two, three, or four churches or stations each, the people living in scattered hamlets composed of a few families, who are visited by their pastors with as much regularity as the circumstances will permit. The Bishop, after mentioning that his companion had suffered somewhat, ends the account of his visitation with these plain and simple words: "As for myself, there was no hardship in my case; these things are of no account; I enjoy them all; and the rough touch of nature is the renewal of my youth. The islands are difficult to reach, and it may seem that there are few to visit when they are reached. Well, they are few—the whole population amounts to something less than three thousand; they are few, but there they are, and we cannot forsake them." These words have in them the true ring. They show us that we have not only the Apostolic suc-



cession, but the Apostolic zeal, and that our own times furnish us men who, like St. Paul, are not afraid to endure hardness for Jesus' sake.

We take our departure from the inhospitable North, for the more favored regions of the sunny South. In the West Indies, to the original Diocese of Jamaica, founded in 1824, there have been added Barbadoes, Antigua, Nassau, Trinidad, and Guiana; the last of which, though upon the mainland of South America, is yet properly classed in the group of West Indian dioceses. With these six Bishops are associated two hundred and seventy-five other clergymen.

The work in these West Indian parishes is of a nature quite different, in some respects, from that we have been describing. Those who are of European origin are, of course, the leading inhabitants, and the principal men in every parish; but the great mass of the population consists of negroes, the descendants of the former slaves. Their condition is not essentially different from that of the same class in our own country. And there, as here, dissent has been busy; and ignorant and fanatical preachers have filled their credulous minds with the most absurd ideas. Yet a much larger portion of the negroes are under the influence of the Church than of the same class in our own States, and both Bishops and clergy are alive to the importance of giving them instruction.

In addition to the negroes, a large Coolie population is being introduced as laborers into some of these islands. Heathenism is thus brought to their own doors, and thus every parish priest is compelled to be a missionary to the heathen at home. A great work of this kind has already been inaugurated; and natives of India, converted to Christianity in the West Indies, are now carrying back to their native land their influence in favor of the Gospel of Christ.

To men inured to a tropical climate, it is not unlikely that a home in a West Indian parsonage, surrounded by pleasant natural scenery, and furnished with all the productions which an almost continuous summer affords, might offer attractions; and we doubt not many hard-working rectors are thus solaced amid their toil. But there are serious drawbacks to this. The terrible tempests which so frequently pass over these islands, often in a few moments lay waste the labors of many years; and more than one clergyman, after a long period of patient waiting for a church to be erected for his ministrations, has seen his efforts all crushed by a single tornado. Then, again, especially in the Diocese of Nassau, a parish may be

almost wholly composed of islets, inhabited each by a few families, among which he must divide his services; and his stations can be reached only in a small boat navigated in such boisterous waters with very great danger. The extent of some of these parishes is even greater than of those in the Diocese of Quebec heretofore spoken of, and is well described in that pleasant little book, "*Work in the Colonies*:"

There are five missionaries in this diocese, and only two of these are in charge of single parishes,—one whose parish is over eighty miles in length, and contains three churches and a school-house, in which Divine Service is celebrated; the other, whose parish consists of an island forty miles by twenty, with two considerable outlying islands, one ninety miles from the residence of the missionary. Another missionary has three of the largest islands under his charge; one, Andros, one hundred and twenty miles in length, and in some places forty in breadth; another, Abaco, eighty miles long, and the Grand Bahama, sixty miles, each of them from eight to fifteen miles in breadth; and two important groups of small islands, the Beng and Bimini Islands; and in these parishes there are seven churches. The incumbent of St. Christopher, St. David, and San Salvador, has three churches and two school-houses open for Divine Service, and in these parishes, there are six large and important islands extending nearly two hundred miles from north to south, and having forty-one stations to be visited by the missionary.

If there should be any of our readers among the clergy who are looking out for good pay and easy work, we leave them to their own reflections as to the desirableness of a parish in the Diocese of Nassau. But again we commend to all such the touching words of the Bishop of Quebec, quoted above, "They are few, but there they are, and we cannot forsake them."

And here we leave the shores of the New World with the closing remark, that the care of the Church of England for her dispersed children is again shown by stationing a Bishop at the Falkland Islands, on the very borders of the Southern frigid zone, with Episcopal oversight of the churches in the seaport towns of Portuguese and Spanish South America.

And we commence our survey of the operations of the Anglican Church in the Old World by a similar notice of her motherly care for those of the "dispersion." The name of Gibraltar is interesting to military men as a fortress of great strength, to the English politician, because it gives his country command over the Mediterranean, and prevents that immense barrier between two grand divisions of the Eastern Continent from becoming a French lake; but to the Churchman it is interesting as being the seat of a Bishop

who looks after the spiritual interests of all his fellow countrymen who sojourn in any of the countries lying adjacent to that sea. His jurisdiction also extends as far south as the Madeira Islands, and the opposite African coast; and it cheers us to know that his visitations are looked for with interest by English residents at several little towns on the coast of Morocco, where devout laymen keep up the Church's services, and enjoy an occasional participation in the Church's rites, including from time to time that of the confirmation of, perhaps, one or two or three candidates.

Proceeding southward along the African coast we find the British colony of Sierra Leone. It was made, early in the present century, an asylum for those negroes who had been recovered from slave ships, and the Church Missionary Society directed almost its first efforts toward them. A more unpromising field of labor could not be imagined than this heterogeneous multitude of various nations and languages, all in the deepest degradation morally, intellectually, and socially. A rich reward has awaited the patient endurance of these missionaries. A civilized and Christian population numbering forty-two thousand, of whom about five thousand are communicants of the Anglican Church, is now found in neat villages, each a few miles apart, and occupying a peninsula having an area of about three hundred square miles. They came originally from about one hundred tribes, speaking almost as many different languages, for whom, of course, the English is the common medium of communication, and the present vernacular. Sierra Leone is now a regularly organized Diocese, with its own Bishop and staff of clergy. And what gives it more importance is, that it furnishes a means of access to neighboring tribes, which densely people the surrounding country.

An interesting offshoot of the Church in Sierra Leone is found in a mission established in the Yoruba country, extending inland from the Bight of Benin, and in a branch of the same mission on the banks of the Niger River; and the history of the Bishop who now presides over it, is as wonderful a story as can be found in the whole compass of literature. In 1821 a gang of slaves was shipped on the Guinea coast in a Portuguese vessel. After the inmates had endured untold sufferings, this vessel was captured by a British cruiser, and the liberated slaves were taken to Sierra Leone, and placed under Christian instruction. Among them was a boy of eleven years, and a girl of about the same age, from the same tribe. They evinced great aptitude for knowledge. They embraced Christianity and received Baptism. The boy in particular progressed rapidly, became

first a teacher, and afterward, having pursued a theological course in the missionary training school at Islington, was ordained as a minister of the Gospel. Then the desire arose of carrying the glad tidings to his countrymen. The little girl who had shared the sorrows of his captivity, became his wife. Setting forth as a missionary to his native land, he had the happiness to find his mother and other relatives, from whom he had been separated for twenty-five years. And then there followed the still greater happiness of seeing them embrace the saving truths which he taught them. Success attended his labors, and those of his coadjutors in the missionary work. Converts became numerous, and a chief pastor was demanded to govern this new community of Christians, rescued from the most debasing superstition. All eyes were turned to the man whose career as a missionary had been so blessed of God; and on St. Peter's Day, 1864, Samuel Crowther, who forty-three years before had been taken as a slave, was consecrated in the cathedral at Canterbury, Bishop of the Niger, and he is now the head of a flourishing native Church, consisting of seventeen native clergymen, and more than fifteen hundred communicants. It is of strictly indigenous growth, and not a single European has any share in it. And the success which has attended this mission, has pointed out the way in which Christian missions should be mainly conducted. Our efforts should be directed to raising up a native ministry on heathen ground, who shall be acquainted with the peculiarities of the people, and know how to find access to their hearts.

Not connected in any manner with Sierra Leone, nor having the same design, but yet bearing a relation to it in its purpose of suppressing the slave trade, is the American colony of Liberia, originally designed as a place where the free negroes of our own country might have an opportunity for improvement, away from the overshadowing influence of the dominant white race, where now our own Church is carrying on a vigorous work, under the superintendence of a Bishop and several colored clergymen, whose efforts are directed both to the colonists, and the native tribes, with a view of advancing into the interior as fast as a way may be opened.

The colony, known as the "Cape of Good Hope," occupies the southern extremity of the African peninsula. It has been governed by Great Britain since near the beginning of the present century, but its spiritual interests were almost wholly uncared for until 1847, when the late Bishop Gray was consecrated. No Apostle of ancient or modern times was more abundant in labors, in which even his devoted wife also shared. The usual mode of travel in

South Africa a few years ago was in heavy wagons drawn by several yokes of oxen ; and in this slow manner the indefatigable Bishop was accustomed to extend his visitations for twelve hundred miles to the outskirts of his diocese, or rather to the remotest stations, for these could hardly be said to be the outskirts of a diocese which had no boundaries. Bishop Gray lived to see his vast jurisdiction subdivided into six dioceses, and himself become a Metropolitan, with six suffragans, with a larger number of clergymen for each than he had at the start, and missionary work of a very promising character inaugurated among the native tribes extending far up the eastern coast.

And thus, in completing our survey of Africa, we see that although the vast interior is yet almost wholly unknown, notwithstanding all that Livingstone and other travellers have accomplished, and only a few points on the coast have been occupied, yet these are points whence, in the Providence of God, others will be reached, and the whole continent will be subdued to Christ.

Thus far our attention has been directed to those parts of the earth's surface which are the least populous of any ; for though the New World is rapidly filling up, and has a great future before it, and Africa is supposed to contain her hundred millions ; yet these are nothing compared with those dense crowds which inhabit some portions of Asia. Passing by, therefore, the great island of Madagascar, which Puritan intolerance has thus far prevented from having a Bishop of its own, and the little island of Mauritius, which, though an Episcopal See, does not now present a great field for the Anglican Church, we approach the shores of the Indian peninsula, where, through ages past, there has existed a civilization peculiar to itself, but where, through all these successive centuries, superstition and false religion has held undisputed sway. Few people, we believe, even among those who are best informed, realize at all its vast extent, which is nearly equal to the whole of Europe ; and all this is subject to the British crown. But its population is still more amazing ; for herein are found, by actual census, one hundred and ninety millions of people, who own allegiance to the same supreme authority.

We have already mentioned that the early authorities of the East Indian Company did not favor missionary operations among the natives, nor did they care to furnish any adequate supply of chaplains for their own European officials and soldiers. Gain, and not religious culture, was their one object. But in this respect, a great change has been effected. Among the European residents, officials,



and even soldiers, a wonderful reformation has taken place, so that great numbers of them are now God-fearing men, and not only lead Christian lives themselves, but are anxious to advance in every way the cause of Christianity. And such a change has been effected in public opinion that a Government official would now be considered remiss in his duty, if he did not give the Christian missionary all the aid in his power, and afford him every facility in the prosecution of his work. It may be supposed, then, that with these encouragements, and the increased zeal in the Church at home, the missionary operations would be greatly enlarged. And considering all the difficulties to be encountered in the customs of society in Hindoostan, and in the superstitions which have such a firm hold upon the native mind, we may say that thus far the results are all that could have been expected. The most reliable statistics assure us that there are at the present time more than two hundred thousand native Christians in India. This is, to be sure, a small number, compared with the whole population of one hundred and ninety millions, but it indicates the change which is going on, and, considering the short time that the work has been in progress, is most cheering.

There are in India two classes of clergymen,—those who minister to the scattered Europeans, who are mostly engaged in the government service, either as military officers or civilians; and those who direct their efforts to the native population. The former are mostly chaplains in the pay of the Government, and their congregations in any one place, unless in the most important centres, are not large, though often composed of people of the highest culture and intelligence. Some of the chaplains are required, at stated intervals, to visit several different posts, and look after the spiritual interests of those there located. But the zeal of many of these men extends much further.

An instance of this kind worthy of especial mention, is the flourishing mission of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, at Delhi. It owes its origin to the efforts of the Rev. Mr. Jennings, the chaplain at the station, seconded by some half dozen pious civilians and officers who were in the habit of meeting at his house for reading the Scriptures and prayer. "In the way of direct missionary work they could do little; but they could pray; they could collect money; they could assist any native who might come to them for instruction, and all that they could do, they did." Friends in England helped them to the means for starting the mission; but meanwhile, God had heard their prayers, and blessed their own efforts, and, as



the first fruits, Mr. Jennings himself had the unspeakable satisfaction of baptizing two educated Hindoos, holding high positions in the city. One of them still lives to bear testimony by his influence and good works to the faith he then espoused; but the other, along with his noble pastor and many other Christian friends, died a martyr's death five years afterward, in the mutiny of 1857. The mission for the time was extinguished in blood; but, as of yore, that blood was the seed which has yielded a rich harvest for the garner of the Lord.

Flourishing native churches exist in many parts of Hindoostan; but the most marked success has been attained in the district of Tinnevely, situated quite at the southern extremity of the peninsula, in the Diocese of Madras. This district embraces an area of one hundred and twenty miles in length, and seventy-five in breadth, and contains a population of 1,300,000, of whom about 100,000 are Christians. The striking feature of the case is, that a large number of entire villages have embraced Christianity, and are now known as Christian, in distinction from the heathen villages by which they are surrounded. These Christian villages have their churches and parsonages, and, in many instances, their native pastors, and in their good order remind one strongly of an English country village. The contrast between these and the surrounding heathen villages is very striking. But the Christian influence is at work, and is the leaven which cannot fail in the end to leaven the whole mass. The present results have been attained in about fifty years; for, although the record of the native Church extends back to 1780, when there were thirty-nine Christians, no great accessions were made until about the year 1825. In the words of the present Bishop of Madras: "The sight of Tinnevely scatters to the winds almost all that has been said to disparage mission work. The Christian will seek to preach the Gospel to the heathen though he sees no success, because his beloved Master has said, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' But unmistakably, in Tinnevely, the Word of God, preached by devoted men, has not returned unto him void, but has accomplished much. There are men spending themselves for the Gospel; there are native pastors, tried and efficient; there are many congregations in which the heartiness of the people, and the preaching of the minister, would put to shame many an English Church; there are external signs of something new and better than the old heathenism in the cleanliness and order of the Christian villages, and there is an acknowledged superiority in the intelligence and civilization of the Christian population, which must influence for good the heathen around."

The great want as regards Christianity in India now is, that there should be a more efficient Episcopal supervision ; for, though there are the four Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Colombo, yet these are as nothing for the superintendence of churches and missions so widely scattered among a people speaking not less than twenty-five different languages.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, every one of these ought to have its own Bishop to speak to the people in their own tongue. Give to India a suitable number of Bishops, and supply them with the means for educating and training a band of native clergy, and we see no reason why another century should not find India as thoroughly Christian as any European country is to-day, and its Christianity, too, that of the Anglican Church.

Passing eastward through the Straits of Malacca, and by the great Island of Borneo, where England has a Bishop, supported by eight other clergy, struggling to conquer the superstitions of the Dyaks, and convert them to Christianity, we come to China, with a population double that of India, where is really the great missionary field of the world. Close beside China lies the island Kingdom of Japan, now exciting great interest on account of its remarkable advances in civilization, and its zealous ambition to imitate the nations of Europe in everything which pertains to culture and improvement. Hitherto, the Romish Church has shown more zeal, and, of course, has won the greater number of converts in China ; and it may astonish some Churchmen to learn that Rome now reckons half a million of members in that country, diffused throughout the length and breadth of the land. Our own American Church has had a Bishop and missionary staff there since 1844, and in 1849 an English Bishop was consecrated for Victoria, Hong Kong, with jurisdiction throughout the empire. The Church Missionary Society has several stations. Both the English and American missions, considering the extent of their means, count a goodly number of converts, and in each several native clergymen have been raised up, who can reach their countrymen more effectively than any foreigner can. Recently another Bishop, to be supported by the Church Missionary Society, has been consecrated for North China, and the Propagation Society has undertaken a mission to Japan. Now that

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<sup>1</sup> There are fourteen languages spoken in the Diocese of Calcutta, six in that of Madras, and five in that of Bombay. The gift of tongues would seem to be as necessary now as in the Apostles' days, if a Bishop must minister to so many different nations. And yet the Church is carrying on work among nearly all these, and these three Bishops are expected to make their regular visitations to them, and exercise oversight over them.

the work has fairly commenced, we trust that it will be backed up by the prayers and alms of Christians in England and America, that China also may be added to the countries where the name of Christ is adored.

We have seen what the Anglo-Saxon race, and the Anglican Church, are doing in the New World. When the continent of Australia was discovered, another new world was rescued from the unknown portions of the globe, and when it was taken possession of and colonized by Englishmen, the foundations of a new empire, and a new nation of English-speaking people were laid. Considering the vast extent, and the immense capabilities of that island continent, its mineral wealth, the fertility of its soil, the most vivid imagination can hardly picture to itself what it is likely to become in the hands of an enterprising race, such as now has possession of it, is rapidly lining its coasts with flourishing towns, and filling its interior with an industrious and thrifty population. What is best of all is, that the Church has not been so neglectful of her duty as she was to her American Colonies in furnishing spiritual privileges to those who have gone out from her, in endeavoring to retain her hold upon those who at home were brought up in her fold, or in affording the knowledge of her ways to those who, unfortunately, had not known them. In 1836, the Rev. William Grant Broughton, who had labored long in what had thus far been a convict settlement, was consecrated Bishop of Australia (now Sidney), and from that period the progress of the Church has been very wonderful. In 1840 it ceased to be a penal colony, and inducements were held out for emigrants to settle there. The subsequent discovery of gold gave an additional impulse to this spirit of emigration, and new towns rapidly sprung up. The presence of a Bishop, assisted by increased funds, and a larger number of clerical helpers, gave an incentive to Church work. Churches were built, schools founded, and a college established. It was soon found that a diocese of such extent was too large for any one man. In 1841, Tasmania was set off as a diocese, and in 1847, the three Bishoprics of Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide, were formed. In addition to these there are now the Episcopal Sees of Perth (1856), Brisbane (1859), Goulburn (1863), Grafton and Armidale (1867), and Bathurst (1869). So that Australia is now an ecclesiastical province, consisting of ten dioceses, united into a Synod, over which the Bishop of Sidney presides as Metropolitan, with a written constitution, evidently modelled after that of our own American Church. In these ten dioceses there are about four hundred clergymen.

Twelve hundred miles, or thereabout, southeast of Australia, lies the island of New Zealand, more than one thousand miles in length, and containing an area somewhat larger than Great Britain itself. Its aboriginal inhabitants are similar to the other Polyne-sians, perhaps the finest of that race in their physical characteristics, as they are the most ferocious in their disposition and habits of life. Cannibalism was common among them. In 1814 the Church Mis-sionary Society commenced its mission there; but it was not till after eleven years of patient labor that the first convert was made, and five years more before any others were added. From 1838 the progress in evangelizing and civilizing the natives was very rapid, so that when, in 1842, Bishop Selwyn, who had been consecrated the previous year Bishop of New Zealand, first arrived there, he was astonished at the change which had been wrought, and described it in these memorable words: "We see here a whole nation of pagans converted to the faith. Young men and maidens, old men and children, all with one heart and with one voice praising God; all offering up daily their morning and evening prayers; all search-ing the Scriptures to find the way of eternal life; all valuing the Word of God above every other gift; all, in a greater or less degree, bringing forth, and visibly displaying in their outward lives, some fruits of the influences of the Spirit."

In the meantime, however, Great Britain had established her sovereignty over the island, and New Zealand had become a British colony, and was rapidly filling up with European emigrants. This colonization has proved a severe trial to the native Church, involv-ing, as it did, the natives in disputes with the Europeans, and eventuating in bloody and destructive wars. The consequence has been that the native race has been greatly diminished in numbers, and seems destined to ultimate extinction. Still there is left a consid-erable population of Christianized natives, gathered into orderly congregations, presided over in many instances by their own native pastors. A great work for the salvation of souls has been wrought; and, though attended by such untoward circumstances, the outlay can by no means be regretted. And, besides, churches have been multiplying among the English emigrants, until now there are five Bishops, and one hundred clergy, ministering to a still larger num-ber of congregations. So that here again we have another ecclesi-astical province of five confederate dioceses.

Long ago it was foretold in ancient prophecy: *The isles shall wait upon Me, and on Mine arm shall they trust.* We have no idea of restricting the application of this prophecy to our own times,

for it has been in the process of fulfilment through the successive ages of the Church; though no earnest believer would deny its peculiar fitness as describing a state of things in our own day. For ourselves, from our earliest youth, with a passionate fondness for the study of geography, we were accustomed to look with a great degree of interest upon the map of the Pacific Ocean, and con over the names of its island groups, and speculate upon the number of single islands, upon their physical characteristics, upon the number, habits, and character of their inhabitants. Brought up in the leading denomination of New England, which had then begun to be actively engaged in missionary enterprises, and whose mission in the Sandwich Islands was then attracting great attention, we eagerly read all the narratives of adventures in these seas, and it is possible that these have not been without their influence on our whole subsequent life. At all events, we take pleasure now, even from our present standpoint of Anglican Christianity, in bearing testimony to the zeal of those, who, in the early part of this century, before the English Church, or her daughter in America, had become thoroughly aroused to action, and while the former was so trammelled with State policy that she could not act with any efficiency, undertook the conversion of these islands, and met with a success which must ever redound to their praise. We only regret that their imperfect ecclesiastical polity and their distorted views of Christian truth did not accomplish for those islanders all that a better system would have done, and that their work must now be done over under the opposition of those who first occupied the ground. Of course we are perfectly willing to accord to others the meed of praise which is their due, but we can never forget our own obligations to carry the Gospel in its integrity to the nations. And so we bid the Bishop of Honolulu God-speed in his work, both of instructing the remnant of the native race, and of providing for the spiritual necessities of English settlers, and those of other nations which are now fast filling up the Hawaiian and other islands of the Pacific.

Though late in the field, and seemingly needing the example of dissenters to arouse her zeal, there still remained for the Church of England the peculiar glory of carrying the Gospel to those parts where others seemed to shrink from going, either on account of the difficulties of navigation, or the unhealthiness of the climate. The islands occupied by the Independents and Wesleyans, all lie east of the one hundred and seventieth degree of west longitude. West of that meridian there are islands larger or smaller, almost innumerable, all of them inhabited, but dif-



fiicult to approach, and with a climate fatal to European constitutions. Up to a recent period these islands were little known; nautical charts gave but little correct information respecting them, and the thought of efforts for their Christianization and civilization was deemed absurd. It was the noble-minded Selwyn, first Bishop of New Zealand, who conceived the idea of carrying to these islands the blessings of the Gospel. His plan was original, and the only one which could possibly succeed. It was to gather children therefrom, withdraw them from the debasing influences of home, train and educate them in a Christian school, and, after a suitable time, return them to their native islands as teachers of their fellow countrymen. This plan was executed with a perseverance and intrepidity hardly equalled in the history of Christian missions, whether in ancient or modern times. Sailing in his Church ship, the "Southern Cross," he fearlessly navigated those dangerous seas; landed on numerous islands, some of which had never before been visited by civilized man; held such communication with the inhabitants as he could by signs and the few words of their language, whose meaning he could make out; and, by his winning manner and acts of kindness, inspired them with such confidence in him, that they allowed him to take their children with him to his home in New Zealand, to be educated under his own direction. The voyage was repeated year by year, the children taken back to spend a few weeks with their friends, and returned in increased numbers every time to school. For the superintendence of the education of the Melanesian youths, a suitable person was found in the Rev. John Coleridge Patteson, to whom, in the increasing home duties of the Bishop of New Zealand, the whole charge of the mission was at length entrusted, and in 1861 he was consecrated first Bishop of Melanesia. The new Bishop followed up most admirably the course begun by his predecessor. With a wonderful facility for acquiring languages, he soon made himself well acquainted with several dialects, and was able to hold free communication with the people, who learned to reverence his saintly character. Every year his influence spread wider. His teaching in school was equally successful. The climate of New Zealand in winter having been found too severe for those who had been born and reared within the tropics, a more suitable place for the school was sought and found on Norfolk Island (now the residence of the former Pitcairners), and this henceforth became the seat of the Melanesian mission. Here the work visibly progressed. The pupils began to show the effect of their Christian training; they easily adopted the habits of civilized life;



they drank in Christian truth; one after another was baptized, confirmed, and received to the table of the Lord. Some were put in a course of preparation for the Christian Ministry; and in 1869, one, who had been for about ten years a resident with them, was admitted to Holy Orders, and stationed as a missionary in his native island. And thus the original plan of the mission began to have its fulfilment.

It is not within the scope of this article to give a detail of the events in which the first Bishop of Melanesia, along with two faithful brethren, one a clergyman and one a pupil, became a martyr, nor to speak of the causes which led thereto. Suffice it to say that his blood cries for vengeance, not on the ignorant natives, who supposed they were performing an act of just retaliation, but on the guilty white men, who were, contrary to the present laws of civilized nations, trafficking in human flesh, and enslaving their fellow-men. These facts must be fresh in the minds of our readers. But they will be glad to know that the work, in which his whole soul was engaged, still goes on prosperously; that the operations of the school are carried on with increased vigor; that the native deacon, whom he placed in the Island of Mota, has been the instrument of bringing nearly the whole population under the influence of Christianity; and finally, that, on Sunday, the 17th of November, 1872, three more Melanesians received Deacon's Orders at the hands of the Bishop of Auckland, and are to be sent forth as heralds of the Cross and teachers of their friends and relatives, now sitting in the region and shadow of death.

We have thus completed our brief and necessarily imperfect survey of the present condition of the Anglican Church in its various branches. Certainly, within the present century, her foundations have been greatly enlarged; and her present facilities for extending her work among the heathen are very great. What the future of the British Empire is to be, whether it is to remain, as now, united under one government, or whether the remote colonies, already grown strong and enjoying an unwonted degree of freedom, shall eventually be separated from the mother country, and become mighty nations by themselves, is a question of time. In any event, the Church in the colonies will not be left, as was the Church in this country at the close of the American Revolution, without an Episcopal head, and in doubt whether it would be possible to obtain one. In every one of the colonies the Church is now perfectly organized, not only with her Divine Constitution complete, but with all those human appliances which are useful in enabling her to dis-

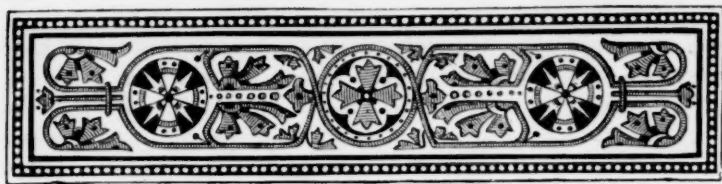
charge her proper functions. She has her synods, diocesan and general, her constitutions and laws, and every arrangement complete for government and perpetuation. Disestablished, and in some cases disendowed, to be sure, the colonial Churches are, and obliged to depend on the voluntary gifts and liberality of their members for support; but then, they are free from State control, can carry out their own plans for extension or improvement, and can discipline their own members, within reasonable bounds, without let or hindrance. If the colonies were to-day separated from the mother country, the Churches therein might miss, perhaps, the pecuniary aid they now receive from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the occasional grants from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but in all other respects they would scarcely know the difference. In British North America, in Australia, even in India, the Church is nearly as strong to-day as our own American Church was in 1835, more than half a century after our independence was secured; while in the West Indies, in South Africa, and in New Zealand, she is of healthy and vigorous growth. Surely, no one can doubt that these branches of the Anglican Church are destined to take an important part in deciding the spiritual condition of the future inhabitants of the globe.

In regard to the future condition and prospects of the Mother Church of England, there is now anxious solicitude in the minds of many. What has already taken place in the matter of disestablishment and disendowment in Ireland and in the colonies, are deemed but the mutterings, in the far distant it may be, but still the sure premonitions of the coming storm. But if these forebodings should not prove merely imaginary fears, we may be sure that He who has promised to be with His chosen ambassadors to the end of the world, will still protect and defend His Church amid all the changes to which she may be subjected. And we may be thankful, too, that these efforts which the English Church has put forth during the past half century, in behalf of her emigrant children, and of the heathen who have been thrown on her protection, have had a reflex influence on herself; they have taught her self-reliance and self-dependence; they have inspired her members with a more earnest zeal; they have brought before their minds the duty of giving more liberally for the maintenance of religious institutions, and for the spread of the Gospel, so that we have been startled by the large individual gifts which, in some instances, have been made for Church objects—the endowment of Episcopal sees in particular—and at the

aggregate of their contributions for the same; they have led her to seek for herself a better organization, in the revival of the ancient diocesan synods, and of the defunct powers of Convocation; they have prompted her to greater activity in looking after and caring for the masses of all but heathen at home, who now fill her crowded manufacturing towns and commercial marts; so that in England herself to-day the Church is much stronger in proportion to the whole population than she was half a century ago, and this notwithstanding the fierce opposition she has had to encounter at every step. In all this, God has evidently been preparing her for self-maintenance and self-government. No one who has faith in God can have any fear as to the result. The Church may be deprived of her temporalities, but she will find herself more than compensated for the loss in the possession of enlarged spiritual powers. And for ourselves, we long to see the day when she shall have the liberty to discipline her own members, subject only to the rules in the Word of God and the canons of the Catholic Church; when she can designate for herself her own chief pastors; when her faithful laity can participate in her councils; when she can send forth her missionary Bishops, wherever they may be needed; when, at the earnest cry of her missionaries, from an island in the Indian Ocean, for one to superintend their labors, an Archbishop of Canterbury shall not feel obliged to wait until he receives, through the Foreign Office, the Queen's mandate for consecration, and finally be told that her Majesty will not be advised to issue such a document;<sup>1</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Looking at the matter from our own stand-point of American views and opinions, we should say that the decision of the British Cabinet in reference to the Madagascar Bishopric is correct, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury is wholly responsible for the failure to appoint a Bishop. The case may be briefly stated thus: The Queen no longer issues her letters-patent for the consecration of Bishops for the colonies, or any places beyond the sea; there is no good reason why Madagascar should be made an exception to this rule; and it may be that an appointment in this way would give to the Bishop who should be thus designated a character which in nowise belongs to him—that of an emissary of the British crown. We all remember what a hue-and-cry was raised in this country a few years ago about the Bishop of Honolulu, based upon this simple fact of his appointment by the Queen's letters-patent. But is the Archbishop of Canterbury a mere tool of the State, to exercise his spiritual functions only at the Queen's bidding? We deem it time that this most abominable view of the question should be discarded; and therefore, as said in this article, we hope the time is not distant when an Archbishop will be able, and ready, and willing, to exercise his purely spiritual powers without let or hindrance,—without feeling obliged to ask the assistance, or consent, or advice even, of the temporal power.

can proceed at once to exercise those spiritual powers which have been committed to him by our Lord himself, and which, as no human government can give, so, neither, can it take away. We shall be sorry to see the English Church despoiled of her own property and her own rights, and we shall pity the government and the nation which shall invoke upon itself the judgments of God for such a sacrilegious act; but we shall rejoice to see her free from those trammels which now confine her, and able to fulfil unrestrained her mission to the nations of the world.



## THE INQUISITION.

**HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION**, from its establishment in the twelfth century, to its extinction in the nineteenth. By William Harris Rule, D.D. London. 1874. Vols. i. and ii. octavo; pp. xii. 367, 360.

**LETTERS ON THE SPANISH INQUISITION**. A rare work, and the best which has ever appeared upon the subject. By M. Le Comte Joseph Le Maistre. Translated from the French, with a preface, additional notes, and illustrations, by T. J. O'Flaherty, S. E. C. Second edition. Boston. 1850. One vol. 12mo.; pp. 178.

**FRANCISCO MOYEN; or, The Inquisition as it was in South America**. By B. Vicuña Mackenna. Translated from the Spanish, with the author's permission, by James W. Duffy, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and of the University of Chili, etc. London: Henry Sotheran & Co., 136 Strand. 1869. 1 vol. 8vo.; pp. vi. 225.

ONE of the worst habits of Romanism, in our view, is its spoiling, by misuse, words otherwise innocent and even excellent. For example: What better or dearer word is there to a Christian, when thinking of his religion, than the word Jesus? And the word Jesuit, or follower of Jesus, ought as naturally and sympathetically to be one, in a sense, and a very significant sense, too, as precious as its original. And yet, when one has read the history of these followers of Jesus in the Church-of-Rome style, and seen how in that community they have made the Name of Him who called Himself and showed Himself to be the Truth, a sanction for studied

and systematic equivocation, he is satisfied that by none, even of his enemies, has that Name been more essentially dishonored. Jesus spake nothing but the truth. A Jesuit, when the interests of his Society or his Church requires, *speaks* truth also; but, alas, it is technical truth, concealing or glossing over actual falsehood. To tell a technical truth and a virtual lie, is a *chef-d'œuvre* among Jesuits. So that it is not at all a wonder that they hated Walsingham more than all the rest of the Ministers of Queen Elizabeth put together. It is said by old Tom Fuller, as quoted in Aikin's history of this queen, "The Jesuits being outshot in their own bow, complained that he out-equivocated their equivocation; having a mental reservation deeper and further than theirs" (Aikin's Q. E. ii. 230).<sup>1</sup>

And as the word Jesuit has been perverted and dishonored in the Church of Rome, so has been the word Inquisition. This, etymologically, is as harmless as the other is pious; and yet it has become a synonyme for all that is terrible and implacable, so that Mr. Southey, in a moment of exasperation, in his controversy with Charles Butler, did not hesitate to denounce it, as "hell plucked up by the roots." Inquisition is a word of Latin derivation, and is as unpeculiar as possible on the pages of Cicero, who uses it simply in the sense of search or inquiry. Perhaps we might say *inquest*—a word familiar enough to those accustomed to the action of a coroner's jury, or a grand-jury; which are merely bodies that inquire into, and pronounce on, certain facts or supposed facts, submitted to them for examination and an opinion. And, strange as it may seem, we have ourselves encountered a Roman Catholic—whose only fault was, that he was a Gnostic Roman Catholic, *i. e.*, a *knowing one*—who, with refreshing coolness, declared that the Inquisition was a grand-jury, and nothing else. It held secret sessions, as does a grand-jury. It did not confront an accused person with the witnesses against him, as does a grand-jury. And so the Inquisition was a bugbear; it was a grand-jury, and nothing more!

Alas, to what will not sectarian blindness, voluntary blindness, commit a man! Does a grand-jury give a verdict which affects a man's reputation, and do nothing more? Aye, the Roman Catholic would cry, it is exactly so. The Inquisition might distress a man a little—pull him, squeeze him, scorch him somewhat, as other courts in olden time did—to get the truth out of the reluctant and

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<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from Fuller's "Worthies in Kent;" and is strengthened, rather than weakened, by its introduction upon the pages of Miss Aikin.



the false-hearted. But it never sent a man to death, oh, no; it only sent him to excommunication. *Ecclesia*, said a Jesuit, defending it with his technical accuracy, *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*. The Church never shed one drop of schismatical, or heretical, or contumacious blood. The State did that; and the State *by* and *of* its sovereign self. The Inquisition merely handed over its victims to the State, and with a patronizing supplication—as honest as most Jesuitical technicalities—for the State’s pitiful consideration, begging the State to treat them with all possible lenity!<sup>1</sup> It did this, however, well knowing that a failure to receive those victims into the grasp of a power, strong enough to crush an elephant, and unsparing as an hyena, would be in the Church’s eye a crime of profound malignity. For only suppose the State to have said, as it might have said, with an irony keen as a Damascus cimeter, Well, what is enough for you, is enough for us. You abhor bloodshedding, and so will we. At the worst, we will only add to your ecclesiastical excommunication, a civil one, and say to the criminal, Whom you reject, we reject him also. Begone! and while you are of your present mind about things which we esteem and value, stay away. We want to see your face no more!

Now, if there is “the twentieth part of one poor scruple” of truth in the Jesuitical pretension that the Church abhors—not discountenances merely, but the strongest word which could well be summoned for the exigency—*abhors* bloodshedding, we cannot, for the very life of us, see why this should not have been a satisfactory, and an all-sufficient answer. And now the plain and obvious question is, Would it have been such? And the answer *ought* to be, It would have been anything besides. The Church would have decreed the State, which made it presumptuous and contemptuous. It would have decreed such State to be insolent and unendurable. And then the State would have been put openly and squarely under some awful ban—perhaps the *ne plus ultra* ban of an interdict. An interdict rendered its victims *relaxed*, as the phrase went. And this is another strange abuse of a word. Relaxed, in the lingo of persecution, meant not relaxed from penalties, but relaxed from protection. The Inquisition could do what it pleased with such people;

<sup>1</sup> The language, *technically*, is as gentle “as a sucking dove.” “Whom we pray and charge, very affectionately, as we by best right can, to deal kindly and piously with him” (Dr. Rule, quoting the *Cartilla* [little chart] or *Manual*, ii. 354). The process of persecution must always be conducted artistically, as much so as surgical dissections. The surgeon tells you he loves you *all* to *pieces*; and then calmly cuts your leg off!

because they were "no more to be held under the protection of *any power* in the world" (Rule's Hist. i. 10). The principle upon which it did thus, but a few understand. The Roman Church professes to be a reasonable Church—that is, to have a *reason* for everything, good or bad. Its reason for persecution was brought out by pious Father Segnerand, when preaching before the King of France—preaching, too, about the forgiveness of one's enemies. He told the King he must forgive his own enemies, but not the enemies of God, *i. e.*, the heretics. Them he must extirpate! The fact was so notorious, that Dr. Percival brought it out in his "Father's Instructions," a famous book, in its day. We quote from the seventh edition of 1788, pages 61, 62. Rather a better book for children than that defence of the Inquisition which is made the pabulum for them, in the Jesuit College of Santiago, Chile. A fact to come up by-and-by. We only add, that Segnerand's doctrine was the one under which Cromwellians shielded their persecution of Churchmen! (See the "Christian Examiner," vii. 233.) Of course, such conduct must be defended on *pious* grounds, like the punishment by fire; for which (Oh, profanation of profanations!) this was the text: "If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned" (Rule, i. 109). And an interdict could make its penalties so mighty and so overwhelming, that if prolonged, they could render a monarch, as proud and obstinate as John of England, so thoroughly pliant as almost to scream for absolution, with the energy of a patient under gout's awful twinges. His interdict became at last utterly appalling, so that John, who was fond of drawing the teeth of Jews to force them to lend money, suffered something worse,—had to lend his very crown and have it taken from his brow. Thenceforward he could only rule *his own subjects* as a lackey of the Popedom.

This is what the Roman Church *could* once do, when the State undertook to be contumacious against its uplifted and dire supremacy. And as this Church claims supremacy for its views of truth and right, and the perils of error, even about scientific subjects, this is what it would *now* do, if it possessed the capabilities once wielded by a will as powerful as it was wanton. It looks upon itself as having the world, and all the concerns of the world, within its purview and committed to its charge. It would fain fancy itself the compeer of the angel, standing in the sun, and inviting all the vultures of creation to batten on God's enemies (Rev. xix. 17). There is but one thing to be done before the Church of Rome, arrogating

the prerogatives of the Godhead ; and that is, to submit or to die. The warfare now going on in Italy, in Prussia (where a fresh attempt has been made to assassinate Prince Bismarck), and even in Austria, differs not essentially from that once waged against England. If Pius IX. dare do it, or thought he could do it safely, and not have his tiara treated as England's crown was once treated, he would follow the examples of his predecessors to-morrow. The winding up of centuries of contention by his decree about The Immaculate Conception, shows what he wants to do in the line of theology. In that, he aims higher than the great Summa of Thomas Aquinas. The Syllabus of 1864 shows what he would fain do in the line of politics, learning, and education. And the Lateran Council of 1870, avowing Infallibility, is the third crown of his administration and its topmost one. That Council puts him, in will, upon the summit of everything but the Throne itself of Him, to whom all power was given "in heaven and on earth." Indeed, it makes him for this world what an officer once called the Lord-Lieutenant of the Kingdom, was for England ; or what The Dictator was for the Republic of old Rome. What the Lord-Lieutenant or The Dictator for the time being said, was what the Crown of England, or the Commonwealth of Rome, was fully committed to, and had to abide by. So what the Pope *now* says is but what Heaven puts upon his lips, and will reiterate and ratify. All earth, whether secular or Churchly, is now entrusted to his keeping ; and, as we said, there is no alternative beyond submission but extinction. We must die rebels, if we will not live loyalists. And that is the whole length and breadth and circumference of our relations to the occupant of (the so-called) St. Peter's chair. We must pay that chair inalienable homage ; or go, like Judas, to our own place. There is no paradise for such dissenters ; not even Milton's "paradise of fools."

But what has all this to do with the Inquisition, and with the books placed at the head of this article, as if volumes intended for direct review ? Much, every way. The grandest defence of the Inquisition which we know of, is that it is a court, and not a consistory—belongs to the State and not the Church ; and with all its faults (if it has any) sustains such a belonging, and no other. Now, it is our irresistible and invincible persuasion, that the Inquisition belonged to the Church, and not the State—that the State would never have thought of it if the Church had not suggested, urged, and insisted upon it—nay, that the State would have abandoned it sooner than it did, and have sealed it up, as Darius was constrained

to seal up the den of lions, if the Church had not stood by, and awed it into actions gratifying to itself.

But if the Inquisition is the conception, and the virtual creation, of the Church—owes to that all its severity, and its dismal prolongation—then it is worth our while to have some appropriate impressions of what this Church is, and what it claims the power to think and do, without responsibility to any human assumptions or human authority. It is important, if not indispensable, in examining the history of any institution brought up under Rome's eye, and finding shelter under her maternal wing, to know, and to know accurately, what Rome, as an ecclesiastical empire, is, and what the dominion which it arrogates. Such an idea is not convenient only, it is *necessary* for the interpretation of all the powers put in exercise under that empire, and its theoretical, if not expressed, domination. If the Inquisition is Rome's own, then here is a key to Rome's purposes and aims, which cannot be found elsewhere. For there is no doubt that the Inquisition is Rome's especial favorite, and that even the Jesuits have not pleased her more, or served her better. The Jesuits have, indeed, her highest approbation, because the most important of their vows renders them the completest possible of her vassals. They are to go to the world's end, and make any and every sacrifice for the accomplishment of her will, as if the very voice of God spake in her tongue's vibrations. And they, meanwhile, must conduct themselves, as the prophet did in the cave, when articulate sounds, with the stillness of a whisper, but with the dread emphasis of omnipotence, were poured into his anxious ear.<sup>1</sup> The Inquisition was all this to the Pope's throne, and if possible, even more. It was not only obedient itself, but it made others obedient also.<sup>2</sup> It could awe classes, multitudes, whole nations. The people in whose midst it worked, were stricken dumb before it; for, like the pestilence, it walked in darkness. Such a perambulator could come with a step, as secret and silent as that of poison in the atmosphere, and hide away its victims, as if swallowed up by the jaws of Acheron.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paroissien's "Principles of the Jesuits," p. 13. London. 1860.

<sup>2</sup> "Do you not find," exclaimed the Advocate Lemaistre in 1657, "that the Inquisition is the most convenient and sure method to ruin your enemies, however innocent they may be?" (Pascal's Wks. i. 224.) This Lemaistre is possibly an ancestor of the Le Maistre, whose work is named at the head of this article. If so, the habit of defending the Inquisition may be a family one.

<sup>3</sup> And if people rebelled against it, there were Papal bulls and royal edicts ready in abundance, to overrule them. And should this rebellion grow strong,

And now, if the Inquisition was the Church's bantling, and not the State's—did the Church's will rather than the State's—was ecclesiastical machinery, rather than political machinery—how is this to be made apparent; and has the chief of the historians, named as our text, proved his case?

Dr. Rule's intentions are plainly stated in his preface. He has not made persecution in general, but a single institution of it, his special and uninterrupted theme. Many might say, that what is ascribed to the Inquisition belongs not to that especially, but to the age, or to Christendom at large, Protestant as well as Popish. Dr. Rule is too acute an historian, to give such technical pleading the slightest advantage. He keeps close to his subject, and throws off all extraneous parallels: "It must be remembered that while all Churches that have lost the Spirit of Christ are given to persecute, no Church on earth, except the Church of Rome, has ever had a separate institution for the inquest and punishment of heresy, with a peculiar code of laws, and appointed courts, judges, and officers. This, and this only, is the INQUISITION" (Pref. p. 4).

Now it is thoroughly humiliating, but we know no help for it, to look back the long line of ages, and find in the annals of the Primitive Church, the faintest precedent for the plea of advocates of the Inquisition, that the State is responsible for its beginnings. But, unquestionably, one of the melancholy results of the marriage of the Church to the State, in the days of Constantine the Great, was the bringing of the physical power of the State to bear upon the Church's enemies. As Dr. Rule confesses, the codes of Theodosius and Justinian had no less than seventy-two edicts recorded on their pages, sanctioning the employment of civil power against mis-believers, schismatics, and heretics. We would not have cared for this, if the Church had lifted her voice, as she ought to have done, against the conversion of *her* sentences into civil enactments, and the attempt to constrain or coerce the consciences of men. But the Church was coy and timid. The State was a new friend, and an uncertain one. She feared that the authority which she did importune, might be turned against herself, and the chalice of bitterness

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or very strong, then the ready arm of force and cruelty could be appealed to, without hesitation. While the revolt of human nature was at first so uncontrollable as sometimes to bid defiance to the ruthless sword (Rule's History, i. 137, 138). Even in Spain, *some* of the clergy objected, because "they saw with alarm, that the Episcopate was to be despoiled of its authority at a stroke" (Rule i. 130). An independent Episcopate is one of Rome's haunting horrors. She is more opposed to it than a Presbyterian.



be commended, all too soon, to her own unsilent lips. And, therefore, she was mute, and looked on with mere commiseration.

As matters turned out, her conduct was prudent, if not quite defensible. The State played fast and loose with the Church, and was too often its friend, not on the ground of Christian Orthodoxy, but of civil policy. The price which the Church paid for her connection with the State, was a crowding one, if not a crushing one.

We may lament this, as lovers of peace. As professed followers of the Prince of Peace, we must view it with unfeigned regret and sorrow. But this we *can* say. The Primitive Church, if she did not remonstrate against the action of the State, did not plead it as a sanction for her own acts, and an example to be followed. This is the Roman practice, to use the State when convenient for a screen.

But the Mediaeval Church was a communion of quite another pattern, and an altogether different temper. That Church did not wait for an example *from* the State, but gave one *to* the State. And here, when the Inquisition had a full and formal beginning, it was the Church which took the van, and summoned the State to her aid, not so much as an occasional helpmeet, but a constant and submissive, not to say abject, servitor. Alexander III., Pope from 1159 to 1181, has the baleful honor of the Inquisition's genuine inauguration. And it was during his administration, also, that the most awful of all human retributions was appealed to, to build the Church up as an edifice which heresy and its allies, sedition, rebellion, and retaliation, could not overthrow—death at the stake, and under flames of fire. Death, simply, one would suppose quite sufficient to rid the Church of her assailants. But no, it must be death in its most horrid and revolting form—such a form as even the fiends of our wild wilderness deem a culmination—it must be death in *such* a form, which, and which only, could assure the Church's safety. We wonder not, that Dr. Rule should say, the Church of the Middle Ages wanted not safety and immunity, as a witness and keeper of the truth, to transmit it unimpaired to coming times. No, it was as one of the great governments of the earth, seeking its place among the nations—as one of them and their file-leader—that this Church wanted to tower up, to overshadow, and to be puissant.

We dwell on the idea; for our readers cannot too distinctly understand that it was not for the truth's sake, or for its great stewardship, as Christ's earthly household, that the Mediaeval Church wanted guardianship and extended sway. It was for its own sake, for its wealth's sake, and its power's sake, that it desired to be delivered from outside onslaught and inside dis-



turbances. "The Roman hierarchy were far more concerned for the overthrow of their enemies, than for the maintenance of their creed, such as it was; and the holy office was rather a shield of defence against rebels, than a protection from heretics. The reason of its erection was most certainly *political*, rather than *religious*. Some strong domestic force was wanted for the defence of the priesthood itself." And again, it "was the natural outgrowth of the system of sacerdotal policy, which it was established in order to maintain. It did not originate in any single mind" (Rule, i. 14, 15). And there were but two things needed to complete the Church's system of fortified and assured security. One was to get all property of every kind within its grasp, and hold it inalienably, because ecclesiastical right was virtually a *Divine right*; and the next was, to declare the Church irresponsible to human law.

This was the capstone. And now it needed but such collaborators as Innocent III. (Pope from 1198 to 1216) with the Dominicans, to begin the work of an Inquisition in full-fledged form. Innocent III. had the temper and the capabilities, which fitted him for the occasion; and in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215—the Council, be it ever remembered, which sanctioned the doctrine of transubstantiation—the Inquisition received that legal shape and architectural construction, which enabled it to work like an independent and self-sustaining government.

"We have also to note," Dr. Rule carefully says, "and to remember, that the Inquisition was not the work of Theodosius, or Innocent, or Dominic, or the College of Cardinals; but that it grew up spontaneously within the bosom of the Papacy, to which systematic persecution is as necessary for life as the soul is necessary to the body; and that a separate tribunal would never be required, if the work to be done were of a sort that could be left in the hands of men but commonly humane" (Rule, i. 27).

So the Inquisition was now in existence, as having a legal constitution. But a constitution without courts to interpret its terms, and officials to execute its provisions, would be like a book of statutes put away upon a shelf, to be buried under dust and cobwebs. It wanted life in action, and it wanted an army as its satellite. It got all this in the Order of Dominicans, established in 1217. Then it was ready for a campaign among malignants, as Puritans used to call Churchmen. And it hung over them, like that "great star" of tremendous portents, which St. John called "Wormwood," to fill their cup of destiny with the bitterness of gall.

South France was, at the first, the principal seat of its adven-

tures, in the arts and accomplishments of woe. But *all* France gave it scope, under a monarch whom the Latin Church has sainted, the ninth Louis; Spain, by-and-by, followed a French example; Germany, however, like Germany now, was an insecure dependence. And so was that bright spot in Italy where a republic nestled, the States of Venice. Venice—and let it never be forgotten, to show how purely *ecclesiastical* the Inquisition was, in spite of the impudent sophistry which calls in an institution of the State—Venice would not consent to the presence of the Inquisition within her borders, unless some minister of State sat in its tribunals, as the equal of ministers of the Church. Of course the Church resisted and protested, but Venice was a pattern of sturdiness and independence, which even Romanism was constrained to tolerate.<sup>1</sup> The Inquisition was never but half itself in the mistress of the Adriatic. No wonder that such a State could finally brave an interdict, and beard the Papal lion in his very den.

But Spain was the scene of the Inquisition's highest and longest glory, and to Spain let us now turn; since it is *here* that the cause of the Inquisition seems, to a man like Le Maistre, most defensible, and upon its conduct in which, he has laid out a special pleader's utmost ingenuity. Le Maistre was not audacious enough to defend his Church, with the gore of a Gallic St. Bartholomew dripping from its skirts. So he hied him across the Pyrenees, and laid the scene of his drama (for, in sober earnest, he tries to put poetry into the case of the Inquisition, and calls it "one of the mildest and wisest *civil* tribunals within the range of civilization") in a land for whose history Frenchmen would care but little. Indeed, it is doubtful whether he would have dared to write as he did, even at Moscow, where his book was dated, unless the battle of Waterloo had been fought, and Napoleon become a fugitive. His book was written just after that battle, with the aim (it is quite possible) of propitiating the Jesuits, who were counting on reinstatement.

It is easy to believe that Le Maistre was pampered and puffed up by sacerdotal flattery; for he absolutely rushes to the defence of the most *cruel* and *unwise* (except in the cunning of wisdom) of

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<sup>1</sup> "Even the Republic of Venice received these Papal delegates." This shows where the emissaries of the Inquisition came from. The remainder of Dr. Rule's sentence shows how they were treated. "But insisted on associating Venetian magistrates with them *in every case*; and, much to the annoyance of the Inquisitors, gained and maintained the point" (Rule, i. 35).

all ecclesiastical tribunals within the range of Christendom. He dashes away, like an accoutred knight at a mediaeval tournament. But Jesuit-like, he only looks one way, at the object to be reached, no matter how. He overdoes his work in his very premises (though to some, to President Edwards for instance, that is the safest place to overdo), and assumes as postulates, what he is bound vigorously to demonstrate. He declares, roundly, that it is false that the Inquisition is purely an ecclesiastical tribunal—using the word *purely* in a technical sense, as of course might be expected. He denies, in the same way, that the ecclesiastics who sit on the tribunal, condemn certain culprits to death. Technical truth again, while virtually it is anything else. He denies, as roundly, that persons are condemned for the expression of mere opinions. No, certainly not, *opinions*, as such, are admissible even in Romish schools; but the expression of an anti-Romish dogma, or of a contradiction to such a dogma, would be damnable and fatal. It is quite easy to see the scholastic education to which Le Maistre's mind has been subjected, and how faithfully it follows out its tutoring.<sup>1</sup>

Still, let us hear him, even from his own tripod. And now for the establishment of the foremost and most important of his categories, what is his astounding proof—a proof which, for its weightiness, he prints on his twenty-sixth page in full-sized italics? Why, that the constitutional charter of the Inquisition was published in 1484, by Cardinal Torquemada, *in concert with the king*. In concert with the king! as if the king were its conceiver and promoter, and Torquemada his humble and halting colleague! Why, the king never conceived the project until it was put before him by an ecclesiastic, Philip de Barberi, in 1477. And he did not snap at it, then, like a fish at a rich bait; money-hungry, money-famishing, though he were. He was afraid, as politicians now are, of ulterior consequences. Wherefore, ecclesiastics had to crowd around his throne, and plead, and replead, the immense revenue to be derived from confiscations! Money, and the means of multiplying money—the

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<sup>1</sup> Le Maistre's pretension becomes almost ridiculous, when we remember that Paul III., in 1542, appointed a *general* and *supreme* Roman Inquisition. This was "an arrogation for himself and his Commissaries, of the power of life and death, over the subjects of every sovereign in the world!" (Rule, ii. 177.) Thenceforward, Rome was the Inquisition's centre. Arrangements could be made, *e. g.*, with Spain, which worked well enough alone; but the heart of the concern was Rome. This is a fact to be particularly remembered when attempts are made, as they often are, to extenuate Rome's *personal* interest in the Inquisition.

exquisite *political* economy of the Inquisition, was the grand and ascendant argument of these most Churchly solicitors and counselors! Of course such ready-witted gentlemen well knew the weak side, and the accessible side, of their right-royal listener. And, according to calculations, not quite so elaborate as those expended on eclipses, they did succeed with *him*. Yet, even then, their success was partial and uncertain. Ferdinand shared the throne with a lady who was one of the wonders of her age, for intelligence, magnanimity, and charity. Isabella said No, while her half-bankrupt husband said Yes. And for a time she kept her dignified and humane position, and insisted that heretics should be dealt with, as Le Maistre would fain persuade us they were always dealt with: that is, with "prayer, patience, and instruction." Isabella, however, meant that this should be the whole of her instrumentality. Le Maistre knew, as well as that he had a pen to write with, that this triad was the smallest part of the instrumentalities of his favorite client, "The Holy and Apostolic Court of the Inquisition."

But, alas! Isabella had the pliancy of a woman, and the blind superstition of a votary in the fifteenth century. Her at last zealous husband, *in concert with the Church*, applied to the Pope for Bulls to appease and fortify her conscience; and then the queenly devotee capitulated. Capitulated, said we? Perhaps so, in style ecclesiastic, *i. e.*, technically, but assuredly with half a heart.\* She too approached her husband on the weak side—the side of policy—and insisted that it would be politically unsafe to intrust such a mighty engine as the Inquisition to officers nominated by the Pope alone. Isabella was afflicted with some of the distrust which stuck like a dyspepsia to the constitution of a republican along the Po. She doubted Italian holiness along the Tiber; and asked that a portion of these officers, some at least of them, should be nominated by the Crown of Spain. She knew her rights, and, to use imagery not unfeminine, she wanted her own finger in the pie. Whence it appears that, even to the last, the State had to be dragged into the thing, and to struggle, when it touched it, against the Church's domination. And this, in the astute logic of Le Maistre, is making the State, and not the Church, the author of the Inquisition, and sanctions his unquailing dogma, that if the Inquisition has ever been too severe, "the Church is not answerable for that severity" (p. 22).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A wrong to the Inquisition was a wrong to the Church. This belongs to what lawyers might call the common law of the Inquisition (Rule, i. 3). And such a wrong was tantamount to high treason!

The State the virtual author of the Inquisition, and not the Church? Oh, let us have one more quieting attestation upon this subject, and then allow the matter to subside. When the Inquisition had done about its utmost upon the Jews, with all its unearthly enginery, and had made more enemies than it had destroyed, the question at last was entertained, whether it might not be better to expel the Jews beyond Spanish territory, than to spill their blood upon it?

"Torquemada," a *Romish* ecclesiastic, foremost, as usual in such atrocious ministries, "gave an opportune judgment, that the kings ought to cleanse the soil of Spain from so vile a race; and Ferdinand and Isabella accordingly issued an edict from Granada, dated less than three months from the day of occupation<sup>1</sup> (March 30, 1492), to banish the entire people out of Spain; excepting only such as might choose to surrender their faith, and retain their homes in reward of their apostasy" (Rule, i. 145). "The decree of Ahasuerus was not more terrible; and scarcely could the mourning and weeping and wailing, heard throughout the provinces of Persia, have surpassed those of the Spanish Jews. They cried aloud for mercy, and offered to submit to any law, however oppressive, if they might remain in their beloved country" (Rule, i. 146).

This wide wail of the Jews, *as a wail*, might as well have been thrown upon "the careering winds." But, by-and-by, there was heard, amid its surging lamentations, the clink of those curious metals, which can manufacture more touching music than is comprehended in the harmonies of all the spheres. The celebrated Rabbi Abarbanel (a name which even modern scholars venerate) went down on his knees before Ferdinand, and trailed his gray hairs in the dust. He had been the farmer of his revenue, and enriched it plenteously. He offered, as a ransom for his people, six hundred thousand crowns of *gold*—a sum amounting now to millions of dollars!

The *conscientious* Ferdinand began to waver. "His offers and intercessions," says Dr. Rule, "had nearly prevailed." For the potentiality of Abarbanel's eloquence lay here. When confiscations were decreed, other claimants had their share, and the king's gains were seriously, not to say sorely, discounted. Abarbanel offered him

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<sup>1</sup>The conquest of Granada had impoverished the Spanish treasury. So money was to be hunted up as soon after this "occupation" as might be. The Jews, as the bankers of the day, were the principal creditors, who had loaned money to this treasury. To drive *them* out of the country, was to drive *debts* out too; and was a convenient way of practising what we moderns call *reputation*!

*ready money*, and he would get *the whole*. His very soul was shaken, as if by an earthquake which was to heave a golden mine up. The crisis was imminent, and so *the Church*, in the shape of her readiest instrument, hastened to the rescue.

"Torquemada hurried into a room, where the king and queen were sitting, held up a crucifix, and shouted at the top of his voice, 'Judas sold the Son of God once, for thirty pieces of silver; your Highnesses are going to sell Him the second time for thirty thousand. Here he is! Here you have him! Sell him if you will!'" And then the audacious friar laid the crucifix on the table before them, and bolted away in a rage. As for their Highnesses, the full weight of Papal indignation seemed to hang over them, and Abarbanel and his friends were put to silence. Here, indeed, the tribunal did not act; but its head and its members acted—or, what is the same thing, engaged their priest-ridden sovereigns to act, instead of them. The expulsion of the Jews, therefore, must not be overlooked, as if it were not a deed of the Inquisition. It was prompted and managed by the Chief Inquisitor" (Rule, i. 147-150).

It may as well be added, in the words of Dr. Rule, to finish up this record, "It pleased the Pope, Alexander VI., to give fugitives a better reception in his States, leaving his more distant servants to do the heavier inquisitorial drudgery, and to bear the more flagrant scandal." The simple truth is, Alexander laughed in his sleeve at Ferdinand. Ferdinand lost eight hundred thousand subjects, and Alexander made more than as many dollars, and got the credit of humanity into the bargain! As Wall street might say in our times, A very successful operation!

And still Monsieur Le Maistre would no doubt insist that the Church expelled the Jews, only "in concert with the king." Yes, we suppose we must accept the logic; only we beg to say, that this contrivance for Jewish destruction reminds us most vexatiously of that invented long before by Haman the Agagite. Haman stood at the elbow of Ahasuerus, and offered him a big bribe (Esther, iii. 9); just as the Spanish ecclesiastics did at the elbow of Ferdinand with a similar temptation. And as it was Ahasuerus and not Haman who doomed the Jews of Persia, so it was Ferdinand, and

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<sup>1</sup>There is an element of the ridiculous in this tirade, ferocious as it may seem to be, and was designed to be. Abarbanel offered Ferdinand six hundred thousand golden crowns. Torquemada supposes him tempted by thirty thousand pieces of silver. Doubtless, the shrewd Inquisitor, accustomed to discounting royal legacies, presumed that ~~was~~ about all the monarch would really gain by the transaction. Ferdinand was too cunning to let such a cormorant know he was to be paid in ready money.



not Torquemada, who doomed the Jews of Spain. And let all the Jesuits bow and say, Amen.

The Inquisition, as Mons. Le Maistre would fain persuade us, only picked up a naughty individual here and there. And as he would have it, the deed is done with the temper of a "tutelary angel" (p. 36). "From such tutelary angels, good Lord deliver us," might have been the suffrage, as we now see, of a whole people in a nation. But the Jews—alas for the sad disclosures of history!—were not the only *people* in the Spanish peninsula who attracted its eager and devoted attention. It finished up the Israelite, and then fixed its vulture eye upon the Moor. The Moors, it is true, were Spain's invaders; but so were their would-be oppressors. The Spaniards were descended from invaders coming from the north, and the Moors from invaders coming from the south: and that, so far as squatting was concerned, was about all the difference. They ought to have compounded matters with them, to say the very least; for the Moors were not such very merciless invaders, as some have fancied. They were comparatively gracious to Jews and Christians, in consequence of a chief point of religious sympathy. The grandest of heresies with a Mohammedan, is idolatry, and in this a Jew and a Christian could join hands with him. So he let them remain upon conquered territory, provided they would pay a tax, which should be appropriated to houses of religious worship, and the education of children. An ancient Mohammedan was not infrequently a scholar, and the testimony of Henry Martyn, the famous missionary, was, that he found the Mohammedan doctors as expert metaphysicians as he ever encountered in the halls of English universities. That the Moors were adepts in the arts, as well as in science, their wondrous architecture is a sufficient attestation.

Such a people ought at least to have been treated with a lenity not inferior to their own. Most indubitably they ought to have been treated as human beings, and not as savage beasts. But the Inquisition would look at them only from the stand-point of—we will not even say Roman Catholicism—pure Popish orthodoxy; and their fate was an absolute predestination. The Moor, who had not renounced his infidelity, had to follow the sorrowful footsteps of his Jewish contemporary, and leave Spanish territory finally and for evermore. There was one circumstance, only, which made his departure a curiosity of mercy. They who would not be baptized, but "preferred to leave Spain, found passage in the royal ships, were treated with the utmost civility while on board; the captains who conveyed them to the shores of Barbary delivered them to the

governors of the several towns and received certificates of humanity to exhibit on return" (Rule, i. 158). And as we read the record, we may exclaim, Well, there is a soft spot at last to be found in the Inquisition's heart of marble! The tribunal was not altogether merciless. But let us read on, and find the well-spring of this fountain of honeyed clemency. "The Jews had not been so treated, because there was no earthly power to avenge their cause. The Church of the Inquisition, although she neither knew nor feared the God of Abraham, was afraid of the Sultan; whose religion they knew to their cost, was both propagated and defended by the sword. But no foreign Mohammedan was thenceforth allowed to enter Spain."

Their remained the virtual, though not the nominal representatives of the Moors, in the shape of the Moriscoes; or those who, with whatever scanty grace, had yet submitted to Christian baptism. These were feared; and, as the issue showed, feared full justly. They nursed the names and the wrongs of their forefathers, and were ready for any acts of successful retaliation. The Church, like an old war-horse, smelt the battle afar off; and accordingly her chief champion, Paul III., instigated Philip II. to attempt their destruction. Only let it be carefully remembered and pondered on. The head of Latin Christianity was sterner and more relentless than one whom the Dutch, familiar with his Satanic temper, pronounced "The Demon of the South." Even such a man (or demoniac, we wish it were possible to say) has to wait for his Church to provoke him to fresh and fresher deeds of horror! The language of Isaiah was, of course, never intended to describe exactly such a congress; but it makes us recall its terms, "Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming."

The Moriscoes, as we intimated, were no trifling opponents, armed as they were with a sense of implacable wrong and unsparing injury; and they arose to battle. Then again comes Le Maistre's reluctant Church to the forefront, "in concert with the king," to provide for the portentous issue.

A fierce warfare spread havoc over all the province. The Inquisitors assured the king [it is not so much as said that Philip asked their counsel] that his only remedy was the extirpation of the Moriscoes; and the last of their strongholds being taken, the remnant, then scattered over the country, was sentenced to expatriation. The armed bands of the Church military [not militant] occupied all the kingdom of Granada, now marked out into districts. Troops of licentious soldiery drove the weeping Moriscoes from their houses into the neighboring churches [churches converted into prisons] and thence carried them away in such vehicles as could be found, to towns beyond the

frontiers; and from those towns they were distributed all over the Spanish peninsula, and mingled with the general population. Thenceforward, the hated race had no more any visible existence (Rule, i. 161, 162).

So much for the swing of the Inquisition, in the land where its instrumentality has been most earnestly, most industriously, most zealously, most rhetorically defended. Le Maistre certainly does not want for plausibility—he had had most capital Jesuit tuition—was a complete sacerdotal tool—and an uninstructed reader might be completely beguiled by a quality in him which has lackered over so many Puritan misdoings, an air of devout sincerity. His translator, Mr. O'Flaherty, does not want comfortable assurance, for he has dedicated his book to the memories of Cardinal Cheverus and Bishop England. A simple insult to the dead, in the case of the former; since who can forget his language when an over anxious Ultramontane wanted to pity him for being cursed with heretical neighbors. "I like," said he, "to have for my neighbors those who make prayers to God." As to Bishop England, we cannot speak from personal knowledge, but we believe he deserves such a truculent dedication as little as the tender-hearted Cardinal.

It may, no doubt, be expected that we should sketch the temper of the Inquisition, by what may be called its *personal* acts, rather than its general acts, on the broad arena of history. But we have no fancy to pry behind its curtains, explore its dungeons, array its instruments of torture, or depict one of its gaudy and ghastly processions, their pageantry and mockery, their triumph and insult, their wrath and anguish, all closing up with a tragedy of penal fire! And then the name of the diabolical display—an Act of Faith, when it might better be called a transubstantiation of Pandemonium! So we leave the whole frightful Tartarean story untold, and will only cite an instance or two to show how, not an act of unbelief, but of almost inevitable pity, could be treated, when, perchance, one of the Inquisition's own victims was its accidental recipient.

An inhabitant of Zaragoza found his way to Tudela, and there begged for shelter and concealment in the house of Don Jaime, Infante of Navarre, and nephew of King Ferdinand himself. The Infante could not refuse asylum and hospitality to an innocent fugitive. He allowed the man to hide himself a few days, and then pass on to France. For this act of humanity, Don Jaime was arrested by the Inquisitors, thrown into prison as an impeder of the Holy Office, brought thence to Zaragoza, a place quite beyond the jurisdiction

of Navarre, and there made to do open penance in the cathedral, in the presence of a great congregation at High Mass. And what penance! The Archbishop of Zaragoza presided; but this Archbishop was a boy of seventeen, an illegitimate son of the king, and he it was that commanded two priests to flog his father's lawful nephew, the Infante of Navarre, with rods. They whipped Don Jaime round the church accordingly.

The other case was diabolical. Gaspar de Santa Cruz escaped to Toulouse, where he died and was buried, after his effigy had been burnt in Zaragoza. In this city lived a son of his, who, as in duty bound, had helped him to make good his retreat. This son was delated as an impeder of the Holy Office, arrested, brought out at an Act of Faith, made to read a condemnation of his deceased father, and then sent to the Inquisitor at Toulouse, who took him to his father's grave, and compelled him to dig up the corpse, and burn it with his own hands!—(Rule, i. pp. 138, 139.)

Nevertheless, over and beyond such cruelty as this, a cruelty which Charles V.—all honor to his humanity!—would not inflict on the bones of Martin Luther, exclaiming with genuine imperial dignity, that he never made war upon the dead—beyond and above a cruelty, which a king of Spain itself would not practice, do we place the detestably mean outrage, that errors in science were to be treated as errors in religion. We owe this abomination to the peerless Dominican, Thomas Aquinas; who, arguing with his usual relentless logic, that an error about created things would lead to errors about the Creator, determined that the Church must expound orthodoxy for science, as well as orthodoxy for Revelation. The legitimate fruit of this we see in the shameful sufferings of Galileo and others, who were treated as if they had denied God, because they denied postulates of the Court of Rome, about matters which belong not to religion, but to Natural Philosophy. The later result of this appears in such an attempt as manufacturing a catechism for literature, politics, and physical science, as blossoms out in the high-flying Syllabus of 1864. Such a document as *that* might possibly receive respectful deference as a collection of opinions, given by well-known savans. As the dictum—the rescript of a mere ecclesiastic—it becomes simply ridiculous. The Pope might as well have gone to a text in Jude, which alludes to “wandering stars,” and given us a decretal about the eschatology of comets!

Cruelty begets revenge, and revenge indulges in assassination. The Inquisition has had to pay its own penalties once in awhile, as in the case of Pedro Arbues, the confessor of Queen Isabella. Arbues ventured out under cover of his favorite darkness, armed with a heavy bludgeon, a coat of mail, and a steel skull-cap. But eyes dogged him, keener than his own; and he soon lay lifeless on

the pavement, under manipulations which would have done credit to a London burglar. Let the reader mark, particularly, his connection with a royal personage; and further remember, that the title, "Confessor of the Kings," was an honorary dignity, conferred on each Inquisitor in Spain. This will enable him to understand how the most self-devoted of corporations was always careful to have royal consciences in its keeping; and more than that, royal secrets, too!<sup>1</sup>

Arbues was slain for his inquisitorial cruelty; and knew, in consequence, his terrible exposures. But we bring his case up to show how his Church treated his case, in order to compare such action with the cool and resolute asseveration of Le Maistre, that the severities of the Inquisition were political and not ecclesiastical. "The Inquisition never condemns a culprit to death," he claims, or his editor claims for him; and "the signature of a clerical member of that body *never* has been seen on the death-warrant" (Pref. p. 17). Precisely. And so we believe it is still in criminal processes. The jury who convict a man of murder leave him to other hands. The governor signs his death-warrant, and the sheriff hangs him. The parallel is perfect, is overwhelming; and we give Le Maistre's co-worker what he gives to his saintly heroes, "due veneration."

Now it ought to surprise nobody, that Ferdinand and Isabella should give a prominent member of their domestic establishment—its virtual head-piece—a superb funeral, and a magnificent mausoleum. But what had Rome to do with the tribute bestowed on a far-off and a mere *political* martyr? Nevertheless, Rome promoted him more than crowned heads could do, had they tried their cleverest and their utmost. Rome beatified him, Rome canonized him, Roman faith made the ground he lay in as holy as that before the Burning Bush, all aglow with the symbol of self-existence. *Locum adoras* (see, O Ritualist, the destiny which awaits you!), worship the very earth he sleeps in—adore the locality which holds his bones—is the positive direction inscribed upon his tombstone. Not simple "due veneration," according to the creed Italian, not *worship*, according to the subtle distinctions of the Bible of Douay, but actual *adoration* is asked for it. Nay, more, the man who was a protestant

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<sup>1</sup> It may be asked, why Torquemada was not assassinated also. Because, unlike Arbues, he went about in daylight, and even then not on foot. He had a guard of Inquisitorial familiars about him—fifty mounted as dragoons, and two hundred marching as foot-soldiers!—(Rule, i. 150.)

against such homage, would unquestionably have been pronounced a blasphemer, and worthy the fate of the sleeper's assassins!<sup>1</sup>

Bad enough this, one could fancy; and yet even this is not the whole of it, nor the worst of it. The reigning Pope—the ninth Pius—that apparent democrat, half-protestant and sworn Free-Mason, when he ascended his peerless throne—became at length his formal canonizer, and put him in the third heaven, to be appealed to, as was Thomas à Becket:<sup>2</sup> “Hail, glorious guardian of the flock! Save thou those who delight in thy glory!” So the would-be leveller of 1846 becomes the infallible autocrat of 1870; and as such, calls upon all the world to fall down before an idol of his own creation. Let all the world beware of despots in modern Babylon! Or, as Milton would have it, to be among those

—who, having learned thy way,  
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

But there must be an end to our article; though, as Dr. Rule has shown, we have not finished his own story, since he had himself been in Spain, and been driven out of it, under peril for his life, so late as 1839 (Rule, i. 331). This proves demonstrably that Spain clung to the Inquisition (under one name or another) even longer than she did to the Jesuits. She had to spue them out in 1835, greatly to the annoyance of the Queen Governess; but the “Tribunal of the Faith” lasted till 1868 (Rule, i. 331, 332). Nothing but the earthquake of revolution could heave from its foundations the last vestige of ecclesiastical tyranny and cruelty. A man, however, familiar with Spanish territory and Spanish history, knew how to search out authorities at fountain-heads. “The sources of information,” as Dr. Rule assures us in his Preface, “are duly acknowledged; and as happily there never was an English Inquisition, not even in the worst of times before the Reformation, those sources are almost all *foreign*, except where the sufferers were English, of whom information was sometimes received in this country through

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<sup>1</sup> Mediaeval Latin went so far as to create a new adjective for such a case: *Adoriosus*. By-and-by, may be, we shall have a new sect, the *Adoriosi*.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas à Becket began as Pius IX. did, on what the musicians would call a lower key. But he got up high enough at last, as Pius has; and hence, not his canonization simply, but his glorification (see Endell Tyler on Primitive Christian Worship, 2d ed., p. 226. Rule, i. 137). When Pius himself goes, we may expect such a burst as has not been known for centuries. The inaugurator of infallibility must stand next to the Virgin Mary.



English channels. With extremely few exceptions, the authorities are found within the Church of Rome; and sometimes they are even the Inquisitors themselves. Every statement, for example, of laws and customs, has been directly taken from Eymeric and his continuator, or from original manuals and instructions. The very words of the original documents have often been preferred to any others; except so far as other statements were necessary to the history."<sup>1</sup>

His first volume covers such ground as is supplied by the history of the Inquisition in France and Spain. In the second, he opens with its history in the Netherlands, under Charles V., and with Charles's introduction of it into South and Central America. Portugal, India, and China, with Italy as a matter of course—Venice being a partial exception—furnish him with ample, indeed superabundant material. He has a valuable chapter about the persecution of learned men, in which Galileo, as might be expected, makes his appearance, and by which he fortunately shows that the philosopher had a mother-wit not often attributed to him. Galileo's judges maintained, most sturdily, that the Psalter taught the stability of the earth; and so did the senses, though they would not answer when Transubstantiation was in question. Galileo tried mathematical reasoning, and failed most signally, with his Churchly auditory. So he trained upon them some of their own artillery, and said that the Book of Job proved that the heavens were a molten looking-glass (Job, xxxvii. 18). Such a cross-fire ought to have ended in a grand laugh and a little joviality, and the philosopher sent home merrier perhaps than was seemly under some of the inspiration gleaned from sacerdotal cellerage. But no. His hearers were a sort, if one may say so, of Romish Puritans. They looked grimmer than before. But they showed a sense of defeat, and let him go. Probably to their unacknowledged discomfiture he owed the prolongation of his life.

Archbishop De Dominis, also, furnishes Dr. Rule with an interesting episode. But we have not time to dwell on it; and are not anxious to array the freaks and parsimony and penalties of the Dalmatian dignitary. Still, we are ready to remember that he gave the first philosophical explanation of the rainbow, and most heartily

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<sup>1</sup> "Nicholas Eymeric, made Inquisitor of Castile in 1356, and of Aragon in 1357, collected from the Civil and Canon Laws all that related to the punishment of heretics, and so formed his famous 'Directory of Inquisitors;' the first and indeed the fundamental code which has been followed ever since, without any essential variation, throughout the Popedom" (Rule, i. 81).

wish that some able hand would translate his grand ecclesiastical polity. In English, it would rank with Dr. Field's and Richard Hooker's; and would be a magazine for a century's battles with Popery of all shapes. Who can forget his clinching testimony, that the higher he travelled in Church history, the less he found of a papacy, and the more of a catholic episcopate?

The volume of Vicuña supplements fully and admirably the brevity of Dr. Rule in relation to the Inquisition in America. It is not a large one—a thin octavo of some 230 pages. Its special value, besides giving the history of an actual case which occurred in the middle of the last century, lies in its being a reply to a Spanish vindication of the most formidable of mundane tribunals. The Inquisition found a eulogist in Europe—a Frenchman, too, notwithstanding in his country's better days, a French Cardinal and a French Parliament could oppose it, and thwart it, and denounce it (Rule, i. pp. 75–78). In South America, it found a similar eulogist, and a far more candid one, in the person of a prebendary of the cathedral in Santiago, the capital of Chile, or Chili. Don José Ramon Saavedra is the doughty apologist for an institution, to which his contemporaries give the adjectives *ancient* or *eminent*, according to the tastes of votaries; while he himself, under the influence of fear or cunning, gives adjectives the go-by. Still, he becomes valorous, as the vista opens, and he sees safety, or conquest, in the distance. “Not only,” exclaims he, “will I defend the Ecclesiastical Inquisition; I will trace and verify its panegyric.” “And he has kept his word,” adds Vicuña, “with an ardor truly heroical” (Vicuña, p. 18). Yet, even in this blustering manifesto, he makes a concession which ruins Le Maistre's entire book, though “the best which has ever appeared on the subject,” according to its own title-page. Le Maistre contends, as for a life and death matter, that the Inquisition was a civil and not an ecclesiastical institution. He did not dare to breathe about it in Europe, with Jesuits listening, that the Church was its foster-mother. In South America, Don Ramon thought he could afford to be honest; as *there* the matter was understood less clearly; or the compound of Spanish and servile blood was stolid enough not to be exacting.

Saavedra simplifies the matter wonderfully, and lifts off halt his trouble from the shoulders of a controversialist. And so Vicuña is able to make shorter work with him by leaving the State out of the question. Yet, as he goes on, Saavedra works himself up to the altitude of Le Maistre's soaring audacity. For example. As if he had just swallowed a tumbler of sherbet, iced with mountain snow,

he does not hesitate to tell us that the trial by jury was a suggestion *of*, and a derivation *from*, the Holy Office! Remember ye this, O our dull and inconsiderate North American countrymen, the next time you enter a court-room, and see twelve thoughtful men in a jury-box, with lawyers doing their very prettiest to persuade them to accredit their statements, the Inquisition is the bright and blessed author of the interesting scene! Such a form of trial is no modern invention, like steamships, telegraphs, and railways. It was long, long ago evolved, to speak as do the scientists, from the maternal bosom of a Church, which claims the *safe* keeping of our bodies and our souls, our liberties and civil government. We mean the Holy *Roman* Catholic Church; and not the Holy Catholic Church of the ancient and old-fashioned creeds. For Mr. Meyrick, in his deft little book about "The Working of the Church in Spain," has effectually enlightened us upon this subject. They have done *there* with a Church which is plain Catholic, and insist upon the Roman prefix. This is exactly as it should be; and now, at last, we have jury trials under their proper parentage. We will only add, that such a personage as Tomas de Torquemada was a jurymen of incredible industry. To say nothing of lighter performances, he actually converted ten thousand two hundred and twenty human subjects into a pile of ashes, and could have manured all Granada with bone-dust.<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless, Torquemada would have complained that such an innovator as the first Napoleon did not properly understand his exceedingly thrifty employment. No sooner had Napoleon made his appearance on Italian soil, in 1797, than he came in contact with the "ecclesiastical Inquisition." "He summoned into his presence," says Dr. Rule (vol. ii. 319), "the vicar-general, the curates, the chiefs of monastic orders, *and* the vicar of the Inquisition." It was as reverend an assembly as could possibly have been got together. The address he made them was, *for him*, a long one; as long, probably, as his dinners, which lasted for fifteen minutes. At the conclusion, he turned abruptly to the representative of the oldest of jury systems, and became intensely Napoleonic: "Your tribunal is

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<sup>1</sup> "The French historian of the Inquisition, Leonardo Gallois, quoted by his son, Napoleon Gallois, makes the number of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition, including the Moors and Jews who were banished, amount to five millions of persons" (Vicuña, p. 69, note). The Inquisition, it may be well enough to add, has had at least three important historians: Limborch, who wrote in Holland; Gallois, the Frenchman; and Llorente, who was its own secretary. According to Llorente, more than thirty thousand were burnt alive.

suppressed from this moment. There shall be no more butchers" (Rule, ii. 319). No wonder that Bonaparte had so many difficulties with the Pope, and wrung a Concordat from him, as if he were tapping his very life-blood. His Holiness never would have yielded had he not become satisfied that a bigger evil would loom up, if not eclipsed by this—an evil about which Le Maistre would not have been mistaken if he had called it a creation of the State. If England could have given him her countenance, Napoleon would have founded a Reformation Church? Pius VII. had an unmentionable horror of a second edition of the Eighth English Henry. Mr. Charles Butler in his *Reminiscences* (i. 246) says that Napoleon entertained the wonderful idea, "of effecting the reunion of *all* Christians on the continent of Europe." This made him, to the frightened pontiff, worse than Henry VIII., twice over.<sup>1</sup>

After such a taste of Saavedra as his discovery about the jury-system, we will only recite an interpretative anecdote, and let his whole volume pass. When John Taylor had finished his Pelagian commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, he sent a copy to John Newton, the celebrated Evangelical. Meeting him soon after, he asked if he had read the book. "I have just looked into it," says Newton. "And is this the way," Taylor angrily retorted, "in which a life-labor is to be treated?" "Why, look here, Taylor," was the reply; "if my cook sends me up a joint of meat for dinner, and at the first cut with the carving-knife I find it tainted, would you have me eat a plateful to find the fact out?"<sup>2</sup>

We do not care to inflict upon our readers a *plenum* of the

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<sup>1</sup> The Popes took all the revenge they could, when Napoleon's downfall opened an opportunity. "It is true that when the Popes returned to Rome, after the fall of Bonaparte, they revived the Inquisition in full form, if not in full force; and we know that Leo XII., in 1825, raised another set of prisons, equally numerous and substantial" (Rule, ii. 320). The question has been raised, whether the *Roman* Inquisition has ever been known to order the execution of capital punishment. The "Dublin Review" of June, 1850, affirmed that it *never* had done so. It was effectually answered by two pamphlets. The title of the first was "Were heretics ever burned alive at Rome?" (London: Petheram. 1852.) The other, "Records of the Inquisition." (At the University Press, Dublin. 1853.) Perhaps the *Inquisition* never ordered executions. The *Pope* could and did. Paul V., for instance, is convicted by the pamphlets. One victim was burnt on a *Sunday* too! And on a Fourth of July! Sometimes they let them drop unawares into a pit (Rule, ii. 321). No *order* was necessary for that.

<sup>2</sup> Taken, for brevity's sake, *ad sensum*, from "Cecil's Remains," one of the spiciest little books we know of (see Remarks on Authors; or pp. 157, 158).

prebendary of Santiago, and so will only quote a declaration of Vicuña, that after he went to original authorities for his statements, he found it best to let the Inquisition answer for itself, by an exhibition of its own documents.

But it is not our wish, as we have before declared, that our humble echo should be heard in this arduous, but antiquated controversy. No, we desire that the Inquisition itself should answer; it being at the same time both accused and accuser, denouncing itself, judging itself, and inflicting upon itself its own punishment. And after having listened patiently, and given an account of the depositions for its canonization, and of the brilliant conceptions for its hypotheosis, we shall see from its ashes, although forever quenched, from its dark and gloomy dungeons, yet still in existence, from the unknown graves of its martyrs, and from the tombs of its most conspicuous executioners, arise the spirits of those long departed, and, in the suit we will bring against it, these themselves shall bear witness to its infernal abominations (Vicuña, p. 52).

The diatribe of Saavedra was authorized in November, 1867, and would seem to have been the herald for an attempt to reëstablish the Inquisition in the Republic of Chile, where the Romish priesthood are still vigorous—we need not say, busy and contriving. The book has even been adopted as a text-book for the young. It is read to children at dinner in a Jesuitical college; intended, it may be, like Worcestershire sauce, to whet the appetite (Vicuña, p. 21).

The Inquisition, Dr. Rule tells us, is dead, and that he has had the immense satisfaction of having acted as its pall-bearer. Still, let him restrain self-congratulation. If dead, it may not be effectually buried. No mean attempt, and that not ten years old, has been made to give it a resurrection under American skies. And if Pius IX., the *quondam* liberal, has been regenerated backward, and begun to canonize an Inquisition's favorite, the time may come when *Te Deums* will be chanted for it, such as were rung out at St. Peter's, over the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Yes, the time may come when the famous Court Apostolic, like the equally famous Tamerlane, may amuse its officials by piling the heads of its enemies into colossal pyramids! Tamerlane had one pile with ninety thousand skulls in it. Nine Torquemadas would have outdone him.



## SACERDOTALISM.

### I.

**G**REAT truths never stand alone. Every one has its correlative, which often appears contradictory. The human mind is not endowed with the power to discriminate with accuracy that may be formulated or expressed, and much less has it capacity to comprehend fully. Every truth holds in its nature depths which man cannot fathom, while one or more others modify and limit it. The two great truths of the Divine sovereignty and human free-will illustrate this principle. The first, taken alone, leads to the doctrine of irreversible decrees; against which man's efforts and prayers are unavailing, while his holiest obedience and devoutest submission are useless. The other, taken alone, leads to exemption from responsibility, and the setting up man as an independent being, with no Lord over him. Both are true, and therefore capable of harmony, and yet the whole of human history is a narrative of struggles after that harmony. All religions endeavor to reconcile the supreme God and the free man. The religion of Christ has in view the same end. These are instances illustrative of a rule that has innumerable applications. Theology, as a science, is peculiarly wanting in demonstration. Demonstration would destroy it, by cutting away the ground of faith, hope, and charity. Hence theoc-  
ciii.—7



logical doctrines are mutually restrictive. They are true as revealed. All revelations are equally true. The problem in every case is, to determine how far a truth extends, what its relations are, and how modified or limited by others equally evident or as clearly revealed.

Sacerdotalism is one of the great truths of Christianity. An equally great truth is the freedom, under God, of all mankind; involving, not only the right, but the duty to call no man master. "Every one of us shall give account of himself to God," is a Divine declaration which, whoever respects himself, claims as a charter of liberty. Religious history shows that interference between man and his God debases man and dishonors God. This point should be put in the clearest and strongest light. It is impossible to set forth too strongly or to defend too earnestly this glorious right of man to deal directly with God. God is a person essentially free; man is a person made in God's image, and therefore like Him. Something in man corresponds to God's absolute freedom. Man, as a creature, is absolute in nothing. His freedom, therefore, is a gift. He receives it from Him who created him. It is not, and cannot be, a commission of free range through creation. The confusion that would follow throughout the universe, were man free in this wild sense, is only faintly shadowed forth in the dreadful misery and wretchedness and war which the passionate generations have already spread out on the fields of the earth.

As the necessity of limitations to man's freedom is apparent in secular affairs, so is it none the less clear in spiritual matters.

In secular affairs this necessity has been met, in our age, by representative government. Under various forms, the principle is established, that the will of the governed is the basis of the authority of governments. It will be understood that Western civilization only is now under review. Nothing is mentioned of other civilizations, because the question of sacerdotalism, which we are approaching, demands of the American Church a solution that shall not fatally conflict with whatever is good and true in Western civilization.

In fact, one of the most important works the Church has to perform in this age and country, is the defence and setting forth of the ancient faith upon true, as distinct from spurious, Catholic principles. Rome has thrown herself squarely in the way of modern civilization, and is evidently resolved to fight it to the death. It is widely believed that she pushes sacerdotalism to the extreme, which—in awful parody of Holy Scripture—demands that every man shall give an account of himself to the priest.

The protest of horror and grief against sacerdotalism, as practised under the Roman obedience, which rises everywhere amid Western civilization, is a most significant sign of the times. It is impossible to discuss our question without turning aside to view the Roman solution. In every stage of its consideration a Roman distortion will spring up, which many minds either will not, or can not, discriminate from the truth.

Indeed, so strong is the fear and detestation of everything Romish, not only among Protestant sects, but in general society, and throughout that large body of writers who wield the immense power of the secular press, that the only personally advantageous way of touching such a question as sacerdotalism, is to confound it with Romish usurpation, and then denounce it as part of a diabolic scheme to graft upon this century the deadly tyranny of the Middle Ages.

It is evident that Romanism is a power. It is also evident that Protestantism is a power. The position of our Church is such that neither of these powers trust her. As she cannot go over to either, she must suffer from both; and, as she finds something to commend in both, the penalty of expressing that commendation is the open, and often fierce hostility of the other.

Moreover, either enemy has a great advantage before the world, in this impetuous age. Either one rests upon a great truth, and both are fearfully logical. One takes the great truth of "authority," and assuming it simply, and without limit, as a major premiss, deduces the conclusion of soul tyranny. The other, taking the great truth of "individual liberty," and using it in the same way, deduces the conclusion that every man can and may find out God for himself, and follow Him according to his own will and choice.

Holy Scripture and the Prayer Book recognize both these great truths, and harmonize them. The Church claims Divine authority, and sets forth individual liberty. In her ordinary services and general work, there is comparatively little practical difficulty; now, in presenting and enforcing her authority and liberty; and now, in stimulating her children's zeal or awakening careless souls, by setting God directly before them. Thus she shows both the dignity of human freedom and solemnity of human responsibility. But when discussions arise, it is exceedingly difficult so to set forth two correlative great truths that neither shall be diminished nor exaggerated. In attempting to meet this difficulty every Churchman must make up his mind to endure misjudgment. He will inevitably suffer the imputation of being a partisan of that extreme, which his opponents see on a line

beyond him. In his position he knows what an interval separates him from the opposite error to that against which he is striving; but his opposers, not seeing it, are almost sure to misplace him. Still, discussion is sometimes necessary, and the truth thereby becomes more generally or more clearly apprehended.

With one point more this long, but for the coming discussion necessary, preface will be brought to a close.

It was said above that the Church, using Holy Scripture and the Prayer Book, finds the point of harmony for all great truths. This claim, as we must be content to acknowledge, cannot be set forth in language adapted to logical science. Indeed, the only syllogism admissible in Christian doctrine is that contained in the last three verses of the Sixty-sixth Psalm.<sup>1</sup> The harmony of great truths comes through devotion. When by "logical science" we are plunged into the confusion that inevitably results from following any great truth to its extreme lineal consequence; and when we find two great truths, in their extremes, apparently contradictory, the only escape from confusion is into that devotional faith which, looking unto Jesus, believes Him, saying, "I am The Truth." Thus we claim that there is harmony between all great and apparently opposing truths. We stand, now to one and now to the other, and refuse to be confounded, either by the logic of science or the logic of events. We believe, and are assured, that the personal Jesus is present with, and helps all earnest seekers after truth; and that He will, in His own good time, and in His own right way, effectively manifest that harmony which, now feeling, we are striving to formulate.

Of this plea and argument of course "the world" can make nothing; and yet there is more power in it for settling even worldly questions, than many men suppose. Devout persons, however, and all theologians, are quite familiar with it. Whenever it is disallowed, there cannot be any continuation of argument upon Christian grounds. As this article is addressed only to those who believe that Christ is "God manifest in the flesh," it will proceed throughout upon that fact as a basal principle. Its corollary is that Holy Scripture is the very Word of God. Indeed, the veracity of our Lord Jesus involves the fact of the inspiration, by the Holy Ghost, of the writers of the New Testament. Whatever they put forth with authority, becomes thus essentially the utterance of The Word, who is God. Christ—The Truth—is in the word of truth, and

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop Whittingham.

both stand together. They so stand in their completeness. The whole written word of Revelation proper is a unit, as Christ is one. We cannot say of one part—we have no need of it. We cannot sever one part from another, without violence and the risk of destruction. We cannot change the relation of the parts, without destroying the symmetry and effectiveness of the whole.

From the very earliest Christian ages, the Church has had liturgies in use among the disciples, as our Prayer Book is in use among us. The date of the earliest, upon strong evidence, is claimed to be not later than some of St. Paul's epistles. He does not indeed name them, but he apparently quotes from them. These liturgies are Communion Offices. They, doubtless, were composed for converts, who, having been accustomed to forms of worship in synagogues, required the same for their common Christian devotions. That early period when "they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers," dates the origin, as they doubtless were, the occasion of these liturgies.

If sacerdotalism were taught by Christ and His Apostles, we shall find it both in Holy Scripture and in the Ancient Liturgies. If these agree, the authority of the first will sustain the orthodoxy of the last. Our Prayer Book, we should always remember, is not a creation of the American Church, but an inheritance, passed on to her from the Church in England, and there received as a heritage from the Christian ages. Indeed, our Communion Office, in its central and essential point, is a repetition out of Holy Scripture, in which the earliest liturgies all occur. Moreover, the whole of our precomposed forms are studded with crystalline deposits of the wisdom and devotion of unknown antiquity, which, like gems, we can neither make nor mar. If sacerdotalism interpenetrates and pervades the Prayer Book, it has always been in the Church. If it has always been in the Church, it rests upon sure warrant of Holy Scripture. If it rests upon sure warrant of Holy Scripture, it is of Divine authority, as Jesus Christ is The Truth.

Before we fairly open the question whether sacerdotalism is taught in the Prayer Book, it would be natural and easy first to inquire if the Holy Scriptures teach it.

A comprehensive definition of *sacerdos*, or priest, is found in chap. v. 1, of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins." The

points to be especially noted are, that the priesthood is held by man, that it is for man; that it is acknowledged and accepted of God; and that its primary and essential function is to make offerings and sacrifices. Succinctly, and in general terms, therefore, a priest is a man-mediator between God and man. Christians hold that "there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man, Christ Jesus" (I. Tim. ii. 5). They also hold that this man, Christ Jesus, "through the Eternal Spirit, offered Himself without spot to God" (H. ix. 14); that He hath "put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself" (26), and that He was "once offered to bear the sins of many" (28). The many are not any preordained and chosen few, but, "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for *the sins of* the whole world" (I. St. Jn. ii. 2). Jesus is both the High Priest and the Sacrifice. His sacrifice is a real propitiation. By means of it, God is placated. Offended at sin, yet full of love, God hath appointed and accepted the sacrifice of His Son as an atonement, or "pacifying satisfaction for sin."

At this point, many minds will spring away to side issues. The picture of a vindictive God will present itself to some, and an easy indignation arise against the idea of the Almighty Father burning to take vengeance, and only just restrained by the interposition of the Son. Others, again, will coolly fall back upon wise-foolishness of the philosophy of the absolute, the unconditioned, and the unchangeable, and ask how such a Supreme Being can be placated?

The easy answer to all these incidental objections has been suggested already. It will be impossible to turn aside for every collateral issue. They may be all met and answered—as they have been many times already—but now they are purposely left untouched, because they belong to the domain of the "great truth" not now under discussion. In all further argument these two points are assumed,—God is Infinite, The Almighty, and yet man is finite, and is free.

This free creature, mortal, and living now in time, has used his freedom in breaking God's law. His first father's sin inheres in the children. Transgressions add to inherited guiltiness. "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God" (Rom. iii. 23). "The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin" (I. St. Jn. i. 7). "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved" (Acts, iv. 12).

Besides being the one sin-offering, once offered, and the one High Priest, once offering, "Jesus" is "the Mediator of the New



Covenant" (Heb. xii. 24), "who is set on the right hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the heavens" (viii. 1), "where He ever liveth to make intercession" (vii. 25). This Jesus, "because He continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood" (24).

Against this priesthood of Jesus Christ, there have been various and often repeated assaults on the one side, while on the other side have sprung up equally dangerous, overlying additions. The two classes of minds which have shown themselves in every theological contest, have frequently met, and are now striving around, this great fact. Within the Church, all agree that Jesus is The Great High Priest, and there is no dispute about the oneness of His offering. A concurrence of views exists also as to His mediatorship.

But the practical question—How does His office and work benefit us?—opens out the ways of divergence and dispute. The two great schools of thought, whose extreme disciples never have understood each other, yet remain in opposition. The one, looking only at the outside, see the kingdom household, or Church of Christ, coming down distinctly along the ages, with a prominent hierarchy and a memorial sacrifice. The other, looking only within upon the heart and conscience, see men struggling out of moral and mental darkness, and crying in their souls for light and life. It is hopeless to attempt to reconcile these two classes morally, except through Christian charity. The only solution of their antagonism is, that each has hold of a "great truth," to both which there is a common centre. Mutual forbearance and trust will draw their hearts closer, and blessed charity attract and attach both to Jesus, who is The Truth. Standing on either side of Him, they see each other, projected in the distance, as if on the same plane with noxious errors; while in fact, being both close to Jesus, they are one in the unity of the body.

If the sacerdotalists were not afraid of spiritual liberty, and the lovers of liberty were not jealous of priests, it would be easy to set forth the great truths which each hold, while practically they could work together on the wide field of the Church Catholic, each having ample room, and verge enough, either being now a stimulus and now a check to the other, and both growing in wisdom and charity.

Keeping these two schools in mind, we return to the priesthood of Jesus, as set forth in Holy Scripture.

The first aspect in which it appears, is the historical one. Calvary stands in historical relation with the long line of sacrifices that begin with that of Abel, and close at the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. The sacrifices of the heathen, no doubt, were tradi-



tionary remains of an original revelation from God, corrupted, of course, and distorted horribly. But all sacrifices, Jewish and heathen together, had this fundamental common ground: "It is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul" (Lev. xvii. 11). And yet, as "it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin" (Heb. x. 4), "then said He, Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God." . . . "By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once" (ix. 10).

The Cross on Calvary stands between the Temple and the Church. On the remote side of it appear the smoking and reeking altars of the Old Dispensation; while on this side is The Lord's Table, or, as St. Paul says, "an altar" (Heb. xiii. 10), whereat we have a right to eat. This, however, is but the appearance on the temporal side, where mortals live and look. Men see all history, as a succession of events. Many hundred years separate us from Calvary, and many thousands from Abel. But on the other side, where God sits, there is no such aspect of succession. God sees Abel's offering, the victim on the cross, and the altars of Christianity, all in one view. On our side we make account of this order of events, and say that the one only efficient sacrifice was made good to Abel by retroactive power; and that the same sacrifice is effectual now by outactive power, always waiting and always ready for human needs. But before God, the one effective sacrifice, rises up together with Abel's sacrifice, while the latest celebration of the Holy Communion is also coincident.

The essence of any fact is on the Divine side of it. On the human side is only its appearance. The fulness of any fact is also on its Divine side. Only the part that comes within time, and is subject to relations, is seen by us. The central force of every fact God sees, while man only sees force going out now for one effect, and now for another. It follows that the Divine side of everything is its truly real side, or rather not its side at all, but its unity, its fulness, its vitality, and its energy.

If, therefore, we have any interest in anything, it becomes us to commune with God in relation to it, in order that we may receive not only what appears to us, but whatever it is, in essence and power as God sees it. In that highest act of Christian worship, called preëminently The Holy Communion, there is not only what we think and feel, and say and do, but what God does and sees, and accepts. And it is by virtue of the Divine Omniscience and Omnipresence, that this Holy Communion is in verity unto Him a *union-together*—then and there—of all saints in and by one only sufficient

sacrifice, once offered, and endlessly presented to the Father. When we apprehend this view of Christ's sacrifice, we shall begin to see some of the depth and heights of the Holy Mystery. It will help us, also, rise out of ourselves, and enter consciously within that sacred enclosure, where faith finds scope amid realities that are above sight and reason.

When we view and discuss the priesthood of Christ, we should consider it not only in its completeness of Offerer, Victim, and Mediator; but in its coincidence with all sacrificial worship. The dynamic theory of its efficacy which we adopt when looking out from the human stand-point, and express in the declaration, that the *dynamis*, or power of the Cross, reaches back to the first family of man, and will extend onward to the last age of mortality, is only one of the great truths included in it. It is the one great truth that harmonizes easily with the tone of Western civilization, and hence is most popular with that great number in our Church, who have taken refuge in her, because, upon the whole, they prefer her tone to that of any other "Christian denomination." It is clearly characteristic of our age and land, to turn the mind inward upon the nature of man, and thence to look outward upon organizations and means of power and grace. The germinal seed of the prevalent philosophy is that idea of primary and all-pervading "force," which the scientists of the day so confidently declare to be the origin and energy of all things. Although Christian theologians abhor this mad effort to dethrone the personal God, and meet with indignant patience the superciliousness with which the assumption of this idea of "force" is repeatedly made, yet, unconsciously no doubt, it is strongly working, in modified form, among a large, well organized, wealthy, and therefore temporarily powerful body of Churchmen. To this class, the "Truth as it is in Jesus," means a congeries of internal principles—part views and part emotions—which are capable of evolving or accepting such external means of good as may, from time to time, be needed to express the "life of God in the soul of man."

Here the sacerdotalists join issue, and thereby expose themselves to the charge of hostility to "the spirit of the age." They declare that they are not hostile to that spirit, as a whole. They claim the right and disposition to admire much in it. They share gratefully in the emancipation it has given to mind, and are as earnest as any others in thanking God that He has broken those chains which held back creatures bearing His image, from direct, close, and free communion with Himself. They do not see, however, in any true phi-

losophy of human nature, proof that man can become sanctified, and then evolve, out of his inner consciousness, full and accurate judgment of the means he requires for growth in grace.

It is evident to all diligent readers of Holy Scripture, that Christ not merely was, but is, the "High Priest of our profession" (Heb. iii. 1). He standeth, in the perfection of everlasting manhood, touching all mankind, living and dead; and He also standeth in His eternal Divine Sonship, sharing all the attributes of God. Among those attributes, is that unbeginning and unending *now*, through which all things are always present to Him, and by means of which all successions in sacrificial acts become coincident and one. By virtue of this *now*, Abel's offering is presented by Christ, coincidently with that of "The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev. xiii. 8), and every celebration of the Christian "Memorial," shares the same coincidence.

By the light of this great truth, it is seen to be impossible to repeat the sacrifice made once for all by Jesus on the cross at Calvary. A *re*-presentation of that sacrifice is also equally impossible. They who claim such repetition and representation, simply transfer their own finite conceptions of succession in events, to the Infinite One, before whom there is no succession.

That there is a class, who hold and teach these notions of repetition and representation, is not denied. Nor is it denied that a horrible system of spiritual tyranny has been erected upon them as foundations. Nor, again, is it asserted that all danger from a repetition of this tyranny has entirely passed away. The love of power is a strong human passion, and the ministry of Christ, being human, may again develop this natural passion into a self-debasing, as well as out-spreading, degradation. Very convenient aids to the development of spiritual tyranny, are these errors of repetition and representation; for nothing can give such a hold upon a man's soul, as the conviction that his human priest, standing between him and his God, can at will offer or withhold that sacrifice, by which is obtained the remission of his sins. But the extreme of every truth is a noxious error; and the higher the truth, the deeper the error of its extreme; while the more beautiful and delicate it is, the more it needs the counterpoise of its correlative, to hold it in true balance. We dare not, therefore, throw aside the very principle of sacerdotalism, because priests have been, and may again become, spiritual tyrants. It is enough that this tyranny is not essential to the office. They may be true ministers in, and not "lords over, God's heritage," and if God has appointed them, He will sustain their office,

however men may reject their rightful claims, or they abuse their powers.

The authority and efficacy of a true priesthood, as has been already amply shown, rests solely upon the high priestly office of Jesus Christ. It has been also amply shown that the office of Jesus is a present one, now exercising, and fully effective.

All these considerations show the error of that common conception of a remote cross and a distant mediator. By means of the cross and mediator we are brought into communion with God, and thereby enter into His relations with things; or, if the paradox be allowed, enter into His exemption from relations, stand with Him outside all succession, and above all conditions. The cross on Calvary, and the intercession in Heaven, become practically contemporaneous, and effectively coincident with the Christian "Memorial," and with all true means of grace.

It is a dreadful mistake that puts the cross only on a certain day amid the roll of the ages, and at one place on this vast inhabited globe. Such it is, and must be historically. Such it is among earthly events. But essentially it only manifests itself in history, and is not bound by, nor included within, its canons. Historically, also, Jesus rose on a certain day from the dead; but so far from separating Himself from us, He thereby manifested what His words claimed when He said, "I AM the resurrection and the life" (St. Jn. xi. 25). On another day He ascended into the heavens, but so far from leaving us comfortless and alone, He has given us His Spirit to abide with us, of Whom He says, "He shall receive of Mine and shall show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are Mine, therefore said I that He shall take of Mine and shall show it unto you" (St. Jn. xvi. 14, 15). It is by the operation of the Holy Ghost, that all the things of the Father—including His omnipresence—belonging to Christ, shall be set forth to and for us. Therefore, in another place, Jesus says simply, "If a man love Me he will keep My words, and My Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him;" or, again, "I will love him and will manifest Myself to him" (xiv. 21, 23).

Thus far the office and sacrificial work of the Saviour have been directly in view; and only incidental reference has been made to an existing priesthood among men. Nor can we yet gather up the points touched upon, and show their bearing upon the practical question most directly at issue. It is necessary beforehand to consider the nature, the efficacy, and the means of a true sacrifice, with the modes in which worshippers are benefited by it. After that

we shall be prepared to inquire if there is a priesthood now among men, what it is, and what it does.

## II.

The Christian sacrifice is either a reality in itself, or a symbol of some other reality. Being one, once offered, it is the satisfaction of violated law, or merely a display of devoted heroism. It either takes away sin, or it sets only a glorious example for the imitation of all mankind. It satisfies the Divine justice, or it merely shows man what lofty deeds and deep endurance are necessary, in order to draw nigh to God.

These two different views of Christ's sacrifice are, together, both right; while separated, neither produces its due effect. The latter touches the moral consequences; the effect upon god-like mortals of the humiliation, temptation, and death of our Divine Elder-Brother. But the former touches the essence and central force of the great act itself. Without abating aught of the moral aspect of the cross, and while holding forth Jesus as the one perfect exemplar, the Holy Scriptures do, in plainest language, declare that He "hath put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself" (Heb. ix. 26).

The antagonism often seen between these two views of The Cross arises from that erroneous logic, to which reference has been already made. On one side the view is bounded by human dignity and freedom, while it is—tacitly at least—assumed that the Absolute God is not affected by any acts of atonement; while, on the other side, the tendency is to regard God as subject to relations, affected by changes, and not absolutely consistent. It would take us too far aside, if we were to follow these two schools of theology out to those developments, where one preaches of motives to the heart and mind, and is always afraid of sacraments; while the other presses sacraments to the verge, or over the verge of their true significance, neglecting that conjunction of hearty devotion, clear understanding, and dignified obedience—to God, not man—which the completeness of Christian worship enjoins.

Leaving, therefore, incidental considerations, we turn exclusively to the sacrifice of propitiation. It is consistent with the great truth of The Absolute, that God "hates sin," that He is "angry with the wicked every day," and "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin," We cannot *comprehend* that consistence. We only have the natural power to *apprehend* it, supplemented by the gra-



cious gift of faith, through which we are assured that God is "just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus" (Rom. iii. 26). Taking this fact, with all its consequences, we sinners stand before God with the High Priest victim between us. Sacrifice has two component parts, viz., the memorial and the feast. The memorial is man's offering to God. The feast is that in which the covenant is sealed between God and the worshipper, and its benefits conveyed.

In all times worshippers by sacrifice have been partakers with the altar. They have fed upon the "peace offering." Before the constitution of society, every man offered for himself; but in every organized community sacrifice was made by a separate order of priesthood. The priest performed the common rites, in which all were equally interested, and the worshippers received portions from the priest's hands, and fed thereupon. This feeding was the final completion of sacrificial worship, at which the benefits obtained were dispensed according to every man's need. These essential characteristics of all sacrifice are, of course, included in the one perfect and complete sacrifice on the cross.

Where and how are we sinners, in this land and period, to become partakers of the sacrifice of Christ?

This question ought not to be hard to answer; and it would not be, were it not for the excessive introspection of this age, with its devotion to abstractions and ideals. The passion for abstract views in religion is a clearly traceable reaction from an opposite passion, that long held the world in bondage and corrupted the Church. However caused, it now exists, and must be taken into consideration by all seekers after and instructors in truth. Although difficult to some, it is useful for all to observe and duly heed the obvious outside of doctrinal facts. It is well, occasionally, to escape from the habit of dissecting thought, when laying aside suspicion, we may follow a simple and open line of inquiry. It is obvious that as we, in this land and period, need to be individually benefited by the sacrifice of Christ, there must be some way provided for us to partake of it. As we are partly mind, there must be some truth to be apprehended in this sacrifice. As we are partly heart, there must be some person present in this sacrifice whom we may love. As we are partly sense, there must be something to touch and taste. Our whole nature is saved in Christ; therefore, in body, soul, and spirit, we must be made partakers of the means of salvation. Those means concentrate and culminate in The Cross.

Following, in a spirit of simplicity, the narratives in the Gospel, we



find that Christ fed His Apostles upon His sacrifice. There is nothing clearer than this narrative when we read it without suspicion, or without foolishly wise questionings into possibilities of time and place. Of course we cannot perceive how events, separated on the human side by intervals of succession and distance, can, on the Divine side, be coincident; and yet it is because of this coincidence that the Apostles were "verily and indeed" partakers of the body and blood of Christ, as their bodies were of the bread and wine. If any one finds more satisfaction in saying that they were "spiritual partakers," there should be no objection to that phrase; indeed, it adds a new glory to the worship by bringing into view another high truth; for it is by the Spirit that the human side and the Divine side of all facts are made to coincide. The Apostles did spiritually partake of the true sacrifice, because the unseen Spirit was even then taking of the things of Christ, and showing unto them.

Keeping in mind that His sacrifice is real, while the final, individual, and practically beneficial act is feeding thereon, and that the result of the whole is holy communion between the forgiven sinner and the reconciled Father, we come to the narratives of the Institution.

St. Matthew, xxvi. 26-28: "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is My Body.

"And He took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

What else could devout Jews, who had learned that Jesus himself was the true sacrifice, understand, but that in this bread and wine they were feeding upon the peace-offering of the propitiatory sacrifice itself? It will be noticed that the feeding alone constitutes the peculiar point of the narrative in St. Matthew.

St. Mark repeats St. Matthew, but St. Luke (xxii. 19) adds the words, "This do in remembrance of Me." The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is thus declared to be, not only a means of feeding upon the true sacrifice, but a constant MEMORIAL, also, of that sacrifice. It is a memorial *for* man, and *to* God. Man, a sinner, is reminded of the propitiation, and joining in the sacrament, presents this high memorial before God. This is the essence of the transaction. It will be considered hereafter how and by whom this memorial is rightfully presented, and what are its concomitants and consequences.

St. Paul gives the fourth narrative of the institution of the

Lord's Supper. He was not present, but he recites what he declares was told him by Christ. "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread: and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is My Body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Me.

"After the same manner also He took the cup when He had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in My blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

"For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come" (I. Cor. xi. 23-26).

The additions in this narrative are—1st, the words, "which is broken;" 2d, the repetition of the injunction of remembrance, after the cup, so that both elements are included in the "memorial," and 3d, finally, the very striking closing declaration, that this sacrament is a veritable showing forth, or manifestation—of course before God and angels and men—of the Lord's death till He come.

Let us now review these points in order. St. Matthew and St. Mark give the first and simplest account of this "mystery." That account gives distinctly, "Take, eat, this is My Body, . . . Drink, . . . this is My Blood of the New Covenant which is shed." How must devout Jews, such as the Apostles were, have understood these words? Could they help remembering the Paschal Lamb, and other sacrifices? Was not this feeding, like their accustomed feeding upon those sacrifices; and in point of historic fact, did they not afterward frequent the old sacrifice while observing the new, and finally, aided by signal providences, cause the new to supersede the old? If Jesus had come "to destroy the Law," He would have forbidden His disciples, after the institution of the Lord's Supper, to join in the Temple services. But, inasmuch as He came, "not to destroy but to fulfil," He merely changed the mode and form of the highest and central act of worship common to both. As in the Temple they had been accustomed to the memorial of the sin-offering, and in all other sacrifices, the memorial having been set apart to God, had feasted upon the remainder; so now they receive from Christ's—the true High Priest—own hands, the true bread from heaven, the real sacrifice, under the form of a memorial of His death and passion. Both are equally real. Either was a unity, though the former was complex, and this simple. Both were and are sacrifices. Both are representatives and memorials. Nor is there any contradiction in these two statements. Both are true within their distinctive scopes, and both hold good as far as their relations reach.

So significant is the fact that there is a Divine side and a human side to the one true sacrifice of Jesus, that the risk of tedious repetition will be incurred in order to state it here anew. It may not be irreverent to make use of a mathematical illustration to help our understanding. Like all illustrations of holy things, this might easily be perverted; but for the single point now in view, it may help elucidation. A circle is a well-known line, equidistant at all points from a common centre. A person in the centre sees an object, moving along the circle, always at the same distance, while another, looking within, sees the centre always in the same place. It is very easy to conceive of human progress as just this kind of a revolving round the central throne of God, and of The Lamb. As time to God is nothing, so all the periods of human progress are to Him contemporaneous, and all the acts of history are to Him coincident. We can imagine this ball of earth turning, with Abel on it sacrificing and looking up to God. God sees that sacrifice in one view, with the Cross, by means of the intercession always going on before Him, through "the Lamb . . . slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev. xiii. 8). We can imagine the line of smoking altars and bleeding victims, marking the earth as it rolls. God sees them through the Lamb. The penitence and faith they evince, the prayers and tears that accompany them, the longings and the rejoicings, all rise up before Him, and enter into His presence, and He answers all through the effective sacrifice of the Lamb. Now, in the midst, comes the wonderful mortal life of Jesus, and the death on Calvary. Men, standing amid the succession of events, see a long line full of typical significance extending from the Cross toward the past, and coming out from it through the present toward the future. But all this long line turns in one direction to God, and God himself acts all along the line through one ceaseless operation. The Lamb is slain, and Abel's offering shares it. The Lamb is slain, and the "unbloody Christian sacrifice" also shares the efficacy of the true victim. Indeed, either is nothing alone. Without either virtual or actual recipients, Christ's sacrifice itself would accomplish no man's salvation; without the meritorious victim all human devotion is in vain. Together, however, they complete and make effective the propitiation, while Abel and Aaron and St. John stand in one group before God, with the true Paschal Lamb before them on the Table of the Lord.

Is it not clear, upon this view of the Divine and human side of all things, that Jesus did really feed His disciples upon the Body and Blood of the Lamb, although, as to His human relations, He had not yet suffered on the Cross? There was no salvation for the

Apostles except through the true sacrifice. They had always, hitherto, fed upon sacrifices. The Christian sacrifice surely would not be denied them. They must have turned over in their minds, with oft-recurring wonder, that signal and mysterious discourse recorded by St. John in the sixth chapter of his Gospel,—“Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.” They had known from the first—having been told by John the Baptist—that Jesus was the Lamb of God. They were familiar with the paschal feast; but to the question, “How can this man give us His flesh to eat?” they had never yet heard nor divined an answer. But at the institution of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, all is cleared up. The mysterious words centre round the Holy Table, explain it, and in it are themselves explained. The elements of bread and wine, duly consecrated and received, do, by the ministration of the Holy Ghost, convey to the disciples the true body and blood of the true sacrifice.

This is what St. Matthew and St. Mark declare.

It seems almost necessary, at this point, to notice the controversies which are even yet waging, touching the nature of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. But they will be passed by. It is hopeless to attempt to reconcile the combatants. Two great divisions comprise them, and with countless varieties of names and aspects, they are pushing away from each other toward opposite points. Both opposites are errors because they are extremes. Both hold a valuable deposit of truth; but both require to learn the correlation of great truths. The harmony of the truth cannot be reached by striding off toward one side. Only through mutual charity, by means of loving devotion, can we all, by drawing together trustfully, hope to be met and reconciled together by Him in whom all truth dwells.

Discarding, therefore, the spurious logic, which on one hand accepts an actual and not merely apparent contradiction, and leads morally to the abnegation of self, while it confounds faith with credulity; or on the other hand, unduly exalts self, and changes faith from a faculty into a power; we take the words of Jesus, as thus far considered, and conclude simply, that He did feed His disciples by means of the bread and wine upon that veritable sacrifice which the Father accepts as the propitiation for the sins of the whole world.

Thus Christian sacerdotalism is established. Christ is the one High Priest, as well as victim. He feeds His disciples upon His own  
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Body and Blood; and this, without being affected by the accidents of time and place. Moreover, it is plain, by Holy Scripture, that Christ keeps this administration in His own power. His words are, "The bread that I will give is My flesh" (v. 51). He does not and, with reverence let it be said, He cannot delegate this power to others. He has left His Church, not absolutely, but only relatively, to its mortal history. He does not appear any more visibly among us living men, but He is, nevertheless, with us truly, and we live by Him. To carry forward His Church on the fields of mortality, He has instituted and maintained a representative mortal priesthood, but He retains in His own hands the actual impartation of "the bread of heaven," which He dispenses from the Divine side of the altar. There He ever liveth, pleading the merit of His redemption, presenting His one offering in intercession, and dispensing to true worshippers the "meat indeed and the drink indeed" for refreshment of body, soul, and spirit. Thus Christ not only fed His Apostles upon the true sacrifice the night before His death; but He also feeds this generation upon the same sacrifice. Time and distance are as nothing on the side where, as the Eternal Son, He heretofore, now and evermore, stands.

Thus the unchangeable, ever-present, and ever-active priesthood of Christ assures every true believer that equal means of salvation are dispensed in every age. As all Christianity centres at the propitiation, so is the true sacrifice, in all ages, its very vitality. Every member of Christ lives in and by Him. "He is our life." We are engrafted into Him by baptism, and He keeps us alive in His Body, The Church, by feeding us upon His Body and Blood, which once offered are evermore pleaded for our redemption, and dispensed for our salvation.

This vast, mighty, central, and gloriously lowly fact cannot be too often or too deeply considered. It is the safeguard against that easy and common presumption by which man claims to be exclusively his own priest, and dares to make his own approaches directly unto The Father. "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me" (St. John, xiv. 6). Christ, the one Mediator, the true High Priest, ever liveth such, and is everywhere, and at all times, present and ready to execute any or all the functions of His office. As we should defend this fact on one side, so on the other should we not allow it to be buried out of sight.



## III.

Here arises a question as to the standing and use of a merely human priesthood, and the answer is suggested by the further words of Christ at the institution of the Lord's Supper, as they are recorded by St. Luke and supplemented by St. Paul.

St. Luke and St. Paul give all that St. Matthew and St. Mark relate of the institution of the Lord's Supper. Indeed, the latter, in I. Cor. x., dwells particularly upon this feeding on the sacrifice. He compares and contrasts it with idolatrous feasts, calling one the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ (v. 16), and the other the communion of the devils (v. 20). [The literal translation of v. 20 is, "But the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: I would not have you communicants of the devils."] This chapter is an interpretation of the institution, as far as the feeding goes. It is an interpretation by the Holy Ghost, who inspired St. Paul. It assumes that Jesus, at the institution of the Holy Communion, was performing the highest beneficial act of His priesthood in feeding His disciples upon the true sacrifice; and then simply and clearly sets forth that the disciples in all times are made partakers of the sacrifice, by means of the Holy Communion.

The perpetuation of this sacrament was commanded by our Lord when He said, "Do this in remembrance of Me." Its perpetuation in both elements is enjoined by the repetition of the command, both after the bread and after the wine.

How much does this word "remembrance" mean? In this age, and in this country, where almost all the influences of education induce an abstract explanation of everything, "remembrance" is at first explained as "a calling to mind, or a refreshing of memory." It, however, is only necessary to suggest to those who respect their own intelligence, that words coming down from remote ages cannot be fully interpreted by a presently popular definition. They must be illuminated by the prevailing ideas of the time and place of their origin.

All nations, at that period, were religious by and through sacrifices. The Jews were most intensely sacrificial in all their views of religion. The disciples of our Lord were among the devoutest of the Jews, and St. Paul, from whom the strongest testimony comes upon the Christian altar and priesthood and sacrifice, was one of the strictest of that sect, whose most exact attention was given to objective or out-



side religious duties. Christ's disciples had learned that the sacrifices of the temple were only types; but types conveying to devout worshippers the full benefit of that one true sacrifice which they typified. The cessation of the types did not coincide with the date on earth of the true offering. They were effective even subsequent to the crucifixion. That point has been already amply shown through that coincidence of all sacrifice which arises from "God's eternal Now." The bloody sacrifice was no longer needed, and for His own followers, Jesus substituted the sacrament of Bread and Wine. The significance of the type was changed. The awfulness of God's anger at sin was set forth most prominently at the Jewish altar; but at the Christian altar the most prominent idea is the sustenance of the new life of reconciliation.

The obvious slowness with which the early disciples separated themselves from Jewish worship and customs, shows that Christianity was a natural, or at least coessential, outgrowth of Judaism. It was not a revolution. It was not a sundering of continuity. It was rather the fruit that followed the blossom. Former things having gone through their period, passed away. At first, this change proceeded gently and slowly; but when the fruit of Christianity was well set, then God blew upon Judaism, and the last of its bloom fell off and was destroyed.

It will be remembered that our Lord instituted the sacrament of the Holy Communion at the close of the Paschal supper. From the time when The Baptist said, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" (St. John, i. 29), the Apostles had known Jesus to be the true sacrifice. Doubtless they had been amply instructed by Him as to the relations of the true to its types; and were well prepared to receive further instructions upon the same subject. Not a word was said of the cessation of sacrifices. On the contrary, Jesus evidently declares the sacrifice of Himself to be then real and present. "Take, eat, This is my Body which is given for you" <sup>1</sup> (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὁμῶν διδόμενον). The word translated "is given" is of the same verb which in Rev. viii. 3, is translated "offer." The present tense is used, "is given," *i. e.*, "is offered or offering;" not, of course, by anticipation, as if the offering in the Supper, and that on Calvary, were two; but in coincidence, the two were one to God in eternal now, and in significance and efficacy, one to all faithful recipients.

Having instituted the sacrament, our Lord gave a commission

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson.

concerning it: "Do this in remembrance of Me" (*τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*). Both St. Luke and St. Paul, who only give this passage, use identically the same words. The verb, though the common one, used both in the Septuagint and classic Greek, to express sacrificial offering, only bears that signification when the context demands it. The noun translated "remembrance" is only twice used in the text of the Septuagint, and in both places signifies "a memorial before God."<sup>1</sup> Its root is *μνδομαρ*, which means "to remember," or if the themes of the word be followed back, "to cling to with ardent desire."

It is a contraction of the meaning of "remembrance," when made only to signify a "reminder," and its whole injunction is not exhausted in devoutly calling our Lord to mind. It is also a contraction when made only to signify a "memorial," and the offering in the Eucharist of the memorial sacrifice unto God does not fulfil the injunction. The two meanings, taken together, fill up the significance. It is both a "reminder" and a "memorial." Every separation of this duality of meaning is mischievous. The first, teaching us to devoutly remember the atoning Lamb, brings our sins and necessities to mind, and draws us to the Table that we may penitently renew our covenant with God; eat and live forever: while the second lifts up our souls to God on High, that with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we may laud the Holy Name, and joining in the presentation of the one sacrifice, as it continues always within The Veil, may, in conjunction with the souls under the altar, lift up our voices and cry, "O Lord! how long!"

The Apostles undoubtedly regarded the sacrament, which they were then appointed to administer, as the memorial of Christ, to be always kept up before God and angels and men, as well as the reminder designed to solemnize men's minds and hearts. But this is the very function of sacrifice. As men, they were confined to the limits of humanity. They could not, therefore, offer an essential atonement. As Christ's messengers, however, they were capable of receiving office from Him, and in that office, could do all that Aaron and his priestly line had done. They surely believed themselves commissioned to undertake, and to perpetuate under the new dispensation, a priesthood. There is no substitution of them in place of Jesus, except so far as the visible, sensible, and local departure of His body required. They became, not His vicars, but

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xxiv. 7; Nu. x. 10.

His coworkers. They were priests, not in His stead, but with and in Him. They offered the "memorial" and distributed the "reminder," but in sign or sacrament, while He, mysteriously present and working, made the sign the very coincidence and effective instrument of the thing signified.

Whether the Apostles understood all this at the moment, or whether the inspiration of the Holy Ghost afterward revealed it to them, may be inquired by the curious. It is enough, now, to extract the whole meaning contained in our Lord's words of Institution, and to claim all as part of our heritage from Him. All that His words may fairly mean, they surely do and must mean. Therefore, the conclusion is deduced, that Christianity had in its Apostles, and therefore has now, a mortal priesthood, who, under and with the One High Priest—ever present by the power of the Holy Ghost—do, in memorial, glorify Christ and plead with God, while in reminder they also guide and bless the people; and that this all concentrates in the sacrament of the altar-table, which is inseparably both memorial, sacrifice and feast.

Entering into the spirit of that age, the whole subject seems very simple and very clear. We are no longer puzzled by the quietness of the first institution of the sacrament of the altar. The Apostles were instructed as priests. They had their duty clearly set before them. The elaborate explanations of St. Paul's Epistles show that they understood their calling. They went about everywhere, exhibiting the memorial, and feeding the people. They were not inflamed with holy indignation against the Jewish priests, who yet offered bloody sacrifices, because they had amply learned that Christ's one offering of Himself was the only essentially true sacrifice. They were priests of the New Covenant, and were kept by the Holy Ghost in that condition of serenity that belongs to conscious growth, rising out of slow, surrounding decay. They were intrusted with the highest work that could possibly belong to man. They were commissioned to present before God, on behalf of man, the memorial of the true sacrifice; and they knew that Jesus the Lord was ever present, according to His promise. His presence assured "always" with His Church, involved necessarily His presence in the highest act of their new worship. They believed in Him as the ever-present High Priest. They were assured that His own personal intercession went up with their prayers, and that His actual presentation of His sacrifice to the Father, coincided with their "memorial" of bread and wine offered on the altar.

The idea of a communion of brethren around the table of their

common Father, was both strengthened and cleared by the added perception of the present High Priest, feeding all together on the "true bread from heaven."

The moral benefit of calling to mind anew the blessed sufferings of Jesus, and the devout satisfaction of communing with Him in heart at the Holy Communion, were also cleared and strengthened by the assurance that the Blessed One—not far off on historic Calvary, nor far up in the distant heavens—but even then and there, was present, "strengthening and refreshing souls with His Body and Blood, as their bodies were by the bread and wine."

The Church cannot afford to part with this Priest-victim, verily and indeed, by the power of the Spirit present at her altars. It is impossible to dis sever the historic chain which links Christianity, by sacrifice, with all religions. She must have her memorial, which is as true a sacrifice as any other administered by a merely human priesthood. And it is more effective than all others, not because it essentially differs from them, but because the true nature of sacrifice is more clearly set forth in it; because the true Priest and Offering have been more fully revealed; and because, in this especial dispensation of the Holy Ghost, there is a larger measure of grace attached to the Christian sacrifice, bringing a closer and fuller communion with the Lord.

It is not our province to reason about the necessity of a human priesthood. If any persons claim that every man is his own priest, and may rightfully make his own offering before God: the answer is obvious, that in all his own personal and official relations to God, he is with and under Christ, undoubtedly priest. Nor may any man abrogate his priesthood by putting his conscience into others' keeping, nor by leaving to others the work of presenting his sacrifices of praise and prayer. But surely there is an organic whole, of which individuals are only members. The whole family of mankind or "humanity," constitutes this organic whole. Sin entered humanity at its root, and death pervaded the race. Thence cometh all our weakness and all our woe. Evils reach individuals, through the vital action of the organic whole, "humanity." This, surely, is just as stern and practical a fact as that we are individually existent, and personally related to God. Now our one High Priest has come to humanity, and He has planted His Cross—the Tree of Life—in humanity, close down by the side of its corruption, sin and death. It is one Tree of Life, equally necessary to all, and effective for all, by one common operation. Every one needs alike to partake of the fruit of this Tree of Life. It is not enough to contemplate it, to

picture it in symbols, to call it to mind by efforts of memory, nor to rejoice gratefully and devoutly in the fact that it has been planted, and is bearing fruit. Every man—not every soul merely, or every heart—but every man, in that complete threefoldness of which St. Paul speaks ; in the completeness of his body, soul, and spirit, needs to partake of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and to eat of it habitually, in order that he may live and grow. Yet, while every man needs this means of grace, he needs it only as every other person needs it, and can get it only in common with others. We raise no question as to the natural necessity of the cross; nor do we suggest any explanation of the reason why God the just, justifying the sinner, does so through the sacrifice of His Son, the Son of Man ; nor do we ask why He only is and can be the one High Priest, Such a line of thought is not here called for. The fact of sin and the efficacy of sacrifice are taken for granted, and God's supreme right to order His own plan of salvation, and choose His minister, is confessed.

Here a wonderful associate fact comes up in its rank, as the array of truth marches along round the cross. This great High Priest, this Only Begotten Son of God, this second Adam, new father of humanity, yet son of man, this Person who shares the glory of the Throne of Heaven, and who is destined to rule all the nations of the earth, this unequalled Priest counted His priestly office of such high dignity and worth, that He took not this honor upon Himself: "Christ glorified not Himself to be made a High Priest; but He that said unto Him, Thou art My Son, to-day have I begotten Thee" (Heb. v. 5).

Surely such humility shows that a mysterious and dread solemnity surrounds the Christian sacrifice. God has appointed it, and made it the one means of reconciliation. He therefore surrounds it with the light and dark cloud of His majesty. His own Son enters not into The Holy Place to present His sacrifice of His own mere volition, but He enters as the one called and ordained of God. Thus, while assuming a new royal-right over mankind, by virtue of the redemption, He, as the head of humanity, bows before His Father, and accepts as a boon His mediatorial office.

The humility of this acceptance suggests a flood of comparisons and devout suggestions, which will be valuable to whoever may dwell upon them ; but the fact is now only before us. It stands hard and strong in the foundation of Christianity ; one of the living stones on which the living Church is builded, and by which all its walls are permeated and held together, is that Christ's own priesthood is not original, but derived, given, not assumed.



When His visible ministry on earth was ended, He extended to others the office He had received. He commissioned certain chosen ones to take visible place in the work of ministering to His people. He appointed a priesthood to offer His Memorial, and by its perpetuity, to show forth His death till He should come. His words of commission were, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." He then proceeded to ordain the Eleven, and gave them that disciplinary authority which comes from His royalty, and has an incidental, but not essential, connection with the priesthood. Finally, His promise to be with them to the end of the world, completed the temporal organization of His Church. After this He ascended out of sight, and has kept Himself concealed from our senses.

At this period, historically, the generations begin to come and go amid that strange and ever accelerating current of progress which marks western civilization. Behind this flood the depths of ancient civilization remain stagnant. Between the two the cross stands, and the generations, one by one, get farther away from it on either hand. And yet the salvation of every individual of all these advancing and receding ages, depends upon the application to himself individually, of the one sacrifice on the cross.

Doubtless it is the Holy Ghost that works those wonders, by which the sacrifice essentially ever present to God, becomes effectively ever present with devout worshippers. It is very easy to fall into confusion in talking of spiritual presence, now meaning the outside presence of the Holy Ghost, and now His presence in our spirits. If we would keep our thoughts clear on this subject, we must never forget St. Paul's analysis of human nature. We are not spirits only, nor souls alone, nor bodies merely. We are living personal units, having these parts essential to us, and all needing salvation. With all we come to Christ, and His sacrifice is for the whole of us, for the whole of our individual parts, and for the whole number that compose His Body, the Church.

Historically, also, amid the ages, the Christian Church, with the Jewish Church, both centre in the cross. On either hand a historic priesthood goes out from it, one into the past, and one through the present, toward the future. Both these orders have their sacrifices, and ours, in all ages, has been set forth as the memorial.

The position this memorial held in primitive Christianity appears first in the distinct mention of it in all the accounts of early worship, as recorded by St. Luke, and in the constant reference to it, where public worship is considered in the epistles. The continuance in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship has an acknowl-



edgment of their priesthood; and the breaking of bread and prayers was the due celebration and partaking of the Holy Communion.

#### IV.

It is now time to turn to the next historic step. The words of our Lord, and the meaning they must have conveyed to His disciples, should certainly appear in the earliest liturgies. They may be expected to show sacerdotal and sacrificial characteristics. If they show them, the interpretation of Holy Scripture above presented will receive new confirmation; and if these sacerdotal and sacrificial elements appear also in our Prayer Book, then it will be proved that sacerdotalism is taught therein, as part of Christianity, and that our liturgy is true to Holy Scripture in showing forth the Lord's death till He come, through a sacrifice presented in memorial before God and man.

The earliest Christian liturgies are clearly based upon the central fact of The Gospel. They belong, indeed, to the whole family of religious ritual, because they are forms of devotion—prayer and praise—built up around, or, rather, growing out of, sacrifice. In this respect they stand in marked contrast to all systems of philosophy, whether Christian or pagan. These latter assume that man retains a natural power of just judgment with supreme inclination toward the truth; while the former take the distinctly opposite ground that “we have all sinned,” that “the carnal mind is enmity against God,” that “Jesus Christ is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world,” and that “no man cometh unto the Father but by Him.” Hence it is impossible to get at the full significance of these liturgies, unless “with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.” The intellect cannot take in their deepest meaning, much less appreciate their power. The affections must be allowed legitimate action and scope. Indeed, through the heart's vital warmth the mind is vivified, so that understanding and love, working in unison, perceive truth, not as a bundle of abstractions, but as an infinitely varied, yet living unity, having points of contact with every essential part of human nature, and living light for all.

Whoever essays the study of the early Christian liturgies, both devoutly and critically, will find that, like the Holy Scriptures, they centre in the One Sacrifice, once for all made on Calvary, and evermore presented in the Holy of Holies on high. Around this centre

revolve confessions and supplications and commemorations of the whole Body of Christ—present and absent, living and dead—with Scripture readings and psalms and hymns, and whatever else is essential to common worship. Indeed, these accretions are so marvellously exact in enunciating Divine truth, so wonderfully complete in expressing before God all human wants, so far-reaching in the grasp of their charity, and so exalting in their aspirations, that the suggestion sometimes made that they were founded by inspiration, may be the simplest way of accounting for their unique fulness. But as we have not such positive testimony of their origin as surrounds the Canon of The New Testament; and as we know they have been added to in later ages, we cannot soundly draw from them alone any doctrine of the faith.

It is perfectly legitimate, however, to use them as witnesses. Having learned from Holy Scripture that there is a Christian sacrament coincident with the once made and ever presented Christian sacrifice; and having seen, also, by the histories in the New Testament—both the direct and the indirect—that those continuing in the Apostles' fellowship did so in the breaking of The Bread, and in prayer, we find the early liturgies most valuable witnesses because this just describes them; they are exactly devotional forms for "the breaking of The Bread and prayer." Thus they are most intensely and exclusively religious, because they grow round a sacrificial rite; as well as most intensely and exclusively Christian, because they grow round the vivid and vivifying memorial sacrifice of Christ.

In the Eastern liturgies there are three distinctly marked features of common likeness. They have The Institution, The Oblation, and The Invocation. The first consists of the breaking of bread and the mingling of wine and water in the chalice, in connection with a repetition of the words used by our Lord when the sacrament was first instituted. This first, by general consent,<sup>1</sup> constitutes the essence of the sacrament; whatever else may be omitted, while this is duly rendered, the sacrament is valid. The effect of this consecration is not dogmatically stated in the earliest liturgies. The dogmas upon this point are to be found in theological treatises. Into these many scholars have gone, and the results of their labors may be found by those who seek them. Now and here, we are only intent on plain study of plain devotional forms, desiring simply to discover what there is true and valuable in sacerdotalism and sacrifice for the

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<sup>1</sup> See the Greek consent at the Council of Florence.—Brett.

use of complex living men, who need daily the grace and light and help that come through rightful worship; who need it not for their minds only, nor for their hearts alone, nor for their immortal bodies merely, but for the whole of their being, all of which is pardoned, cleansed, and saved, in and through "The Lamb."

The references in these liturgies made to offerings of Abel and Noah, and Abraham and Aaron, show that the early Christian worshippers, like the Apostles who frequented the Temple, regarded Christianity as a continuance toward fulfilment of the old dispensations. There was a change from type into memorial, but both altars bore essentially the same sacrifices, both being equally one before The Omniscient and Omnipresent God; and both, by the power of the Holy Ghost, made effectual unto salvation to all true believers, who willingly came unto and dwelt in The Light.

Perhaps, to avoid misapprehension, it may be here necessary to digress a moment, and notice the two classes of dogmatists who have attempted to explain how it is that our Lord Christ effects the union or coincidence of the sacrament of bread and wine, with His own true sacrifice once offered. That school which claims to follow out the Aristotelian syllogism lands in belief of a presence which the Old Catholic Bishop, Reinke, very happily terms "materialistic." The adoration of the consecrated elements is the consequence and positive proof of their materialism. The opposite school, divorcing mind and heart, have taken their views from the emotions, and declare that the sacramental presence of Christ is a presence only in the spirit of the worshippers. Both leave essential parts of human nature unprovided for, making the sacrament less than "the true bread from heaven" that feeds us in and throughout our united personal complexity of "body, soul, and spirit."<sup>1</sup>

To neither of these schools belong the early liturgies. They do not define The Presence. • They treat it as real, and there they leave it, as far as teaching goes. They assume that, as the sacrifice of Christ is the one propitiation, the partaking of that sacrifice becomes a necessity to every person who would be saved. They do not go into those distinctions which natural and metaphysical science, more or less in every age, and in our age most of all, have discoursed about; but they most wonderfully fit into and harmonize with every definition that those sciences have made and agreed upon. They do not contradict science by asserting a local or substantial

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<sup>1</sup> The early liturgies frequently use these terms as describing the whole man. St. Paul uses the same. Which quotes the other?

presence of Christ in the elements, or on the altar; nor, on the other hand, do they violate human nature, and rob it of its Lord, by asserting only a dynamic presence in the spirits of worshippers, but they provide for the whole man in a state of spiritual resurrection. They introduce him to his Saviour, and bring him into actual and complete communion with Him; the priest-victim, the God-man. A passage in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, with characteristic perspicuity and brilliancy, thus incidentally describes the nature of Christ's presence: "In the grave bodily, in Hades spiritually, in Paradise with the thief, as on a throne with The Father and the Holy Spirit, Thou wast God, O Christ, filling all things, Thyself uncircumscript." This, in concentrated, crystalline form, may be recognized as the same idea of The Presence, which previous articles in this series have put into more diffused language, in accordance with modern thought. "Filling all things Thyself uncircumscript," expresses, with marvellous brevity and fulness of meaning, the fact of the real presence. It is enough for devotion, and about as much as we can apprehend. It saves us from the temptation to add another and different rite to the sacrament, and thus incur the risk, at least, of idolatry; while it rebukes at the same time, that cold rationalism which, leaving Christ far off in the historic past, or far up in the inaccessible heavens, views the Eucharist as a mere reminder of facts to think about, or emotions to feel.

In connection with the Institution, and immediately upon the consecration, the early liturgies are mindful of that Scriptural passage, which reads, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come." The word translated "shew," is "*katangelete*;" which is given in English letters, that those who are not familiar with the Greek alphabet may catch the idea of angelic service, or ministration which is hidden in the word "shew." All, therefore, who partake of the "holy mysteries," are engaged in the heavenly ministration of Christ's death. They are setting forth His sacrifice before men; before "the principalities and powers in heavenly places, to whom are known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God," and finally, before The Father. This "shewing the Lord's death till He come," pervades the liturgies like a refrain, bursting out everywhere in the earlier portions and in the midst, until it culminates in the distinct act of final Oblation. Thus, in the Liturgy of St. Mark, immediately following the consecration, the priest continues, "Do this in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup,

ye shew forth My death, and confess My Resurrection and Ascension."

O Almighty Lord and Master, King of heaven, we, announcing the death of Thine Only Begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and confessing His blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day, confess also His Ascension into heaven, and His session at Thy right hand, His God and Father, looking also for His second and fearful and dreadful coming, when He shall come to judge the quick and the dead in justice, and to render to every man according to his works:

O Lord our God we have set before Thee Thine own of Thine own gifts.

In the Liturgy of St. James this pervading idea of oblation, or showing forth the Christian sacrifice, finds early expression, thus:

As Thou didst receive to Thyself the offering of Abel and Noe and Aaron and Samuel. . . . Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing the thrice holy hymn of the quickening Trinity, lay by at this time all worldly cares that we may receive the King of Glory, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. . . . King of kings and Lord of lords, Christ our God cometh forward to be sacrificed and to be given for food to the faithful. . . . O God our God, who didst send forth the heavenly head the nourishment of the whole world, Our Lord Jesus Christ, as our Saviour and Ransomer and Benefactor, blessing and sanctifying us, Thyself bless this offering, and receive it to Thy super-celestial Altar.

In the chief Oblation, all take part, thus:

*Priest.*—Do this in remembrance of Me, for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye set forth the death of the Son of Man, and confess His resurrection till He come.

*Deacon.*—We believe and confess.

*People.*—We set forth Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy resurrection.

*Priest.*—We therefore, also, sinners, remembering . . . Passion, . . . cross, . . . death, . . . Resurrection, . . . Ascension, . . . glorious and terrible, coming again . . . to judge . . . offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, beseeching Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities, but . . . grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, the things which Thou, O God, hast prepared for them that love Thee. . . .

For Thy people and Thy Church supplicate Thee.

*People.*—Have mercy upon us, Lord God, Father Almighty.

Every fair and free mind must perceive the complete correspondence of these liturgies with that view of The Lord's Supper which ranks it with sacrifice. They consecrate material elements, and pre-



sent them before the Lord, declaring a coincidence with the one oblation once offered. No doubt it is easy to pervert this lofty and delicate teaching; but one of the marks of the most exalted truth always is its close proximity to abysmal falsehood. One may easily draw a crowd after him by running away with whoop and hallo, from the edge of danger. The cool intellect, however, and brave heart, while following the upward path, is sure of safety. He will have, indeed, to walk warily, but he will also often stand on eminences where he may behold truth spreading like the broad expanse of the heavens, with the wide earth in perspective, all woven together into vast harmonious order and peaceful beauty. In respect to this germinal centre, and towering point of Christianity—the coincidence of the Eucharist with the ever proceeding and ever completed sacrifice of Christ—all that can be said is, “I believe because it is written;” and “I accept and use, because thus am I, in the completeness of my finite humanity, brought into real present communion with the Infinite, who filleth all space and supercedeth all succession and all time.”

If there should be any who cannot receive this truth, because of inability to distinguish it from well-known and mischievous error; then such persons, if faithful to their Lord, will rejoice in what they may have attained, and worship with their own measure of faith and understanding. Doubtless some of these will reach a reality, and perhaps consciousness of Divine Communion, which shall closely proximate the highest possible devotional attainment.

If there be some who will not receive this truth because they magisterially assert that it is inseparable from its correlative dangerous error, then may they enjoy their self-satisfaction, and assumed judgeship, receive the popular adulation that it is the fashion now to give them, and go on to The End.

This, however, is sure, that a revival of personal devotion to the person of Jesus is rising and spreading and growing everywhere in The Church, and that it is leading souls back to the Apostolic fellowship in the breaking of The Bread and prayer. Eucharistic worship is fast clearing itself of both mediæval and modern heresies, and getting back to the ground of the ancient faith. Every revival has its martyrs, and some may win the crown in this, but the advance cannot be prevented. The truly devout, once discerning the presence of their Lord, should not deny that presence, nor go out of it, nor be afraid to affirm it.



## V.

The next point in the early Eastern liturgies is the Invocation. In it the first step is taken beyond the scope of the very words used by Christ at the first institution of the Lord's Supper. The valid sacrament stands, in the words, material, and acts of consecration. The memorial is finished in the final oblation. Next in order follows the adaption of the elements for communion.

Here, in accordance with the spirit and letter of Holy Scripture, and in consistent analogy with all fully acceptable Divine service, is the time and place for the interposition of The Holy Ghost. The human preparation has been made. The human priest stands, and the material sacrament rests a memorial before God. The people surround and worship. The temporal and the visible are no doubt attended by the invisible Priest-forever, with His continually presenting, yet ever finished sacrifice of propitiation. That without the veil of eternity, and that within, are doubtless in unity, before God. The angels are looking on, but the worshippers have not yet been fed.

The great assurance of our Saviour—given at His solemn farewell—comes to mind: "It is expedient for you that I go away. If I go not away, The Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart I will send Him unto you." "He shall receive of Mine and shall shew unto you" (St. John, xvi.). "It is the Spirit that quickeneth" (vi.).

As in every act of worship we invoke the Holy Ghost, and for every gracious gift look to His hand, so in the very highest of all acts of devotion, this invocation is most fitting and necessary. For the sum of all graces we look earnestly and solely unto His hand alone. In that concentration of doctrinal and practical Christianity, the Holy Communion, we look eminently for the presence of the Spirit of Truth. Because forgiveness and the new life, flowing forth through Christ's continual presentation and intercession, are assured and conveyed through and by means of that Holy Sacrament, therefore we look for the presence of the Spirit of Power. His office is to make the link of connection. The operation of the whole Trinity is thus manifested, in answer to man's act of profoundest and widest and loftiest worship.

Hence a pause—if not in fact, at least in thought—at this stage! The "outward visible form" is complete. All its material, verbal,

and official essentials are finished. The Father, Jesus, the angels, the spirits of the just, the mortal priest, the people, are together, while in the midst stands the altar with its load. Now comes forth the brooding Spirit, and the worship of invocation is about to begin.

At this point the exigencies of theological controversy compel another digression. There have been such varieties of interpretations given to the doctrine of the "real presence," that it is not certain what impression different minds may now be receiving.

Materialistic transubstantiation is very well known, and very justly rejected, both for its false philosophy and its inconsistency with Holy Scripture. Its consequences of spiritual slavery and general debasement need not now be dwelt upon. It is no wonder that in the Roman Missal, the Invocation is dropped from the great prayer of the Holy Communion. There is no place for it in that unprimitive system.

But there are other interpretations, which, their advocates claim, need not be confounded with the Romish dogma of transubstantiation. The mildest utterance of that new school is in a definition of the "real presence" as "objective on the altar." They say "that the presence becomes thus an object. Where Christ is objectively present, there He is present as an object; and where He is present as an object, there He may be adored." Therefore "Eucharistic adoration" is openly taught and frequently practised. The present writer, in another place, has shown the false logic of this argument, and yet sees no reason to change his conclusion that "Idolatry of the Mass," with all its mischievous consequences, flows necessarily from this great doctrinal error.

The truth of the real presence neither involves nor requires either of these interpretations. Indeed, it is inconsistent with them fundamentally. St. Chrysostom's happy phrase, "Thyself uncircumscript," not only contradicts all that "seek to bring Christ down from above," but suggests the sense in which Christ's presence at the Holy Communion is real, while it is neither substantial nor local. It is present *to* Him, not He *in* It. He, supreme High Priest, accepts it from His chosen minister, on behalf of, and with the concurrence of His people, and makes it one before The Throne, with His own singly full and true sacrifice. How He effects this He has not told us, and therefore we need not know. The peculiar dangers of seeking to be "wise above that which is written," and of pressing in where we are not called to enter, are sadly well known. It is, however, surely not hard for those familiar with "Christian experience,"

to realize the surrounding, and all-penetrating presence of our Lord, in the greatest worshipful ceremony of Holy Church. Omnipresence assures presence with us every one. We do not lose ourselves in an ocean of Divinity. Our Lord is close to us all. While, therefore, with angels, and with the Body of Christ, in the visible presence of the officiating priest and praying people, we "lift up our hearts;" "we lift them up unto the Lord," knowing and being assured that He accepts our offering, and makes it complete.

We may return now—perhaps safely, surely with satisfaction—to the regular line of investigation. Recalling the great truth that The Holy Ghost is always the effective angel and ministrant of grace, we are prepared to find Him such in the Holy Communion. As It is above all, so will HE surely be most eminently present. As all grace centres in It, so will He, the Spirit of Grace, make It effective by His own outpouring.

The early liturgies, with wonderful completeness and exactness of correspondence with the Gospel, as well as careful provision for all the wants of the human immortal, follow the Oblation with the Invocation. Therein, the Holy Ghost is besought to come down upon the offering, and effect its union with the one offering, so that the sacrament may become a true feast upon the sacrifice of Christ.

In the Liturgy of St. James, is the following form of Invocation :

*Priest.*—Have mercy on us God Almighty.

Have mercy on us God our Saviour.

Have mercy on us O God, according to Thy great goodness, and send upon us and upon these proposed gifts, Thy most Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life giving; sharer of the Throne and of the Kingdom with Thee, God and Father, and Thine only Begotten Son, consubstantial and co-eternal, Who spake in the Law and the Prophets, and Thy New Testament, Who descended in the form of a dove on Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan, and rested on Him, Who descended on Thy Holy Apostles in the likeness of the fiery tongues, in the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion at the day of Pentecost: send down the same most Holy Ghost, Lord, upon us, and upon these holy and proposed gifts, that coming upon them with His holy and good and glorious presence, He may hallow and make this bread the holy Body of Thy Christ.

*People.*—Amen.

*Priest.*—And this cup, the precious blood of Thy Christ.

*People.*—Amen.

*Priest.*—That they may be to those that partake of them, for remission of sins and for eternal life, for sanctification of souls and bodies, for bringing forth good works, for the confirmation of Thy Holy Catholic Church, which Thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it; freeing it from all heresy and scandals, and from them that work wickedness, and preserving it to the consummation of all things.

In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the Invocation—after prayer, for personal cleansing and renewal, followed by mention of the most signal instances of the descent of the Holy Ghost—proceeds:

And make this Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ. . . .

And that which is in this chalice the precious blood of Thy Christ. . . .

So that they may be to those that partake of them for purification of soul, for remission of sins, for fellowship of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, for fulfilment of the kingdom of the heavens, for boldness toward Thee, not for judgment or condemnation.

Without going further than the scope of this article requires, several subordinate points must be passed over. It is not claimed that these early liturgies have been preserved intact, as has the Canon of the New Testament. Therefore, every form and turn of expression in them may not be exact and right. It is not here designed to diverge into verbal discussions. The largest meaning includes and declares the "real presence" to be one "circumscribed" by Christ, and not one in which He is circumscribed. On this distinction hangs all the difference between truth and falsehood, with their consequences of right worship or of wrong.

The special object of these quotations is to show that the sacrificial essence of the Gospel, so distinctly set forth in the New Testament by the words and acts of Our Lord, is centrally contained in these liturgies. Thus they bear witness to the earliest views of The Church upon the question, "Have we a Christian sacrifice, and by consequence, a Christian priesthood; and is the worship by sacrifice part of essentially Christian Divine service?"

The liturgies of "The West" are not quoted, because they were doubtless later than those of The East, and therefore less valuable for the end here in view. It may be remarked, however, that a substratum of the primitive doctrine of sacrifice runs through them, which even the pernicious materialism of the schoolmen has not covered out of sight. The omission of the Invocation, which is their special defect, while neither vitiating the sacrament nor involving necessarily materialistic views of the "real presence," at least—being wanting—does not bar the way against the introduction of such errors.

The English Church, unfortunately, has followed the "Roman use." Its present Prayer Book does not use the Invocation, nor has it a distinct form of the Oblation.<sup>1</sup> The Scotch Church, however,

<sup>1</sup> The first Book of Edward VI. has all. Though the Invocation precedes the Institution, it is included in the "Prayer of Consecration."

—preserving, doubtless, the traditions of the Oriental origin of native British Christianity—retains in its place The Invocation. Our own American Church, through the firmness and wisdom of Bishop Seabury, has followed the Scotch use. We, therefore, have a complete “Prayer of Consecration,” including Institution, Oblation, and Invocation, and can keep up, in our most exalted rite, that fulness of worship which honors the whole Trinity, not by implication merely, but in distinct acknowledgment of the united Divine office, distinguished by several and personal operations.

The American Prayer Book thus appears in essential accordance with the earliest known liturgies. It carries out completely the tradition of Christendom, and accords with the whole tone of The Bible in both Testaments. It provides for sacrificial worship. It furnishes forms by which the living Church leads her children to the High Priest—her head—and puts them into sure and real communion with Him. Its terms and sentences are fitted, not to mere possibilities, nor to ideas of Divine force, sought for and desired to approach, but to facts then and there occurring. It directs the lifting up of heart and mind to God, The Father, The Son, and The Holy Ghost, with assurance that the one propitiation, ever finished, yet ever presenting, is now to us, as it is *ever* now to God.

This glorious privilege of Christianity is given us to maintain. American Churchmen have a heritage whose value outweighs all the gifts of mortal freedom and civilization. Wealth and power and culture are worth much, but relatively not much, when compared with real, present, and personal union and communion with Christ. The intellect of our age is very noble; but if it attempts to circumscribe Christianity, it will seek to take away our Lord. We cannot afford to exchange ideas and emotions for realities. We need not cramp the intellect, nor deny ourselves joyful feelings: indeed, we may most effectually develop and fill both, by adherence to the facts of the ancient faith.

Surely a revival of belief in the “real presence,” and a consequent increased depth and fervor of sacramental service, when perceived by honest minds, will not long be confused with “idolatry of the Mass.” When it shall be clearly and generally understood what the Prayer Book means by “priest” and “sacrifice,” the ghost of mediæval materialism will not loom so darkly as now.

## VI.

Sacerdotalism is a correlative of sacrifice; the sacrifice being shown, the priesthood follows. As there is now a Christian sacrifice, there must now be a Christian priesthood. In order to see this point distinctly and fully, it will be necessary to revert to the first historical record of religion.

It is not known positively that God had given any previous revelation to Cain and Abel, in relation to sacrifice. Cain, being an agriculturist, was one step in advance of Abel, who was a shepherd. Cain was also a ruler, by nature probably, and surely by Divine grant (Gen. iv. 7). He followed, at least, a good impulse, in bringing his offering unto God. He gave what he had, and was commended. All the notion he may have had of sacrifice, was of something given up unto the Lord. Abel may not have held any higher views. Subsequent history and revelation enables us to see why Abel's offering was preferred. It hath pleased God to make "the propitiation for the sins of the whole world," to depend upon a bloody sacrifice; "and without shedding of blood is no remission;" therefore, when the first offerings were made, God manifested His especial approval of the animal sacrifice. The earliest, but not indistinct foreshadowings are here seen, of the two great divisions of mankind. Cain was the leader of progress, and the temporal ruler who proudly patronized religion; and was mortified when another was approved, not perhaps above, but differently from himself. Abel was the chosen priest, called to keep up a right faith among men. The gifts of self-denial were not purchasers of Divine favor. The suffering and death of The Chosen One could alone procure remission, pardon, and salvation. If Cain had suppressed his pride and jealousy, the two brothers might have lived harmoniously together in their distinct positions. Cain would have been king, and Abel priest.

Herein lies the solution of the question now at issue. Priests are necessary, because God requires that every generation shall share in the one sacrifice. Most men are required to do the world's work. Every man is beloved, and every one may and should draw nigh to God; but evidently the engrossments of common life and the exigencies of government are so numerous and various, that worship would be neglected unless a distinct class, in sufficient numbers, were set apart and maintained exclusively as priests.

This fact is so obvious that space and time need not be wasted



in proving it. It is, however, fundamental, or rather germinal, for out of it grows the whole sacerdotal development.

There are only two sources of authority, or rather two streams from one source. God has either established a clearly-defined, historical order of priests, or He has as clearly left it to men to make their own priests. Following down the track of history, we find the heads of families acting as family priests. Next we see the heads of tribes acting as priests. Then comes the national theocracy in which a distinct family is set apart for the priesthood. All along the line stands the altar with its bleeding sacrifice, around which the successive generations gather, to make their confessions and supplications, and to be fed.

The setting up of a special order of the priesthood did not oppose a barrier between man and God. Man remains, in all that relates solely to the individual, his own priest still. Hence, all through sacred history, inspired and uninspired, we see the personal priesthood exercised on extraordinary occasions, even after a separate order has been appointed. Those extraordinary occasions, however, were never wilful separations from the public sacrifice, but only temporary resorts to meet pressing exigencies: and even in those cases, there is no such clear evidences of right, and of God's approval, as cluster all about the historic succession. Wilful opposition to the established priestly order was visited, by God, upon both laymen and Levites, with very signal and warning punishment.

After the Temple comes the Cross. The night before the death on the Cross, Our Lord said, "This is My Body which '*is* given,' '*is* broken' for you," and "this is My Blood which '*is* poured out' for you." On the Cross our Lord was the sacrificial victim: where and when on earth was He the sacrificing priest?

In answering this question, it becomes necessary to recall the Omniscience and Omnipresence of God: all time is *NOW* to Him, all space is *HERE* to Him. If Christ anywhere, at any time on earth, made an offering of Himself unto God, that time and place would coincide, in God's sight, with the death on the Cross, and be also coincident with Abel's offering, and with Noah's and Abraham's and those of the Temple. Freed, therefore, from perplexity about succession of events, and exempt in thought from the trammels of time, we are at liberty to look through all Christ's words and acts; and if anywhere we find the priestly function exercised by Him, we may accept and trust in it, then, there, and wherever it may reach and however ramify. Christ, performing the priestly act, is before God,

the same Christ over the altars of the past, on the Cross, at the altars of the present, and before The Throne interceding. Therefore, also, to every worshipper, in whatever age he lived, in whatever land he dwelt, and under whatever dispensation he came, Christ would be present—the one sacrifice, and The one High Priest—dispensing to the full measure of the recipient's capacity, all the benefits of His atonement.

The records of the New Testament are exact as well as complete. We must, therefore, be willing to receive its clearest and fullest meaning. The only record, there, of a priestly sacrifice made by our Lord, is contained in the accounts given by the first three of the Evangelists, and by St. Paul, of the institution of the Lord's Supper. The Paschal lamb had been eaten. The disciples were not only accustomed to sacrificial worship, but were then just at the close of a sacrificial feast. All the surroundings conveyed sacrificial impressions. Knowing all this, Jesus "taking bread, eucharized it, praising God, and brake it, and gave it to them, and said, 'Take, eat, this *is* My body broken, given in your behalf;'" "in like manner the cup after supper, saying, 'This cup *is* the new testament in My blood, poured out around many on your behalf.'"

These are the four accounts, literally rendered and united. The words in italics are all positive and in the present tense. The Holy Ghost inspiring them, these four narrators agree in stating that Jesus used the present tense and the positive form. Obviously, He made the bread and wine one with His body and blood, breaking for His people's use, and giving and pouring out to God around the many, on behalf of His people.

The only account is thus a most sure and distinct one of Christ's acting on earth, as a priest for His people before God. He made a sacrament, joined it to Himself the true sacrifice, offered Himself unto God, and fed His people. The Last Supper and The Cross are inseparable. The interval and space that separate them on earth have no existence on God's side. They seem to us a central link, joining together the sacrifices, past and current. In fact, before God, they are one in and with them all.

Hence The Great High Priest offered Himself to God in the Eucharist, and His disciples were fed on Himself by Himself, then and there. Did He repeat the offering afterward on the Cross? By no means. He only completed it before God. The two incidents are one fact. Thus are we safe from the contradiction of two *one-oblations*, while at the same time we keep hold of our Priest and retain our real sacrifice, and may feed upon it.

This interpretation, while it clings closely to the literal meaning of the words of our Lord, puts us also in the regular line of sacrificial succession. Christianity thus appears as a religion, and not merely as a philosophic system. It has a reality, which centres round a fact, and that fact is living in every age, and outpouring like a fountain that is always full and flowing, yet always the same.

The Institution and the Oblation of the Eucharist are Christ's own. The Holy Ghost had not yet been given. The Invocation would come after.

Where, however, is the Eucharist now, since Christ has died, risen again, and ascended? At the first institution, He commanded the continuation of the sacrament, for He said, "Do this in remembrance of Me." He thus requires His ministers and people to continue the line of sacrifices, only changing them from type to memorial. He, therefore, intended that a line of priests, also, should stretch out from Him, through all ages, until the new testament should be fulfilled.

No doubt this hierarchy, set up by Him, was more fully explained during "The great forty days." We see it everywhere from the first Christian ages to our own. The line of the Christian priesthood, coming out from Christ and reaching to us, is as distinct as anything in history. The one sacrifice pervading all true and right worship, lays the first Eucharist as the first course on the foundation upon which has been builded, stone by stone, in all the ages, the structure of historic Christianity. Christ, the Victim-priest, as then and ever, is now, the real, central, present salvation of His people; and His priests are among us, and His sacrifice also, because He is now here, "circumscribing all things, Himself uncircumscribed."

The historic argument for the succession of the Christian priesthood will not now be considered. It has been exhaustively discussed in readily accessible volumes of controversy. The positions here taken are so supported by the literal Scriptures, that the existence of a Christian priesthood in our day must be confessed, or all Christianity given up. Christ's word of promise would have failed, if there were no priesthood now. These are His words: "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you" (St. John, xx. 21). His Father had sent Him as prophet, priest, and king. He had preached the Word. He had perfected the sacrifice. He had set up His kingdom in "The Church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all" (Eph. i. 23).

The prophetic office, and the royal right of ecclesiastical gov-

ernment and discipline, are not now under review. Where is the priesthood? They who declare that the sacrifice is so done and ended, that it remains to us only as a historical fact, to fill our minds withal, or to touch and move our hearts, do not require a priesthood. Their religion is subjective altogether, and very good as far as it goes. But those who recognize, believe, and feel the threefold complexity of our immortal human nature, are not content to let the soul and spirit engross the whole of our religion, leaving thereby our immortal bodies unprovided with the bread of heaven. We do not argue about the relative value of human bodies, as compared with soul and spirit; nor, consequently, of the comparative importance of sacraments and doctrines. We only claim to take all Christ has left us, and to bring our bodies with us into His presence, that He may feed them, and they also live forever.

The ordination of the Apostles having been assured by the above quoted words of our Lord, and bestowed by His immediately following act, when "He breathed upon and said to them, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit;'" was made applicable to, and essential for, a line of their successors to continue until the end of time. The intention of our Lord in establishing this line is shown by the last of His words that St. Matthew records: "Teaching them to observe carefully all things whatsoever that I have enjoined upon you, and lo! I AM with you all the days until the completion of duration."

These literal Scriptures show us Christ the Priest, extending His office to successors, and promising to be with them as long as the world shall last. Christianity, therefore, has doctrine for its prophets to preach, discipline for royal officers to enforce, and sacrifice for its priests to offer and dispense. Thus our own age stands on an equality with every age. Jesus is as near to us as He was to our fathers long ago. The real things of God are as truly dispensed now as ever. Our privileges and consequent responsibilities are as great as can be conceived, for the Lord is with us of a truth, and The Great High Priest has provided for us the means whereby, in the fulness of our whole being, we may commune with Him, and be fed and filled by Him.

## VII.

The final point, in the present line of inquiry, is, "The relation of priest and people." True religion, and therefore, Christianity, however complex in organization, never will submerge the individual in the mass. "Every one of us shall give account of himself

to God" (Rom. xiv. 12). In all matters exclusively personal and private, every person is and must remain his own priest, and make his own oblations and intercession, by the help of the Holy Ghost, through the grace of Jesus, unto the loving Father.

While, however, individual rights and responsibilities should not be destroyed nor invaded; and while it is an unspeakable degradation to be deprived of that privilege of sonship unto God that admits us, both in ordinary worship and high sacrifice, into personal, filial communion with Him; and while He himself both permits the honor and enjoins the duty of personal approach to Himself on the part of all creatures bearing His image and likeness, who bring each his own free-will offering; yet there is another privilege and duty, no less glorious and binding. Man is not only, singly God's image. He is also, like foot, hand, or eye, member of an organism. His position in the organism is as definite as his individuality. Duties and privileges belong as truly to one as to the other.

In forgetfulness of this correlation of great truths; one class dreading usurpation over private spiritual rights, and fearing the moral injury that flows from interposing exclusively between God and man, have denied the existence of an order of priests, and professed not to see the necessity under Christianity for a sacerdotal succession. Another class, in like manner forgetful, giving exclusive heed to the organic relations, would absorb the member in one mass of body, take away personal dignity and sense of responsibility directly to God, and exalt the priesthood into the position of real, vicarious mediators, who may act for the worshipper without his own consent and coöperation.

Evidently both parties are right, and both are wrong. Both are right in the fundamental truth they build upon, and both wrong in building exclusively upon one. They exhibit in new form and illustration the common fault, out of which all heresy and schism sprang, and by which it exists. They forget that correlative truths, when apparently inconsistent, can only be reconciled by faith, which accepts both as equally clear revelations from Him who is The Truth; while charity following patiently, works; and hope waits for the "great revealing."

That individuality which distinguishes persons, one from another, in the human family, and that living union which binds all in a common humanity, both exist entire, yet together, and act themselves out in Christianity. In all that his person claims, and all that his relations require, the Church, which is the Christian organ-



ism, provides fully for man. He worships God individually, and is his own priest. As he cannot naturally separate himself from organic humanity, and must in all merely mortal relations, act through officers of political, social, or domestic government; so, as a Christian, he cannot separate himself from the Body of Christ, and must act in, with, and through its officers, in all that is common to him with every other member of The Body.

Recalling here to mind the essential difference between religion and philosophy, we also remember that while the former includes the latter, it is yet, in one preëminent particular, wholly unlike it. Religion rests on sacrifice. Nor does it, after sacrifice, descend to merely philosophic ground. Christianity is a religion, resting upon the sacrifice once offered and completed on the Cross. But it is not now merely a philosophic system, based upon the Cross as a historical fact, out of which it draws principles, and around which it gathers dogmas of truth for purposes of spiritual improvement, instruction, and advancement. It is this, but much more also. Sacrifice in every religion has been fed upon by the worshippers. This feeding is an essential and distinguishing act of worship. The sacrifice of the Cross is the Christian's "bread of heaven." Every individual in all the ages, who is saved by Christ, is saved through the propitiation made on the Cross, and must apply this propitiation to himself by faithfully partaking of it in his own person.

Sacrament is now the appointed means of partaking of the Christian sacrifice. Sacrament, in itself, is a sign. As has been amply shown, however, the sign of the Christian sacrament of the Holy Communion is, by the power of the Holy Spirit, made spiritually and really so one with the thing signified, that in making an oblation of it, we are admitted into God's eternal now, where we join veritably with all The Church in the continual presentation that The High Priest is ever making "within the veil." It is also, by the same power, made to us the Body and Blood of Christ, on which, duly feeding, we become partakers of Him, and have eternal life.

The visible militant Church consists, therefore, of the body of the faithful, having a visible order of priests ministering to and with them, in word and sacrament, according to Christ's ordinance. In all acts of Christian worship, the common service is performed necessarily by the priestly order alone.

But the central act, the true Christian sacrifice, which constitutes religious service to God, and distinguishes The Church from Judaism and heathenism, while it uplifts her above schools of philosophy, cannot be perfected by the order of priests alone. With



reverence be it written, Christ Himself does not alone perfect it. Worshippers, consenting to and coöperating with priests in the formal utterances and outward acts, are necessary to the completion of the sacrament, and the practical efficiency of the sacrifice. As the people cannot, without profanation, do those things that are common and needful for all alike, and as the priest alone may do them; so also may the priest not destroy the function of every person's private priestly office, by attempting to do for individuals what they alone can do for themselves. Every worshipper makes his own confession and intercession to God, pleading the one propitiation, and feeding upon the sacrifice. He does this in public assembly indeed, and in forms of common prayer, yet he does it for himself before God. He mingles this personal communion, with commemorations and commendations, and assenting responses, and coöperating acts of approval in formularies of word and observance; but the great act that is fully efficacious to himself, and seals to him, and binds him in and with the benefit, is his own eating and drinking. Without this, whatever else may be done, the command of Jesus remains unfulfilled. No one can say what is gained by a partial service. No one is authorized to say that anything is gained. The unity of the Holy Communion is such that every attempt to divide it has brought on doctrinal confusion with spiritual loss and moral injury. In its completeness, we know it, and can use it with assurance unto salvation. In incompleteness we know nothing of it by revelation, and, if our reason takes hold of it thus, we will most surely become perplexed, and may imperil salvation.

All this, which is clearly in accordance with Holy Scripture and consonant with right reason, accords exactly with "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion," in the American Prayer Book, and agrees with the text of the earliest liturgies.

These three points, therefore, are presumed to be clearly established:

I. Christ, The High Priest and Victim, is ever present in the Holy Communion, making it, by and through the Holy Spirit, one with His own Sacrifice, and effective through His unceasing presentation and intercession before God.

II. The mortal priest coöperates with the present unseen High Priest.

III. The people coöperate with the mortal priest.

Together these perfect, in sacrament, the Christian sacrifice.

A few more quotations from early liturgies will further illustrate these points, and show both the sources and true meaning of the American Liturgy.

In the Anaphora of the Coptic Liturgy of St. Gregory occurs the following :

*The Priest*, . . . after making sign of cross on the cup, says :

Thou Who didst bless in that time (*i. e.*, at first Lord's Supper) bless even now.

*The People say*—Amen!

*Here the priest takes his finger off the cup, then makes sign of cross on the upper and lower part of the bread (corpus), and says :*

Thou Who at that time didst sanctify; sanctify even now.

*The People*.—Amen!

*Here he breaks the holy body, and separates part from part, and says :*

Thou Who didst break in that time; break even now.

*The People*.—Amen!

*Here he divides and places one part upon another in figure of a cross.*

Thou Who gavest to Thy disciples and pure Apostles in that time.  
Now O Lord give to us and to all Thy people, O omnipotent Lord our God.<sup>1</sup>

This passage follows the Invocation. During the Institution, or consecration proper, the priest repeats aloud the words of our Lord, and the people share in that most solemn priestly act, by responding at every significant part, "Amen."

These liturgies very carefully guard against materialistic errors, by again and again referring to and addressing our Lord as absent in material body. The real presence, therefore, which they all take for granted, and treat as undoubted, is incidentally explained by various expressions, *e. g.*, "Thou who hast come to us in body unchangeable (*ἀμεταβλητος*) and fillest all things by Thy Divinity incomprehensible;" or, again, "Who art one, only true God, ineffable, invisible . . . that cannot be circumscribed, that cannot be investigated (*in investigabilis*), immutable Creator of all, Saviour of all."<sup>2</sup>

The Oblation invariably accompanies, being generally placed immediately after, the Institution. The forms in which it is expressed show that our Lord's words, "Do this in remembrance of Me," were understood, in the early Church, to be equivalent to "Offer this as My memorial." In this, however, as everywhere else, the idea of a repetition of the offering by mortal priest is

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Lit. Ecc. Univ. J. A. Asseman. Rome, 1749. Vol. vii. p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* pp. 134, 135.

clearly excluded; nor is there any assertion of vicarious priestly authority. The people also join in the oblation, and the priest, as in the closing words of the following extract, acknowledges the limitations of the functions of his office in the coöperation of the worshippers:

*Priest.*—As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do announce My death, and confess My resurrection, and make My memorial until I shall come.

*People.*—Thy death, O Lord, we announce, and confess Thy holy resurrection and ascension: We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, we deprecate Thee, O Lord our God!

*Priest.*—And now, also, O Lord, we make memorial of Thy descent to earth, and of Thy life-giving death, and of Thy burial, three days continuing, and resurrection from the dead, and ascension to the heavens, and of Thy session at the right hand of Thy Father, and of Thy second coming from the heavens, tremendous and glorious, and we offer to Thee Thy gifts from those that are Thine, for all persons, and on account of all interests, and in or with all worshippers (*pro omnibus propter omnia, et in omnibus*).<sup>1</sup>

This closing recognition of the laical priesthood and its rights of coöperation, is thus expressed in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom: “τα σα ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα,” which Neale translates, “Thine own of Thine own we offer unto Thee in all and for all.”<sup>2</sup> The Liturgy of St. Mark, used in Alexandria, excludes the idea of a vicarious offering by the officiating priest, as if he acted *for* instead of *with* them. The first person plural is there also adopted: “σοὶ κύριε ο θεὸς ἡμῖν τα σα ἐκ τῶν σῶν δῶρων προσεθήκαμεν ἐνωπίον σου.”

The Invocation completes the Anaphora or most central, significant and solemn part of the Oriental liturgies. They all agree in ascribing to the descent and direct action of the Holy Spirit, that change in the previously consecrated elements which transposes them out of the condition—not substance—of mere bread and wine into that of the body and blood of Christ. This transposition, however, is declared to be for the purpose of feeding the faithful upon the sacrifice. This declared purpose is set forth most strongly, because incidentally, in the language of prayer. Its sole mention, in such connection, clearly and forcibly excludes all other purposes. The Alexandrian Missal gives in the Invocation these words, “Send moreover upon us and upon these breads and cups Thy Holy Spirit,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Lit. Ecc. Univ. J. A. Asseman. Rome, 1749. Vol. vii. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Neale also translates κατὰ “in behalf of” or “in relation to.”

that He may sanctify them and consecrate them, as God omnipotent, and make the bread very (quidem) body.

*People.*—Amen.

*Priest.*— . . .

The cup also Blood of the New Testament of Himself our Lord and God and Saviour and highest King Jesus Christ.

*R.*                                 \*                                 \*                                 \*

That they may become to us who partake in them in faith, in sobriety, in sincerity, in temperance, for sanctification, for renovation of soul, body, and spirit."<sup>1</sup>

The "Prayer of Consecration" in the American Liturgy is said by the Priest. It consists of three parts. The first part is the institution or consecration of the elements. In it no mention is made of either priest or people. An ascription of glory to God is followed by a declaration, in general terms, of belief in the singleness, unity, and full perfection of Christ's sacrifice once offered on the cross, as "satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." Then the original institution is referred to, and its form of words is repeated by the priest with certain prescribed manipulations. Undivided attention is therefore drawn herein to the One High Priest, ever dwelling with His Church, then and there present, leading the highest worship in its central operation, having mortal priest and people in due relation before Him, but He alone ministering. Thus the Prayer Book, while setting forth Christ alone in the beginning of its most sacred and central form of worship, assures us, not dogmatically but devotionally, that the Priest-victim is with us of a truth. Being present, both as priest and victim, we cannot fix attention upon Him in either aspect exclusively. Mystery, that punishes presumption with confusion or falsehood, rewards faith with all the promised blessings. The mystery of the presence of the Priest-victim fills devout souls with inexpressible and indefinable, yet real and often conscious, personal union. In its heart of worship, therefore, the American Prayer Book is, in the highest sense, sacerdotal, for it sets forth only the Great High Priest, and repeats merely His words, and leaves nothing else to think of, but His veritable work and ministry effectively proceeding for His assembled priest and people.

The Oblation follows, and priest and people come to the front: "Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institu-

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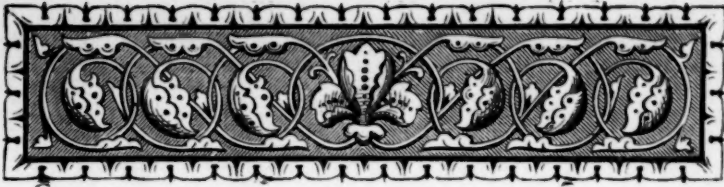
<sup>1</sup> Cod. Lit. Ecc. Univ. J. A. Asseman. Rome, 1749. Vol. vii. p. 35.

tion of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we (not I, the priest, but we, priest and people together) Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make." The memorial offering to God is here expressed in unmistakable language, and in almost the very terms consecrated by use in the ancient liturgies. This oblation is the essentially priestly act, and is made by the priest-officer in and with the people. The words that follow show how distinct this is from remembrance and hoped-for spiritual blessing. The remembrance by the worshipper follows, and prayer for good succeeds.

Finally, the Invocation is, in like manner, a joint priestly act, and declares the agreement of the modern American Church with the ancient Catholic, in belief that by the operation of the Holy Ghost the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is so united to the cross, that faithful worshippers in it feed upon the true sacrifice. "And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and of Thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

Thus sacerdotalism centres in "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion." It therefore pervades the Prayer Book, which is simply an accretion around that "order." As we have seen that it pervades in like manner the Bible, and is indeed essential to every religion, properly so-called, nothing is left us but to accept it. Christianity now living and operating, feeds its followers on sacrifice, on the one sacrifice, "the true bread from heaven." It does this somewhere, and by some means. Its altar-table is the only place, and the consecrated elements are the only means.

Sacerdotalism, therefore, is essential to Christianity, as a religion, and as the true religion. They are so interwoven as to be inseparable. They lie so near together in the fountain of life, and so flow forth in its streams, that the Church, the embodiment of Christianity, exercises her functions always sacerdotally. In doing this she honors Christ as the One High Priest, ever living and acting, maintains a priestly order for common worship, and secures the glory and dignity of individuals in the exercise of their solemn duty of priestly coöperation, and inalienable right of communion.



### THE GENUINENESS OF I. JOHN, V. 7.

“**F**ESTINA LENTE,” “Make haste slowly,” is the true maxim for such a work as the Revision of the Bible; either of the text or the translation. It is the true maxim, in its full meaning, for any important movement. But it was strangely wanting to the “Irish Church Synod for Liturgical Revision,” at a late meeting. Not prepared to make, at once, a change in the Catechism, the Synod “substituted a new Epistle for the Sunday after Easter, because the old one contained a passage which was considered spurious.” That was, certainly, taking time by the forelock. But it was not, in any sense, making haste slowly. The committees, in England and America, that have taken in hand the Revision of the English Bible, propose to keep it in hand several years. In the meantime they can revise their own work, if they have not undertaken too much. And the attempt of the Irish Church Synod to forestall revision justifies a very plain question. It is this: Did all the members of that Synod, laymen as well as clergy, each one for himself, like jurors under oath, collect and investigate all the testimony concerning the suspected passage, in the original form and statement of that testimony, from the authentic record of it, in the ancient languages, in which the several portions of it are to be found? If not, they were not qualified to give a verdict against I. John, v. 7.



That hasty revision of the Text of Holy Scripture, during a few spare hours, as a mere episode to Liturgical Revision, is a startling instance of rapid transit over the wide fields of ancient testimony. Those fields it took many diligent men hundreds of years to explore and map out for our guidance. And before the work of Revision of the Bible can be cleared of difficulties and made free from obstructions, several things must be made plainer than they have ever yet been. It must be shown, for instance, that the learned Erasmus, the great pioneer in those fields at the dawn of the Reformation, had not good reason for "replacing" the disputed passage in his edition of the Greek Testament, published A. D. 1522, after he had omitted it from former editions, published A. D. 1516 and 1518-19, as well as from his notes on the New Testament in 1515. It will not answer to set aside his conclusion by saying, as some one partly does, in a manuscript note on a fly-leaf of the edition of 1522, in the Astor Library, "This is the first edition of the Greek Testament, in which I. John, v. 7, is introduced from the Codex Montfortianus, or the testimony of the heavenly witnesses." The Catalogue of the Library, however, puts the case more accurately in this printed note: "This is the only one of the three editions that contains the disputed passage." That it was admitted into that edition very cautiously, after long exclusion from the place to which its claim was thus at last made good, is a telling fact that cannot be bluntly ignored. And though Wetstein speaks of the clamors against Erasmus, and Lange hints that powerful influences were brought to bear upon him, yet is his candor conspicuous in his own remarks after he had "replaced"—as he phrases it—the disputed passage. He says (*Crit. Annot.* viii. 273): "As to the readings, it is not perilous to embrace either; for it is certain that the manuscripts, both of the Greeks and the Latins, vary." But that remark, and others in the same note, will hardly bear out the common story, that Erasmus inserted the seventh verse as soon as he learned that it was in one Greek manuscript. All that he says in that note tends rather to sustain the assertion that he had, nearly twenty years before, brought out a commentary, founded on seven Greek manuscripts, which contained that verse (*Travis's Letters*, 269).

Much has been said about the motives which may have led some either to insert or to omit the disputed passage. But since the motive to omit is at least as strong as the motive to insert, the fair question upon this point is, whether a sentence or part of a sentence could not be omitted, even by accident, as easily as it could be invented and inserted by design? And this question any sensible

reader can answer at once, without discussion, and with perfect safety.

But here it must be noted that the Received Text, adopted by the English translators, for the authorized version, was no servile transcript of the Text of Erasmus. Much less was it that of the Latin Vulgate. How scrupulous those translators were concerning the Text, appears from their putting in italics and brackets, as doubtful, the last part of I. John, ii. 23, although it was in many manuscripts, and the works of early Fathers, both Greek and Latin, such as Cyril of Jerusalem, Greek; as it is now found, also, in the Sinaitic manuscript. Many similar instances of scrupulous caution in earlier times might be given.

But those who propose to expunge I. John, v. 7, must also meet fairly, and set aside, or ingeniously evade, the weighty conclusion of the candid Bishop Middleton, who, having admitted, in one of his essays on the Greek Article, that "this passage is generally abandoned as spurious," yet finds in the eighth verse, as it would stand without the seventh, a grave objection to that view, and says: "I am not ignorant that in the rejection of this controverted passage, learned and good men are now for the most part agreed, and I contemplate with admiration and delight the gigantic exertions of intellect which have established this acquiescence; the objection, however, which has given rise to this discussion, I could not consistently with my plan suppress. On the whole, I am led to suspect that though so much labor and critical acuteness have been bestowed upon these celebrated verses, more is yet to be done before the mysteries in which they are involved can be fully developed" (p. 453).

And when all is done which Bishop Middleton thus suggests, there will remain to be disposed of, as points distinct from the one made by him, the internal evidence of the genuineness of the passage, from its grammatical structure and the ungrammatical aspect of the eighth verse without the seventh, and the logical insufficiency of the sixth and eighth verses for a basis of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, concerning "the witness of God," "which He hath testified of His Son."

The first thing that strikes an accurate scholar in I. John, v. 8, without the seventh verse preceding, is the very hard grammar of the masculine article and participle *οἱ μαρτυροῦντες*, and the masculine article and numeral *οἱ τρεῖς*, with the three neuter nouns, *πνεῦμα*, *ὁδὼρ*, and *αἶμα*. That palpably ungrammatical construction may have caused the suggestion, by an old annotator on the passage in Jerome's version, that without the seventh verse the connection is

altogether maimed and defective. But as no grammatical difficulty appears in the Latin version, that remark probably had reference to the logical connection, which, without the seventh verse, is also defective. Neither the grammatical nor the logical defect, however, is remedied by the attempts of those who, though not expressly recognizing the great difficulty of this point of grammar, have yet betrayed a dread of it and a desire to evade it, and have left it with slight, inadequate treatment. Assuming that the passage originally contained only those neuter nouns, some attempt to make the masculine form of the article and numeral denote the persons of the Trinity. And for that purpose they further assume a far-fetched allegorical interpretation, which finds the Trinity in the eighth verse. But such attempts to evade the difficulty of that very hard grammar, are thwarted by the correct use of the neuter participle, *μαρτυροῦν*, in the sixth verse, with one of those three nouns, *πνεῦμα*, where it denotes one of the persons of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God. And that construction, which is perfect Greek, could not be legitimately changed without the intervention of a masculine or a feminine noun, to overrule the neuter forms.

But suppose the persons of the Trinity to be denoted by those three neuter nouns in verse eighth. Yet why were the article and participle masculine, and not neuter or feminine, when the only Greek nouns which signify person, in the theological sense, are *πρῶτον* (neuter), and *ὑποστάσις* (feminine)? There is a rule of Greek grammar, that "when persons *and* things are spoken of, the article or adjective may be in the masculine." But on the present supposition, there are no things nor any persons in that sense of the word, and that rule has no reference to persons, in the theological sense. This, Gregory Nazianzen, of the fourth century, shows; often denoting the persons of the Trinity by the neuter numeral, *τρία*, without any noun, but not by the masculine, *τρεις*. And other writers of that age, and in the third century, often use the phrase, *τρία πρόσωπα*, and sometimes the feminine noun, *ὑποστάσις*. If, therefore, the feminine *αἱ* had appeared instead of the masculine *οἱ*, with the numeral, *τρεις*, those who would cut out the seventh verse might have had some ground for their attempts to patch up the grammar of the passage after such mutilation. But as the Greek words now stand, in the eighth verse in all manuscripts and readings, the article *οἱ* cannot have place there legitimately, without one of the masculine nouns, *πατήρ* and *λόγος*, which are found only in the seventh verse.

The comment in Lange on the use of *οἱ μαρτυροῦντες*, with the

three neuter nouns, also betrays a dread of the ungrammatical aspect of the eighth verse, when the seventh is cut out. But the evasion of the difficulty in Lange is such as none but Germans could invent. It is attempted in this way. "The historical facts previously specified are now introduced in the masculine gender, to designate them as concrete witnesses, like persons"—why not say like men, at once, and avoid confusion of terms?—"but so that they are subordinate to the Spirit, who is the principal and only absolute witness, employing and making use of the facts in the life of Jesus." But the Spirit, that "principal witness," is always denoted in Greek by the neuter noun, *πνεῦμα*, which, unaccompanied by an overruling noun, masculine or feminine, always requires the article or adjective to take the neuter form, and here in the sixth verse, has a neuter participle: whatever might be said of the possible exception of a participle in the masculine form, used as a verb, but not as a noun. And the use of the neuter noun, *προσωπον*, in the New Testament, and in other Greek, ecclesiastical and classical, to designate individuals "as concrete witnesses" (see II. Cor. i. 11, *et al.*), and thus "persons," in the common signification of the word, makes that last invention to evade the grammatical difficulty of expunging I. John, v. 7, utterly puerile and futile. That very German comment, then, which no sophistry can ever make germane, shows what must be expected in a revision of the English Bible, under the prevalence or popularity of such treatment of Greek grammar.

But still more threatening to the simple truth of Holy Scripture is the German method of dealing with "the diction" of the Apostles and Evangelists and their great Teacher. That method rejects I. John, v. 7, on the ground that while the words *πατηρ* and *λογος* are "purely Johannean," the use of them both in one place is "non-Johannean;" "altogether contrary to John's diction" (Lange). And that is what is now called "Biblical criticism," "verbal criticism," and "advanced criticism!" Then, out upon such nonsense! For what can a real scholar, here in America, so near the end of this nineteenth century, say of such stuff, but simply, Fudge? Why, the bed of Procrustes would be a refuge of untold relief from such an instrument of torture as that method of dealing with the diction of Apostles and Evangelists, or any other diction. As if a man, in the apostolic age, inspired or not, could not have placed together two certain words, which, used apart, were purely his diction, but had to wait nearly two thousand years, to have his words sorted and put together at the beck and nod of "the most advanced critics," to form a style which they would designate by his name, as Johan-

nean, Pauline, Petrine, Markian, Jacobian, Matthewish, Lukeish, or what not! Little did Basil of the fourth century dream of such nice, fanciful distinctions, when he said of the opposers of the truth, "Not only do they speak falsely against God and His Son, fighting against God and against Christ; but they also do not cease to fight against the Spirit, not willing to call the Spirit of God Lord: with a stiff neck and an uncircumcised heart, opposing the Divine Scriptures;" and then added, in what he calls "this beautiful creed and saving confession," a twofold expression of the Scriptural faith, which looks very much as if he had in his thoughts not only the formula of Baptism, from Matt. xxviii. 19, but also another very like that of I. John, v. 7: "*θεος, Λογος, Πνεῦμα, Πατηρ, Ὑιός και Πνεῦμα*" (Adv. Eun. Paris, repr. i. 446). And there are men now who have read, day by day, for many years, and constantly interpreted to others, not only all parts of the Greek Testament, but other Greek writings, ecclesiastical and classical, and who yet regard all that sort of talk about the distinctive diction of certain Apostles and Evangelists, as unmitigated balderdash; sheer bosh. Not that inspiration destroys a man's own proper style of writing, while it leaves him an idiosyncrasy in other respects. But when Biblical criticism forbids to inspired men the use of certain words within their reach, and pronounces a certain collocation of their words, though placed in fair forms of grammar and logic, impossible or improper, it most clearly reveals its own need of revision and reduction to the first principles of common-sense.

There is, then, here, another phase of the question of grammatical structure. Some who think themselves classical scholars, *par excellence*, assume that good grammar is not to be expected in the Greek Testament. If, as is probable from that very mistake, they are not fully conversant with the Greek of the New Testament and the Christian fathers, they may almost deserve pardon, in view of the frequent resort of "Biblical critics" to the same groundless assumption. But those *soi-disant* classical scholars may be challenged to produce from the Greek Testament another sentence so palpably ungrammatical, by any usage of the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, as is the eighth verse of I. John, v., without the seventh verse.

It is maintained here, then, without reserve, that a fair grammatical construction requires the seventh verse to be retained as an integral part of the text. And this point may now be included in a review of some of the external evidences by which the claims of that verse are established. For it comes at once in conflict



with one of those queer things commonly called "canons of criticism," one which is sometimes stated to this effect; that "where there is little or no external evidence, internal evidence cannot be pleaded for an important claim." It also puts to the test and sets at naught that still queerer canon of criticism, that "the more difficult reading is preferable to the plainer." Of all those contrivances of polemics, this is the most convenient for the rejecters of I. John, v. 7. It makes the ungrammatical reading, by its very difficulty, which is almost an impossibility, preferable to that which alone gives to verse eight a grammatical form. But this canon accords exactly with the queer remark of Tischendorf (Tauchn. N. T. Intr. p. xii.), that "the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine manuscripts, having been written by Alexandrine copyists, who knew little of Greek, and therefore had no temptation to make alterations, have remained, in a high degree, faithful to the text, which was accepted throughout a large part of Christendom in the third and second century." And while that remark connects ungrammatical readings with external evidence, making them testify to the genuineness of manuscripts, it brings all points of grammatical construction within the category of external evidences.

But if thorough knowledge of Greek tends to make men dishonest, pray how can a fair revision of the text, or the translation, ever be made? Forsooth, by leaving it to those "who know little of Greek;" according to that novel idea of the real starter of the current revision, now no longer its leader nor regulator. For his own, then, as well as for the truth's sake, away with that strange conceit, uttered in the haste of argument, yet under no emergency and to no purpose, in his view of things. But it is an ill wind that blows no good. And that queer remark of Tischendorf well shows how canons of criticism are rules which work both ways; and many of them poor rules, nevertheless. For it makes as much in favor of verse seven, as against it, since that verse, which alone makes the whole passage grammatical, could not have been interpolated by men "who knew little of Greek." How, then, could it have crept in, as its opposers assert, between the seventh and the eleventh centuries, when Greek scholars were very scarce? Porson says, with more force than elegance, that "verse seven had very small success till the eighth century," and "remained a rude, unformed mass," and "was not completely licked into shape before the end of the tenth century," but "in the twelfth and thirteenth was universally received for genuine," and that "it has come to pass that the corrupted copies have almost swallowed up the genuine" (p. 401). And if it was his



much Greek that made the famous Porson use such English so freely, in that utterly indefinite, and therefore totally groundless charge against an unknown number of unknown men of several generations, no wonder a gentle German, like Count Tischendorf, was ready to think "little Greek" better than much, for some of the purposes of writing.

But now the attempt to expunge I. John, v. 7, from the text of the New Testament, takes the form of an action of literary ejection. And the first question here is, whether any evidence which is merely negative can eject a party in possession, not by sufferance, but by deliberate decision, after long and thorough investigation? For all the new evidence found since the decision three hundred and fifty years ago, which was ratified about a hundred years afterward, is merely negative. It consists in the omission of the passage in question from a recently discovered copy. And that copy, the Sinaitic manuscript, though very good in some respects, is yet defective by its further omissions of extended passages, which are found in other copies of equal value.

All that is claimed for the Sinaitic manuscript, on the score of antiquity, is, that it may have been one of the copies which the Emperor Constantine caused to be made in the fourth century, and sent to various places to make up, in some degree, the loss of the copies which had been destroyed during the persecutions of Christians by his predecessors. But let it be supposed to have been the copy from which all of those ordered by Constantine were made. Let it be taken for the oldest of all Greek manuscripts of the New Testament now known. Yet it is only a copy; not the original record. And at the best it is a defective, or at least a questionable copy. For there is another, the Cambridge manuscript, or Codex Bezae, containing the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, except parts of the last two chapters, which is, to all appearance, about as ancient as the Sinaitic manuscript. And, compared with the Cambridge manuscript, the Sinaitic is certainly defective, wanting Mark, xvi. 9-20, and John, viii. 1-11; while the Cambridge has both of those sections, which are found also in the Alexandrine, and many other manuscripts, and in the writings of early Fathers, both Greek and Latin.

The newly-found witness, then, the Sinaitic manuscript, cannot testify as to every portion of the New Testament. It may be the best of all such witnesses, where it is positive, and sets forth what it possesses. But no safe conclusion can be drawn from its mere want of testimony; its inability to testify on some points. Much

less can such tacitly negative, defective evidence overrule the testimony of other witnesses, or set aside former decisions, founded upon that testimony. Suppose, then, testimony to be produced from other sources, nearer to the original record of the Scriptures than the newly-found copy, and manifestly trustworthy. It need not come in the form of a complete manuscript of the New Testament, or of any one book, nor in extended sections of any book. Distinct citations of Scripture, however brief, by any of the ancient Christians, are good, clear evidence that they regarded the passages so cited as a part of Holy Scripture. And to such testimony Tischendorf himself resorts, to sustain and strengthen the evidence of the Sinaitic manuscript (Tauchn. N. T. p. xiii.).

And now the review of evidence is narrowed down to two or three prominent points of the clear testimony by which the claim of I. John, v. 7, to a place in the text of the New Testament, is established. But such a review involves very free treatment of some by whom that testimony has been assailed and misrepresented, garbled and perverted, and often, also, ridiculed in the most reckless way.

The Codex Sinaiticus, which many, unlike Tischendorf (Tauchn. Ed. N. T. Intr. p. ix.), regard as a final standard and decisive authority, was in existence, at the best, only a short time before Jerome said that the Greek copies of the New Testament were "confused." That they were confused in his day, appears from the fact that he gave I. Tim. iii. 16, in these words, "*Magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne*," while Gregory Nyssen, of the same age, gave it in the very words of the received text, *ὁ θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι* (Paris, 1615, ii. 265), as did also Chrysostom and others. Jerome, however, may have intended his Latin for a free rendering of the words which Gregory cited. All that Jerome's words clearly show is that he regarded as Holy Scripture, some declaration that a mystery was manifested in the flesh. Augustine, his intimate friend and great admirer, calling the same manifestation, "*Trinitatis sacramentum*," makes it a description of Christ, "*qui sine initio Deus erat apud Patrem*," "who, without beginning, was God with the Father." And this language of Augustine shows, beyond a doubt, that his copy of that part of Scripture was, substantially, the same as that of Gregory Nyssen.

In view of such facts, the most striking feature in the controversy about I. John, v. 7, is the curious uniformity with which many, who pronounce it spurious, use almost the same words

throughout to express their opinion ; as if one of their number had formed that opinion, and the rest had taken it from him, or from one another, without investigating the question for themselves. They all alike assert, that verse seven is not found in any Greek manuscript of earlier date than the sixteenth century, nor cited by any of the Fathers who wrote in Greek. It is, therefore, much to the credit of Tischendorf, that he says (Tauchn. N. T. Intr. p. viii.) that "scholars have become aware that the Text of Erasmus and Stephens was in use in the Byzantine (Greek) Church before the tenth century." And Porson says that the Acts of the Lateran Council were translated into Greek about the year 1300, and so attempts to account for the reception of I. John, v. 7, in the Scriptures of the Armenians, the East Indian Christians, the Russians, and "every other Christian nation" (pp. 401-2). But the clear testimony of very ancient writers to the genuineness of that verse does not depend upon such discrepancies among its assailants.

In the Works of Origen, who wrote in Greek before the middle of the third century, is the following, which is generally ascribed by the learned to Origen himself : "*Δούλοι κυριων πατρος και υιου πνευμα και σωμα· παιδισκη δε κυριας του αγιου πνευματος η ψυχη· τα δε τρια κυριος ο θεος ημων εστιν· οι γαρ τρεις το εν ειναι·*" "Spirit and body are servants to masters, Father and Son, and the soul is handmaid to a mistress, the Holy Ghost ; and the Lord our God is the three (persons, sc. *προσωπα*), for the three are one" (Paris, 1722, vol. ii. p. 821). The manner in which the author of that passage, whether Origen or another, so precisely applied the phrase, *τα τρια*, which was the systematic, technical definition of the Trinity of persons in the God-head, and then immediately added the words, *οι γαρ τρεις το εν ειναι*, shows that he had in view the masculine nouns, *πατηρ* and *λογος*, in the seventh verse of the Received Text ; and his connection of that clause with the preceding by the particle *γαρ* makes it an explicit citation of Scripture. His use, then, of that clause in connection with the words *πατρος*, *υιου*, and *του αγιου πνευματος*, without any mention of *οδωρ* and *αιμα*, and without the preposition *εις*, of the eighth verse, is very significant. For though the article *το* appears before *εν*, as it does not in the seventh verse, except in a few manuscripts, yet, on the other hand, the preposition *εις* of the eighth verse is wanting ; and so the clause, in this form, is, by its plain sense, a citation of the seventh verse, and not of the eighth. And here it is worth while to note the curious and very convenient method, by which some of the rejecters of the seventh verse find that preposition, *εις*, in a place where the want of it is so manifestly

fatal to their case. They shrewdly conjecture and suggest, with that marvellous "hardihood of conjecture" which Coleridge thought peculiar to critics of "the Teutonic school," that the little word *ἐς*, of three letters, so full of meaning as to change the whole aspect of the case, if its presence could be secured, has been absorbed, doubled up and hidden, in the word *τρεῖς*, which is only a little larger; but contains and carries those three letters among its five! Wonderful invention of "advanced criticism!" Its ingenuity eclipses all the allegorical methods of antiquity. Why, it could make everything out of anything; almost out of nothing. And therefore one of the admirers of that invention, Porson, with a great show of magnanimity, reminded his antagonist, Travis, of that extract from the works of Origen, translated it after a fashion of his own, correctly upon the whole, but not very strictly, and then thought to dispatch it with this feeble stroke of raillery: "The critical chemistry which could extract the doctrine of the Trinity from this place must have been exquisitely refining" (p. 234). But since all chemistry is critical, he probably meant to say chemical criticism, and got bewildered in the attempt to use a far-fetched figure, from a department of science in which he was not at home. However, that language of Origen, or some writer nearly contemporary with him, like most of the language of Christian writers of that period, will bear and well requite the most searching analysis.

In connection, then, with the common remark of the assailants of verse seven, that it is not cited by Greek Fathers to prove the doctrine of the Trinity, the frequent assertion that verse eight affords, by itself, a sufficient statement of that doctrine, suggests a question which is to the point. It is this: How many of the Greek Fathers cited the eighth verse? It would be amusing to find, after all that has been said upon this point by Biblical critics and the commentators who implicitly follow them, that the Greek Fathers cited the seventh verse as often as the eighth. It is safe to assert this, and to challenge disproof of it, from the Greek Fathers. In the meantime, their neglect to cite either the one or the other, more than two or three times in all their extant works, makes just as much against the eighth verse as it does against the seventh. And that argument of the assailants of the disputed passage, which shows them so eagerly catching at a single straw, to get the balance of numbers on their side, need not give its defenders much trouble.

But it is further suggested by some, with that same curious uniformity of expression, which betrays neglect of independent investigation, and sometimes it is boldly asserted that the disputed pas-

sage was introduced into Greek copies of the New Testament from Latin versions. To all such suggestions and assertions it would be a fair and logically a full reply, to ask: How did that passage get into Latin versions, if it was not first in Greek copies, from which those versions were made? For, *prima facie*, from the very nature of the case, Latin versions of a certain age are as good evidence of the genuineness of certain passages which they purport to translate, as the Greek copies of the same age.

And sometimes the variety of expression in the Latin versions presents a cumulative evidence of the genuineness of the passages which they severally recognize and separately attest, that can never be afforded by any number of Greek copies. Those versions, for instance, which have respectively "*lapsus*," "*ruina*," and "*defectum*," as a translation of the Greek word *παρὰπτωμα*, "fall" (Rom. xi. 12), were evidently made at different places, and not copied one from another, like Greek manuscripts. And thus Latin versions, which give various renderings of the same Greek word, more clearly form a chain of independent, yet concurrent, testimony of the existence of certain passages in Greek manuscripts, than all the Greek copies, however numerous, which may now be found. For all of these which are alike in their contents, may have been derived, directly or indirectly, from one defective copy.

But there is a further answer to the suggestion that the disputed passage may have been introduced into Greek copies of the New Testament from Latin versions. Cyprian, who wrote in Latin, about the middle of the third century, long before the earliest date claimed for the Sinaitic manuscript, and was thus contemporary with Origen, has these plain words: "*Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, scriptum est; Et hi tres unum sunt*" (Venet. 1728, p. 398). Here the declaration "*Et hi tres unum sunt*," "concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," is a direct citation of Holy Scripture. For Cyprian not only uses here the common sign of repeated citation, the phrase "*et iterum*," but says also, more explicitly, "*et iterum scriptum est*," "and again it is written." And the words thus cited, "*et hi tres unum sunt*," "and these three are one," are an exact and complete translation of the Greek words, *καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν ἑσέν*, in the seventh verse of the Received Text, but neither an exact nor a full translation of the words, *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν ἑσέν*, in the eighth verse. For the demonstrative pronoun by which the article *οἱ* may be strictly rendered, is not *hi*, but *illi*. This appears from some of the Latin versions of I. John, v. 6,



where the pronoun *ὁὗτος* is translated by *hic*, and the article *ὁ* by *ille*. It cannot be imagined, then, by any accurate and thorough scholar, that so good a writer of Latin as Cyprian could have written those words, "*hi tres unum sunt*," if he had not read in the Greek of St. John the word *ὁὗτοι*, which is found only in the seventh verse. To suppose that the Greek of the Received Text, in the seventh verse, was derived from the Latin of Cyprian, or any other writer who used those words, and that their Latin was not translated from that Greek, is much the same as to suppose that the French expressions, "*la vertu*," "*l'honneur*," "*la prudence*," and the like, were derived from the peculiar expressions, "the virtue," "the honor," "the prudence," and others which are sometimes used by young ladies just returned from French schools, and that those very peculiar expressions for English, were not suggested by the French. And while the Latin of Cyprian so plainly implies the word *ὁὗτοι* in his Greek copy of St. John's first epistle, it clearly proves that the seventh verse was regarded and received, in his day, as a part of Holy Scripture.

This view of this point is strengthened by the fact that in the Latin version of Jerome, and others of different periods, and in the writings of Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus, and others, these same Latin words, "*et hi tres unum sunt*," are employed and cited as a translation of the Greek of the eighth verse, which is in these words, *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν*. And though this Greek is not strictly nor fully translated by such Latin, yet let it be supposed, as has been asserted, that the different Greek which we have in the seventh verse of the Received Text, was made up from that Latin, and so introduced into copies of the Greek Testament, where, on this supposition, it had never before held a place. And then, have we not here a most marvellous thing? Instead of a mere repetition of the Greek of the eighth verse, of which those Latin words had for ages formed the received translation, we have a sentence of better Greek than the "advanced critics" of this nineteenth century, with all their boasted knowledge of Greek and "comparative philology," are prepared to appreciate or understand. And we are asked to believe that it was invented and composed while the knowledge and study of Greek were at their lowest stage. Yet that marvellous thing is more probable, than that the Latin words, which, on that supposition, had been for ages regarded only as the translation of the Greek in the eighth verse, could have suggested and produced the different Greek which is found in the seventh verse, and of which that very Latin is still, as it has been from the



days of Cyprian, an exact and complete translation. Of such a theory of the production of Greek from Latin, well might the Roman satirist, if he were at hand, cry out, "*Credat Iudaeus Apella.*"

Those words of Cyprian, then, of which Lange says, "the reference in '*iterum*' is clearly to this place"—adding, with desperate audacity, "but to verse eighth"—speak plainly and decisively for themselves. By their most obvious relation to the corresponding Greek words, they prove rather the existence of the seventh verse than that of the eighth, in the original record of the New Testament; or, at all events, in the copies of the third century, a hundred years older than the Sinaitic manuscript. And their very ancient testimony, which combines internal evidence with external in a remarkable manner, deserves especial attention. The imperfect, but not wholly erroneous, translation of the eighth verse, in the Latin of Jerome's version and others, shows, by its expressions, that it was first employed as the translation of other, more emphatic Greek words, those of the seventh verse in the Received Text; and then was repeated, with the peculiar force thus acquired, as a suitable—though not a strict—translation of the eighth verse. For the peculiar phrase of that verse—the *ἐς το ἐν*—was always troublesome to those who tried to render it in Latin, and never received from them so precise an expression of its supposed meaning as the English translators attempted in our authorized version, with only partial success, but probably the best that can be attained.

That Cyprian's citation of the words, "*et hi tres unum sunt*," was from the seventh verse, and not from the eighth, appears yet more clearly, if possible, from a singular circumstance. In a treatise, sometimes ascribed to Cyprian, but by the best editors to an anonymous writer, and preserved with Cyprian's works, the eighth verse is cited twice in the words, "*et isti tres unum sunt*" (Venet. 641, 644). No scholar needs to be reminded that *isti* is more nearly allied to *illi* than to *hi*. And that varied expression in the Latin of the third century, corresponding, in some degree, to the varied expressions of the Greek in the seventh and eighth verses of the Received Text, is, to say the least, suggestive.

The decisive force of Cyprian's testimony is manifest from the vain attempts of many, with the most persistent efforts, to set it aside by astonishing feats of sophistical fencing. The boldest assailant of the disputed passage, at the close of the last century, was the slashing Porson, a Coryphaeus in his way. His performances evidently gave the cue to the English impugnors of the pas-

sage, who have entered the lists since his time; and apparently, in some points, to the Germans also. But his attempts to parry the telling stroke of Cyprian's testimony were rather reckless and startling than skilful or effective. He says (p. 399), "Tertullian, in imitation of the phrase, 'I and my Father are one,' had said of the three persons of the Trinity, 'which three are one.' Cyprian was misled by this passage of his master. Taking it for an allusion to Scripture, he wisely inferred that it was an application of I. John, v. 8; and as he had no doubt of Tertullian's infallibility, he adopted the same application, and said boldly, 'Of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit it is written, And these three are One.'" Now in all this there is not a single assertion that is sustained by the language of either Tertullian or Cyprian. And yet the most of it is condensed, in the critical note of Lange on I. John, v. 8, into this more general assertion of a connection between the two. "The allusions of Tertullian (adv. Prax. 25), '*Connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paraclete, tres efficit cohaerentes; alterum in altero, qui tres unum sunt*,' and of Cyprian (Ep. ad Jubaianum), '*cum tres unum sunt*,' are to John, x. 30." But this assertion is worse than reckless. It is simply audacious; since it might have been avoided by a glance at the passage in Cyprian. For there is not in his words there, nor in any remote connection with them, any reference either to John, x. 30, or to Tertullian. It is in another treatise (*De unit. Dei*), in the passage already considered in this argument, that the reference to John, x. 30, is found, but with no allusion to Tertullian or his views. And while the words of Tertullian contain, in Latin, according to a common use of the relative, the phrase, *καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσιν*, of I. John, v. 7, there is nothing to indicate that he did not refer to that passage in the words, "*qui tres unum sint*" [or "*sunt*"]; for there is no such phrase in the Gospel of John. And if he referred to the Epistle, then certainly rather to the seventh verse of the fifth chapter than to the eighth. For he knew the force of Greek prepositions, and yet he makes no account there of the phrase, *ἐν τῷ ἐν*. Cyprian's words, "*cum tres unum sunt*" (Venet. p. 282), are directly connected with the words, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," without any allusion to "the Spirit, the water, and the blood," and so again attest rather the seventh verse of the received text than the eighth.

Here, then, it must suffice to say of such critics as Lange, Wordsworth, and Alford, and their books, "*Ex uno disce omnes*." For if they so slightly investigate the most difficult and disputable points, which require the utmost accuracy and candor, what assurance do

they give of tolerable correctness in common questions of plain exposition?

Lange, indeed, admitting that Cyprian's language, "*et hi tres unum sunt*," "and these three are one," is a direct citation of Scripture, surrenders with a good grace the most formidable of the false points held by Porson. But when he goes on to claim that it is a citation of the eighth verse, and fails to observe what Porson, who knew the meaning of Greek pronouns, clearly saw, and as clearly implied throughout his argument, that if it is a direct citation, it refers to the seventh verse, he also really surrenders every point in dispute, but seems not to know where he stands. And here it is pleasant to hope that Porson, who knew the strength of some of the points which he assailed, and in his fencing, made his "guard" much better than those who slavishly follow the cue of his bold "cut and thrust," may have quietly receded from his most difficult positions. Charles Butler, who, in his "*Horae Biblicae*," gave a very candid review of the controversy of a hundred years ago, and brought out with great clearness some arguments in favor of the disputed passage, especially the testimony of the four hundred African bishops, against King Hunneric's Arian Council, says in his *Reminiscences* (i. 223), that "Mr. Porson allowed" his "statement to deserve attention, and promised to reply to it." But he never did. Or if he did, it is still unknown to some who are well acquainted with that controversy. And, in the terse and pithy remark of one of them, "Porson's silence would mean a great deal."

Here may be safely left this review of testimony from an earlier period than that of the Sinaitic manuscript. But the sophistry that would foist in, as testimony of Cyprian, an allegorical view, of which there is no trace in his writings, nor in those erroneously ascribed to him, merely because "he was not unacquainted with, nor free from mystical interpretations" (Lange on I. John, v. 8), must not pass unrebuked. To attempt to make Cyprian, of the third century, responsible for an allegorical interpretation which Augustine set forth as his own, a century later, and which was not adopted by the best of his contemporaries, is bad enough. But to come down to the sixth century, and take from Facundus, as Cyprian's, such views as are not expressed in his own writings, is the very newest method of "advanced criticism." It is only equalled by the resort of the same criticism, for the same purpose, to a writer, whose awkward Greek, in his attempt to explain the grammar of I. John, v. 8, stamps him as inferior to Facundus. Why did not some one of the critics who contributed to make up

Lange's note, refer to Gregory Nazianzen? A point of grammar, metaphysics and theology, all in one, proposed by an objector, he meets without resorting to an allegorical interpretation of verse eight. And a careful critic might discern, in his theological and logical argument, and in that of Augustine against Maximinus as well, something very like an implication of that statement of "the Trinity," which is found in the seventh verse. But that is a phase of the question which belongs to a period not under review in this argument.

As to the earlier period here reviewed, it is not pleasant, at last, to find Tischendorf, who was so diligent in his search for manuscripts, hardly less inaccurate in his conclusions than the other critics already mentioned. In the eighth edition of his Greek Testament (Maj. Crit. Lips. 1869) he adopts mainly the false view of Cyprian's testimony, which those critics took up without full examination. But it is a relief to think that his neglect of investigation on that point, may account, in part, for his otherwise very strange omission of the name of Cyprian from the list of prominent Fathers, in the introduction of the Tauchnitz New Testament (p. xiii).

And here, now, it seems worth while to refer to some remarks of Erasmus, on the grammar of I. John, v. 8. When he had concluded to "replace" verse seven, because the manuscripts, both Greek and Latin, varied, and he thought it not perilous to embrace either reading, he said that the peculiar use of genders in verse eight would still make grammarians squirm,—"*torquebit grammaticos*" (Crit. Annot. viii. 274), and added, that "the Apostle had respect rather to the sense than the words." Now the last of these remarks would have been very rash for such a scholar, while he rejected the seventh verse, and thus left the grammar of the passage lax beyond all precedent. And both of them were over-nice and needless, after he had "replaced" that verse, which gives the passage a fair form of grammar. But they serve to show that Erasmus, in all his investigations, was scrupulous to a fault, in setting the external evidence of manuscripts above the internal evidence of grammatical structure, and that he had good reason for his conclusion in favor of the disputed passage. They show, also, further, that an objection to the peculiar use of genders in the eighth verse, or an attempt to explain it, would not, at any time, prove or imply that the objector, or the answerer, was ignorant of the seventh verse.

